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## BIOGRAPHY

Everyman, I will go with thee, and be thy guide,  
In thy most need to go by thy side

**SAMUEL PEPYS**, born in 1633, the son of a London tailor. In 1659 entered the Civil Service, and distinguished himself as Secretary of the Admiralty. Committed to the Tower of London, 1679; released, 1680; reinstated in the Admiralty, 1683; dismissed after the Revolution and lived in retirement, chiefly at Clapham. Died in 1703.

# THE DIARY OF SAMUEL PEPYS

IN THREE VOLUMES · VOLUME ONE

EDITED FROM  
MYNORS BRIGHT  
WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY  
JOHN WARRINGTON



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## INTRODUCTION

*The Diary of Samuel Pepys* covers a period from 1st January 1660 to 31st May 1669. The manuscript, consisting of six volumes, is in the Pepysian Library at Magdalene College, Cambridge, to which it was bequeathed, with the author's entire library of some three thousand manuscripts and printed books, on his death in 1703.<sup>1</sup> It is closely but neatly written in the shorthand system of Thomas Shelton, who published his *Tachygraphy* in 1641. The earlier passages seem generally to have been written up daily: but later, when the pressure of his work increased, and as his eyes began to weaken, Pepys often allowed several days, and in one case a whole fortnight, to pass before bringing the journal up to date.

One cannot but wonder at his astonishing memory, which was able to retain for a week and more the minutest details of business, the exact words of protracted conversations upon a wide variety of topics, and a host of trivial incidents, which the majority of men would have forgotten within an hour. There is, however, internal evidence to show that Pepys did not always rely upon his unaided memory to recall the incidents occurring between his making one set of entries and the next: he made day-to-day notes, also in shorthand, upon loose sheets of paper; and two of these memoranda were never written up, being inserted by Pepys himself to form part of the *Diary*.<sup>2</sup>

Though forced by the weakness of his eyes to discontinue his journal at the end of May 1669 Pepys must often have referred to the manuscript during the remaining years of his life. But after his death it lay neglected and virtually forgotten until 1819, when Lord Braybrooke engaged the Rev. John Smith to decipher it, a task which occupied twelve or fourteen hours a day for three years. The cynic, contemplating the immensity of that labour, which received no great material reward, may smile at the recollection that while Smith burned the midnight oil there lay almost

<sup>1</sup> The bequest did not, however, take effect until 1726, on the death of Pepys's nephew, John Jackson, who inherited the library for the term of his own life.

<sup>2</sup> 10th-19th April and 5th-17th June 1668.

under his hand a document which would have provided him with the key. For Pepys had left among his manuscripts a long-hand transcript of the account <sup>1</sup> of Charles II's escape after Worcester.

Excerpts from Smith's transcript together with selections from Pepys's private correspondence were published by Lord Braybrooke in 1825. An enlarged edition appeared in 1848-9, the new material forming about one-quarter of the whole *Diary*. This was re-edited in 1854, and further extracts were included in Bohn's library edition of 1858.

The previous edition in Everyman's Library was based upon that of Lord Braybrooke. This new edition with modernized spelling and punctuation has been prepared directly from that of the Reverend Mynors Bright, which was published in 1875-9 from his own transcript <sup>2</sup> and which is by far the most accurate version of the text that has yet appeared.

I have added about half as much again as was included in the former edition, and have been guided in my selection of material by its human appeal and historical interest. No attempt has been made to produce a newly annotated edition; but certain of Lord Braybrooke's notes have been retained with minor corrections when they appeared useful to identify persons, dramatic plays, and obscure words. It must, however, be admitted that no really complete and perfectly accurate version of the *Diary* has ever been published. To supply this defect Mr. F. McD. Turner, of Magdalene College, who was until recently Pepys librarian, has made a new transcript of the original. Its publication will correct existing errors, and finally establish the text. I take this opportunity of expressing my gratitude to Mr. Turner for his kindness and invaluable help, to which the improvements in this edition must be principally ascribed.

The manifold aspects of the character and career of Samuel Pepys have been examined and set forth by Mr. Arthur Bryant in three masterly volumes.<sup>3</sup> It should be borne in mind that the *Diary* is something more than a long series of detailed jottings: there is a unity, an element of drama, public and private, in the whole. The rise of an obscure and impecunious clerk to a position

<sup>1</sup> Taken down in shorthand from the king at Newmarket in October 1680, the transcript was first published by Lord Hailes in 1766.

<sup>2</sup> Bright's transcript, except for a number of 'unprintable' passages was edited in its entirety, but with numerous inaccuracies, by H. B. Wheatley, 1893-9.

<sup>3</sup> See Bibliography *infra*.

of wealth and power by hard work, determination, and the astute handling of opportunity, is one thread: the other, years of domestic tension between a sensitive and peace-loving man, a fond though no doubt a trying husband who, on his own admission, could not resist a pretty woman, and his young and devoted wife who, though not always lacking a legitimate grievance, was yet unable to understand and share her husband's interests and ambition. And this twofold plot, set against the varied back-cloth of his home and professional life, is enacted upon the stage of contemporary history, social and political. The characters of king and commoner, young and old, rich and poor, with all their virtues and vices, in all their strength and weakness, are vividly portrayed. It is, indeed, this power of giving substance, voice, and movement to the humblest no less than to the greatest of his fellow ghosts that makes the narrative of Pepys on every page a strangely moving, present, personal experience.

J. W.

1953.



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## DIARY OF SAMUEL PEPYS

1660

BLESSED be God, at the end of the last year, I was in very good health, without any sense of my old pain, but upon taking of cold.<sup>1</sup> I lived in Axe Yard,<sup>2</sup> having my wife, and servant Jane, and no more in family than us three.

The condition of the State was thus: viz. the Rump, after being disturbed by my Lord<sup>3</sup> Lambert,<sup>4</sup> was late returned to sit again. The officers of the Army all forced to yield. Lawson<sup>5</sup> lies still in the river, and Monk<sup>6</sup> is with his army in Scotland. Only my Lord Lambert is not yet come into the Parliament, nor is it expected that he will, without being forced to it. The new Common Council of the City do speak very high; and had sent to Monk, their sword-bearer, to acquaint him with their desires for a free and full Parliament, which is at present the desires, and the hopes, and the expectation of all. Twenty-two of the old secluded members having been at the House-door the last week to demand entrance, but it was denied them; and it is believed that neither they nor the people will be satisfied till the House be filled. My own private condition very handsome and esteemed rich, but indeed very poor; besides my goods of my house, and my office, which at

<sup>1</sup> On 26th March 1658 Pepys had been successfully cut for the stone; a malady which seems to have affected several other members of his family.

<sup>2</sup> Pepys's house was on the south side of King Street, Westminster; it is singular that when he removed to a residence in the city he should have settled close to another Axe Yard.

<sup>3</sup> He is styled 'Lord' not by right, nor even by courtesy: the title was often given to the republican officers and their dependants.

<sup>4</sup> Sufficiently known by his services as a major-general in the Parliament forces during the Civil War, and condemned as a traitor after the Restoration; but reprieved and banished to Guernsey, where he lived in confinement thirty years.

<sup>5</sup> Sir John Lawson, the son of a poor man at Hull, rose to the rank of admiral, and distinguished himself during the Protectorate; and, though a republican in heart, readily closed with the design of restoring the king. He was mortally wounded in the sea-fight in 1665.

<sup>6</sup> George Monk, afterwards Duke of Albemarle.

present is somewhat uncertain. Mr. Downing master of my office.<sup>1</sup>

January 1st. (Lord's day.) This morning (we living lately in the garret) I rose, put on my suit with great skirts, having not lately worn any other clothes but them. Went to Mr. Gunning's<sup>2</sup> chapel at Exeter House,<sup>3</sup> where he made a very good sermon upon these words:—'That in the fulness of time God sent his Son, made of a woman,' &c.; showing, that by 'made under the law' is meant the circumcision, which is solemnized this day. Dined at home in the garret, where my wife dressed the remains of a turkey, and in the doing of it she burned her hand. I stayed at home the whole afternoon, looking over my accounts; then went with my wife to my father's, and in going observed the great posts which the City workmen set up at the Conduit in Fleet Street.

2d. In the morning before I went forth old East brought me a dozen of bottles of sack, and I gave him a shilling for his pains. Then I went to Mr. Shepley who was drawing of sack in the wine cellar to send to other places as a gift from my Lord,<sup>4</sup> and told me that my Lord had given him order to give me the dozen of bottles. Walked a great while in Westminster Hall, where I heard that Lambert was coming up to London; that my Lord Fairfax<sup>5</sup> was in the head of the Irish brigade, but it was not certain what he would declare for. The House was today upon finishing the Act for the Council of State, which they did; and for the indemnity to

<sup>1</sup> Sir George Downing, son of Emmanuel Downing, a London merchant, who went to New England. Wood calls Downing a sider with all times and changes, skilled in the common cant, and a preacher occasionally. He was sent by Cromwell to Holland, as resident there. About the Restoration he espoused the king's cause, and was knighted and elected M.P. for Morpeth in 1661. Afterwards becoming Secretary to the Treasurer and Commissioner of the Customs, he was in 1663 created a baronet of East Hatley, in Cambridgeshire.

<sup>2</sup> Peter Gunning, afterwards master of St. John's College, Cambridge, and successively Bishop of Chichester and Ely: *ob.* 1684. He had continued to read the liturgy at the chapel at Exeter House when the Parliament was most predominant, for which Cromwell often rebuked him. Wood's *Athenæ*. See Evelyn's *Diary* for many notices of him.

<sup>3</sup> Essex Street in the Strand was built on the site of Exeter House.

<sup>4</sup> Admiral Sir Edward Montagu, afterwards Earl of Sandwich, uniformly styled 'my Lord' throughout the *Diary*, his title before his elevation to the peerage being of the same nature as that of Lord Lambert already explained.

<sup>5</sup> Thomas Lord Fairfax, Generalissimo of the Parliamentary forces. After the Restoration, he retired to his country seat, where he lived in private till his death in 1671.

the soldiers; and were to sit again thereupon in the afternoon. Great talk that many places had declared for a free Parliament; and it is believed that they will be forced to fill up the House with the old members. From the Hall I called at home, and so went to Mr. Crewe's <sup>1</sup> (my wife she was to go to her father's), thinking to have dined, but I came too late, so Mr. Moore and I and another gentleman went out and drank a cup of ale together in the new market, and there I eat some bread and cheese for my dinner. After that Mr. Moore and I went as far as Fleet Street together and parted, he going into the City, I to find Mr. Calthrop, but failed again of finding him, so returned to Mr. Crewe's again, and from there went along with Mrs. Jemimah home, and there she taught me how to play at cribbage. Then I went home, and finding my wife gone to see Mrs. Hunt, I went to Will's, and there sat with Mr. Ashwell talking and singing till nine o'clock, and so home. There, having not eaten but bread and cheese, my wife cut me a slice of brawn which I received from my Lady, which proves as good as ever I had any. So to bed, and my wife had a very bad night of it through wind and cold.

3d. To White Hall, where I understood that the Parliament had passed the Act of indemnity for the soldiers and officers that would come in, in so many days, and that my Lord Lambert should have benefit of the said Act. They had also voted that all vacancies in the House, by the death of any of the old members, shall be filled up; but those that are living shall not be called in. Thence I went home, and then found Mr. Hunt and his wife, and Mr. Hawley, who sat with me till ten at night at cards, and so broke up and to bed.

4th. Down into the Hall and to Will's, where Hawley brought a piece of his Cheshire cheese, and we were merry with it. It snowed hard all this morning, and was very cold, and my nose was much swelled with cold. Strange the difference of men's talk! Some say that Lambert must of necessity yield up; others, that he is very strong, and that the Fifth-monarchy men will stick to him, if he declares for a free Parliament. Chillington was sent yesterday to him with the vote of pardon and indemnity from the Parliament. Went and walked in the Hall, where I heard that the Parliament spent this day in fasting and prayer; and in the afternoon

<sup>1</sup> John Crewe, created Baron Crewe of Stene, in the county of Northampton, at the coronation of Charles II. He married Jemima, daughter and co-heir to Edward Walgrave, Esq., of Lawford, Essex.

came letters from the North, that brought certain news that my Lord Lambert his forces were all forsaking him, and that he was left with only fifty horse, and that he did now declare for the Parliament himself; and that my Lord Fairfax did also rest satisfied, and had laid down his arms, and that what he had done was only to secure the country against my Lord Lambert his raising of money, and free quarter.

5th. I dined with Mr. Shepley,<sup>1</sup> at my Lord's lodgings, upon his turkey-pie. And so to my office again; where the Excise money was brought, and some of it told to soldiers till it was dark. Then I went home, after writing to my Lord the news that the Parliament had this night voted that the members that were discharged from sitting in the years 1648 and 49 were duly discharged; and that there should be writs issued presently for the calling of others in their places, and that Monk and Fairfax were commanded up to town, and that the Prince's lodgings were to be provided for Monk at White Hall. Then my wife and I, it being a great frost, went to Mrs. Jem's,<sup>2</sup> in expectation to eat a sack-posset, but Mr. Edward not coming, it was put off; and so I left my wife playing at cards with her, and went myself with my lanthorn to Mr. Fage, to consult concerning my nose, who told me it was nothing but cold. Mr. Fage and I did discourse concerning public business; and he told me it is true the City had not time enough to do much, but they are resolved to shake off the soldiers; and that, unless there be a free Parliament chosen, he did believe there are half the Common Council will not levy any money by order of this Parliament.

6th. This morning Mr. Shepley and I did eat our breakfast at Mrs. Harper's (my brother John<sup>3</sup> being with me) upon a cold turkey-pie and a goose. From thence I went to my office, where we paid money to the soldiers till one o'clock; and I took my wife to my cousin, Thomas Pepys, and found them just sat down to

<sup>1</sup> He seems to have been the steward to Lord Sandwich.

<sup>2</sup> This lady, mentioned frequently in the *Diary*, was Jemimah, eldest daughter of Sir Edward Montagu. She had been ill; and during her father's absence abroad, seems to have been left under the superintendence of Pepys, in a London lodging. Mr. Edward was her eldest brother. He is afterwards called Lord Hinchinbroke.

<sup>3</sup> John Pepys, afterwards in holy orders, died unmarried in 1677, at which time he held some office at the Trinity House.—Pepys's MS. Letters. Samuel Pepys, in his book of *Signs Manual*, describes him as 'my brother and successor in my office as clerk of the Acts of the Navy, under King Charles II.'

dinner, which was very good; only the venison pasty was palpable beef, which was not handsome. To my cousin Stradwick, where, after a good supper, there being there my father, mother, brothers, and sister, my cousin Scott and his wife, and her brother, Mr. Stradwick, we had a brave cake brought us, and in the choosing Pall<sup>1</sup> was Queen, and Mr. Stradwick was King. After that my wife and I bid adieu and came home, it being still a great frost.

7th. At my office receiving money of the probate of wills. Put in at my Lord's lodgings where we stayed late, eating of part of his turkey-pie, and reading of Quarles's Emblems.

8th. (Lord's day.) In the morning I went to Mr. Gunning's, where a good sermon, wherein he showed the life of Christ, and told us good authority for us to believe that Christ did follow his father's trade, and was a carpenter till thirty years of age. From thence to my father's to dinner, where I found my wife, who was forced to dine there, we not having one coal of fire in the house, and its being very hard frosty weather.

9th. I rose early this morning, and looked over and corrected my brother John's speech, which he is to make the next apposition.<sup>2</sup> I met with W. Simons, Muddiman, and Jack Price, and went with them to Harper's, and stayed till two of the clock in the afternoon. I found Muddiman a good scholar, an arch rogue; and owns that though he writes new books for the Parliament, yet he did declare that he did it only to get money; and did talk very basely of many of them. Among other things, W. Simons told me how his uncle Scobell<sup>3</sup> was on Saturday last called to the bar, for entering in the journal of the House for the year 1653, these words: 'This day his Excellence the Lord General Cromwell dissolved this House'; which words the Parliament voted a forgery, and demanded of him how they came to be entered. He answered that they were his own handwriting, and that he did it by virtue of his office, and the practice of his predecessor;<sup>4</sup> and that the intent of the practice was to let posterity know how such and such a Parliament was dissolved, whether by the command of the King, or by their own neglect, as the last House of Lords was; and that to this end, he had said and writ that it was dissolved by his Excellency the Lord

<sup>1</sup> Paulina, his sister.

<sup>2</sup> Declamations at St. Paul's School, in which there were opponents and respondents.

<sup>3</sup> Henry Scobell, clerk to the House of Commons.

<sup>4</sup> Henry Elsing.

G.; and that for the word dissolved, he never at the time did hear of any other term; and desired pardon if he would not dare to make a word himself what it was six years after, before they came themselves to call it an interruption; but they were so little satisfied with this answer, that they did choose a committee to report to the House, whether this crime of Mr. Scobell's did come within the Act of indemnity or no. Thence I went with Muddiman to the coffee-house, and gave 18*d.* to be entered of the Club. Thence into the Hall, where I heard for certain that Monk was coming to London, and that Bradshaw's<sup>1</sup> lodgings were preparing for him. I heard Sir. H. Vane<sup>2</sup> was this day voted out of the House, and to sit no more there; and that he would retire himself to his house at Raby,<sup>3</sup> as also all the rest of the nine officers, that had their commissions formerly taken away from them, were commanded to their furthest houses from London during the pleasure of the Parliament.

10th. Went out early, and in my way met with Greatorox, and at an alehouse he showed me the first sphere of wire that ever he made, and indeed it was very pleasant; thence to Mr. Crewe's and borrowed £10, and so to my office, and was able to pay my money. Thence into the Hall, and meeting the Quartermaster, Jennings, and Captain Rider, we went to a cook's to dinner. Thence Jennings and I into London (it being through heat of the sun a great thaw and dirty), to show our bills of return, and coming back drank a pint of wine at the Star in Cheapside. So to Westminster, overtaking Captain Okeshott in his silk cloak, whose sword got hold of many people in walking. Thence to the coffee-house, where were a great confluence of gentlemen: viz., Mr. Harrington,<sup>4</sup> Poultny,<sup>5</sup> chairman, Gold,<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> John Bradshaw, president of the High Court of Justice.

<sup>2</sup> Son of a statesman of both his names, and one of the most turbulent enthusiasts produced by the rebellion, and an inflexible republican. See *Diary*, 14th June 1662.

<sup>3</sup> Raby Castle, in Durham.

<sup>4</sup> James Harrington, the political writer, author of *Oceana*, and founder of a club called The Rota, in 1659, which met at Miles's coffee-house in Old Palace Yard, and lasted only a few months. In 1661 he was sent to the Tower on suspicion of treasonable designs. His intellect appears to have failed afterwards, and he died in 1667.

<sup>5</sup> Sir William Poultny, subsequently M.P. for Westminster, and a Commissioner of the Privy Seal under King William: *ob.* 1681.

<sup>6</sup> The merchant: see 20th January 1669, and the note there in which he is identified.

Dr. Petty,<sup>1</sup> &c., where admirable discourse till 9 at night. Thence with Doling to Mother Lam's, who told me how this day Scott<sup>2</sup> was made Intelligencer, and that the rest of the members that were objected against last night, their business was to be heard this day se'nnight.

11th. I went towards London, and in my way went in to see Crowley, who has now grown a very great loon and very tame. Thence to Mr. Stephen's with a pair of silver snuffers, and bought a pair of shears to cut silver, and so homeward again.

12th. I drank my morning draught at Harper's with Mr. Shepley and a seaman, and so to my office. After that I went home, and thence to the Half Moon, where I found the Captain and Mr. Billingsby and Mr. Newman, a barber, where we were very merry, and had the young man that plays so well on the Welsh harp. Billingsby paid for all.

13th. Coming in the morning to my office, I met with Mr. Fage, and took him to the Swan.<sup>3</sup> He told me how high Haselrigge<sup>4</sup> and Morley,<sup>5</sup> the last night began at my Lord Mayor's<sup>6</sup> to exclaim against the City of London, saying that they had forfeited their charter. And how the Chamberlain of the City did take them down, letting them know how much they were formerly beholding to the City, &c. He also told me that Monk's letter that came to them by the sword-bearer was a cunning piece, and that which they did not much trust to; but they were resolved to make no more applications to the Parliament, nor to pay any money, unless the secluded members be brought in, or a free Parliament chosen. Home again, and my wife was very unwilling to let me go forth, but with some discontent would go out if I did, and I going forth towards White Hall, I saw she followed me, and so I stayed and took her round through White Hall, and so carried her home angry. Thence I went to Mrs. Jem, and found

<sup>1</sup> Sir William Petty, an eminent physician, and celebrated for his proficiency in every branch of science: *ob.* 1687.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas Scott, M.P., made Secretary of State to the Commonwealth 17th January following.

<sup>3</sup> In Fenchurch Street.

<sup>4</sup> Sir Arthur Haselrigge, Bart., of Nosely, co. Leicester, and M.P. for that county; colonel of a regiment in the Parliament army, and much esteemed by Cromwell. In March following he was committed to the Tower, where he died January 1661.

<sup>5</sup> Probably Colonel Morley, Lieutenant of the Tower.

<sup>6</sup> Sir Thomas Allen, created a baronet at the Restoration. He was ruined by his expenses as lord mayor.



her up and merry, and that it did not prove the small-pox, but only the swine-pox; so I played a game or two at cards with her.

16th. In the morning I went up to Mr. Crewe's, who did talk to me concerning things of State; and expressed his mind how just it was that the secluded members should come to sit again. To my office, where nothing to do; but Mr. Downing came and found me all alone; and did mention to me his going back into Holland, and did ask me whether I would go or no, but gave me little encouragement, but bid me consider of it; and asked me whether I did not think that Mr. Hawley could perform the work of my office alone or no. I confess I was at a great loss all the day after to bethink myself how to carry this business. Home, where I found my wife and maid a-washing. I stayed up till the bell-man came by with his bell just under my window as I was writing of this very line, and cried, 'Past one of the clock, and a cold, frosty, windy morning.' I then went to bed and left my wife and the maid a-washing still.

17th. Early I went to Mr. Crewe's, and having given Mr. Edward money to give the servants, I took him into the coach that waited for us and carried him to my house, where the coach waited for me while I and the child went to Westminster Hall, and I bought him some pictures. In the Hall I met Mr. Woodfine, and took him to Will's and drank with him. Thence the child and I to the coach, where my wife was ready, and so we went towards Twickenham. In our way, at Kensington we understood how that my Lord Chesterfield<sup>1</sup> had killed another gentleman about half an hour before, and was fled. We went forwards and came about one of the clock to Mr. Fuller's, but he was out of town, so we had a dinner there, and I gave the child 40s. to give to the two ushers. After that we parted and went homewards, it being market day at Brentford. I set my wife down and went with the coach to Mr. Crewe's, thinking to have spoke with Mr. Moore and Mrs. Jem, he having told me the reason of his melancholy was some unkindness from her after so great expressions of love, and how he had spoke to her friends and had their consent, and that he would desire me to take an occasion. But he being out of doors, I went away and went to see Mrs. Jem, who was now very well again, and after a game or two at cards I left her. So I went to the coffee-club and heard very good discourse. Thence I went to Westminster, and met Shaw and Washington,<sup>2</sup> who told

<sup>1</sup> Philip Stanhope, second Earl of Chesterfield: *ob.* 1713.    <sup>2</sup> The purser.

me how this day Sydenham<sup>1</sup> was voted out of the House for sitting any more this Parliament, and that Salloway<sup>2</sup> was voted out likewise and sent to the Tower, during the pleasure of the House. At Harper's Jack Price told me, among other things, how much the Protector is altered, though he would seem to bear out his trouble very well, yet he is scarce able to talk sense with a man; and how he will say that, 'Who should a man trust, if he may not trust to a brother and an uncle';<sup>3</sup> and, 'how much those men have to answer before God Almighty for their playing the knave with him as they did.' He told me also that there was £100,000 offered, and would have been taken, for his restitution, had not the Parliament come in as they did again; and that he do believe that the Protector will live to give a testimony of his valour and revenge yet before he dies, and that the Protector will say so himself sometimes.

18th. To my office and from thence to Will's, and there Mr. Shepley brought me letters from the carrier and so I went home. After that to Wilkinson's, where we had a dinner for Mr. Tall ot, Adams, Pinkney, and his son, but his son did not come. After that we all went to my Lord's, whither came afterwards Mr. Harrison, and by chance seeing Mr. Butler coming by I called him in and so we sat drinking a bottle of wine till night. At which time Mistress Ann came with the keys of my Lord's study for some things, and so we all broke up, and after I had gone to my house and interpreted my Lord's letter by his character<sup>4</sup> I came to her again and went with her to her lodging and from thence to Mr. Crewe's, where I advised with him what to do about my Lord's lodgings and what answer to give to Sir Anthony Cooper, and so I came home and to bed. All the world is at a loss to think what Monk will do: the City saying that he will be for them, and the Parliament saying he will be for them.

<sup>1</sup> Colonel William Sydenham had been an active officer during the Civil Wars on the Parliament side; M.P. for Dorsetshire, Governor of Melcombe, and one of the Committee of Safety. He was the elder brother of the celebrated physician of that name.

<sup>2</sup> In the Journals of that date, Major Richard Salvey. Colonel Salvey is mentioned as a prisoner in the Tower, 1663-4, in Bayley's history of that fortress.

<sup>3</sup> Charles Fleetwood, Lord Deputy of Ireland during the Usurpation, became Cromwell's son-in-law by his marrying with Ireton's widow, and a member of the Council of State.

<sup>4</sup> i.e. in cipher.

19th. This morning I was sent for to Mr. Downing, and at his bedside he told me, that he had a kindness for me, and that he thought that he had done me one; and that was, that he had got me to be one of the Clerks of the Council; at which I was a little stumbled, and could not tell what to do, whether to thank him or no; but by and by I did; but not very heartily, for I feared that his doing of it was only to ease himself of the salary <sup>1</sup> to which he gives me. I read the answer of the Dutch Ambassador <sup>2</sup> to our State, in answer to the reasons of my Lord's coming home, which he gave for his coming, and did labour to contradict my Lord's arguments for his coming home. Mr. Moore and I went to the French ordinary, where Mr. Downing this day feasted Sir Arthur Haselrigge and a great many more of the Parliament, and did stay to put him in mind of me. Here he gave me a note to go and invite some other members to dinner tomorrow. So I went to White Hall, and did stay at Marsh's with Simons, Luellin, and all the rest of the Clerks of the Council, who I hear are all turned out, only the two Leighs, and they do all tell me that my name was mentioned last night, but that nothing was done in it.

20th. In the morning I went to Mr. Downing's bed-side and gave him an account of what I had done as to his guests, and I went thence to my Lord Widdrington <sup>3</sup> who I met in the street, going to seal the patents for the Judges today, and so could not come to dinner. At noon went by water with Mr. Mayl<sup>d</sup> and Hales to the Swan in Fish Street at our Coal Feast, where we were very merry at our jowl of ling, and from thence after a great and good dinner Mr. Falconberge would go drink a cup of ale. To Westminster Hall, where Mrs. Lane and the rest of the maids had their white scarfs, all having been at the burial of a young bookseller in the Hall.<sup>4</sup> This day, three citizens of London<sup>5</sup> went to meet Monk from the Common Council.

<sup>1</sup> Of £50.

<sup>2</sup> Nieupoort.

<sup>3</sup> Sir Thomas Widdrington, sergeant-at-law, one of Cromwell's Commissioners of the Treasury, appointed Speaker 1656, and first Commissioner for the Great Seal, January 1659; he was M.P. for York.

<sup>4</sup> Several old views of the hall represent the bookstalls. These stationers and booksellers, whose shops disfigured Westminster Hall down to a late period, were a privileged class. Probably they were useful to the lawyers, and were therefore protected. In the statutes for appointing licensers and regulating the press there is a clause exempting them from the pains and penalties of those obnoxious laws.

<sup>5</sup> Alderman Fowke and Alderman Vincett, *alias* Vincent, and Mr. Broomfield.

21st. I went to Mr. Downing who chid me because I did not give him notice of some of his guests failed him; but I told him that I sent our porter to tell him and he was not within, but he told me that he was within till past twelve o'clock. So the porter or he lied. With Mr. Hawley into London to Mr. Vernon's, and I received my £25 due by bill for my trooper's pay. At the Mitre, in Fleet Street, in our way calling on Mr. Fage, who told me how the City have some hopes of Monk. This day Lenthall<sup>1</sup> took his chair again and [the House] resolved a declaration to be brought in on Monday, to satisfy the world what they intend to do.

22d. I went in the morning to Mr. Mossum's where I met with Mr. Thorburn and sat in his pew. A very eloquent sermon about the duty of all to give good example in our lives and conversation, which I fear he himself was most guilty of not doing. After sermon, at the door by appointment my wife met me, and so to my father's to dinner, where we had not been to my shame in a fortnight before. After dinner my father showed me a letter from Mr. Widdrington, of Christ's College in Cambridge, wherein he do express very great kindness for my brother, and my father intends that my brother shall go to him. To church in the afternoon to Mr. Herring,<sup>2</sup> where a lazy, poor sermon. This day I began to put on buckles to my shoes, which I have bought yesterday of Mr. Wotton.

23d. In the morning called out to carry £20 to Mr. Downing, which I did and came back, and finding Mr. Pierce,<sup>3</sup> the surgeon, I took him to the Axe and gave him his morning draught. Thence to my office, came home and found my wife dressing of the girl's head, by which she was made to look very pretty. Thence I went out and paid Waters the vintner, and went to see Mrs. Jem, where I found my Lady Wright, but Scott was so drunk that he could not be seen. Thence to Westminster Hall, it being very dark. I paid Mrs. Michell, my bookseller, and back to White Hall, and in the garden, going through to the Stone Gallery, I fell into a ditch, it being very dark. At the clerk's chamber I met with Simons and Luellin, and went with them to Mr. Mount's chamber at the Cockpit, where we had some rare pot venison, and ale to abundance till

<sup>1</sup> William Lenthall, Speaker of the Long or Rump Parliament, and made Keeper of the Great Seal to the Commonwealth: *ob.* 1662.

<sup>2</sup> John Herring, a Presbyterian minister, who was afterwards ejected from St. Bride's, in Fleet Street.

<sup>3</sup> James Pierce, surgeon to the Duke of York; he was husband of the pretty Mrs. Pierce, and not Pierce the purser.

almost twelve at night, and after a song round we went home. This day the Parliament sat late, and resolved of the declaration to be printed for the people's satisfaction, promising them a great many good things.

24th. In the morning to my office, where, after I had drank my morning draught at Will's with Ethell and Mr. Stevens, I went and told part of the excise money till twelve o'clock, and then called on my wife, and took her to Mrs. Pierce's, she in her way being exceedingly troubled with a pair of new pattens, and I vexed to go so slow, it being late. We found Mrs. Carrick very fine, and one Mr. Lucy, who called one another husband and wife, and after dinner a great deal of mad stir. There was pulling off Mrs. bride's and Mr. bridegroom's ribbons,<sup>1</sup> and a great deal of fooling among them that I and my wife did not like. Mr. Lucy and several other gentlemen coming in after dinner, swearing and singing as if they were mad, only he singing very handsomely. There came in afterwards Mr. Southerne, clerk to Mr. Blackburne,<sup>2</sup> and with him Lambert, lieutenant of my Lord's ship, and brought with them the declaration that came out today from the Parliament, wherein they declare for law and gospel, and for tithes; but I do not find people apt to believe them. After this taking leave I went to my father's, and my wife staying there, he and I went to speak with Mr. Crumlum;<sup>3</sup> he gave my father directions what to do about getting my brother an exhibition, and spoke very well of my brother. Thence back with my father home, where he and I spoke privately in the little room to my sister Pall about stealing of things as my wife's scissors and my maid's book, at which my father was much troubled. This day the Parliament gave orders that the late Committee of Safety should come before them this day se'nnight, and all their papers, and their model of Government that they had made, to be brought in with them.

25th. Coming home, heard that in Cheapside there had been

<sup>1</sup> The scramble for ribbons, here mentioned by Pepys in connection with weddings, doubtless formed part of the ceremony of undressing the bridegroom, which, as the age become more refined, fell into disuse. Lady Fanshawe, in her *Memoirs*, says that at the nuptials of Charles II and the Infanta 'the Bishop of London declared them married in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; and then they caused the ribbons Her Majesty wore to be cut in little pieces; and as far as they would go, every one had some.'

<sup>2</sup> Robert Blackburne, then Secretary to the Admiralty, with a salary of £250.

<sup>3</sup> Samuel Cromleholme, or Crumlum, master of St. Paul's School.

but a little before a gibbet set up, and the picture of Hewson<sup>1</sup> hung upon it in the middle of the street. I called at Paul's Church-yard, where I bought Buxtorf's Hebrew Grammar; and read a declaration of the gentlemen of Northampton which came out this afternoon. To Mr. Crewe's about a picture to be sent into the country, of Mr. Thomas Crewe, to my Lord. So to my Lady Wright to speak with her, but she was abroad, so Mr. Evans, her butler, had me in to his buttery and gave me sack and a lesson on his lute, which he played very well. Hence I went to my Lord's and got most things ready against tomorrow, as fires and laying the cloth, and my wife was making of her tarts and larding of her pullets till eleven o'clock.

26th. Called for some papers at Whitehall for Mr. Downing, one of which was an Order of the Council for £1800 per annum, to be paid monthly; and the other two, Orders to the Commissioners of Customs to let his goods pass free. Home from my office to my Lord's lodgings, where my wife had got ready a very fine dinner—viz. a dish of marrow-bones, a leg of mutton, a loin of veal, a dish of fowl, three pullets, and two dozen of larks all in a dish; a great tart, a neat's tongue, a dish of anchovies, a dish of prawns and cheese. My company was my father, my uncle Fenner, his two sons, Mr. Pierce, and all their wives, and my brother Tom. We were as merry as I could frame myself to be in the company; W. Joyce, talking after the old rate and drinking hard, vexed his father and mother and wife. And I did perceive that Mrs. Pierce her coming so gallant, that it put the two young women quite out of courage. When it became dark they all went away but Mr. Pierce and W. Joyce and their wives and Tom, and drunk a bottle of wine afterwards, so that Will did heartily vex his father and mother by staying. At which I and my wife were much pleased. The news this day is a letter that speaks absolutely Monk's concurrence with this Parliament, and nothing else, which yet I hardly believe.

27th. Going to my office I met with Tom Newton, my old comrade, and took him to the Crown in the Palace and gave him his morning draught. Here I stayed talking with him till the offices were all shut, and then I walked in the Hall, and was told by my bookseller, Mrs. Michell, that Mr. G. Montagu had enquired there

<sup>1</sup> John Hewson, who, from a low origin, became a colonel in the Parliament army, and sat in judgment on the king: he escaped hanging, by flight, and died in 1662, at Amsterdam.

for me. So I went to his house, and was forced by him to dine with him, and had a plenteous brave dinner and the greatest civility that ever I had from any man. Coming home again, my wife told me that Mr. Hawley had been there to speak with me, and seemed angry that I had not been at the office that day, and she told me she was afraid that Mr. Downing may have a mind to pick some hole in my coat. So I made haste to him, but found no such thing from him.

28th. I went to Mr. Downing, who told me that he was resolved to be gone for Holland this morning. So I to my office again, and dispatch my business there, and came with Mr. Hawley to Mr. Downing's lodging, and took Mr. Squib from White Hall in a coach thither with me, and there we waited in his chamber a great while till he came in; and in the meantime sent all his things to the barge that lay at Charing Cross stairs. Then came he in, and took a very civil leave of me, beyond my expectation, for I was afraid that he would have told me something of removing me from my office; but he did not, but that he would do me any service that lay in his power. So I went down, and sent a porter to my house for my best fur cap, but he coming too late with it, I did not present it to him. Thence I went to Westminster Hall and bound up my cap at Mrs. Michell's, who was much taken with my cap, and endeavoured to overtake the coach at the Exchange and to give it him there, but I met with one that told me that he was gone; and so I returned and went to Heaven,<sup>1</sup> where Luellin and I dined.

29th. In the morning I went to Mr. Gunning's, where he made an excellent sermon upon the 2d of the Galatians, about the difference that fell between St. Paul and St. Peter (the feast day of St. Paul being a day or two ago), whereby he did prove that, contrary to the doctrine of the Roman Church, St. Paul did never own any dependence, or that he was inferior to St. Peter, but that they were equal, only one a particular charge of preaching to the Jews, and the other to the Gentiles. Casting up my accounts, I do find myself to be worth £40 and more, which I did not think, but am afraid that I have forgot something.

30th. This morning, before I was up, I fell a-singing of my song, 'Great, good, and just,' &c., and put myself thereby in mind that this was the fatal day, now ten years since, His Majesty

<sup>1</sup> A place of entertainment in Old Palace Yard, on the site of which the committee rooms of the House of Commons now stand. It is called in *Hudibras*, 'False Heaven at the end o' th' Hall.'

died. To my office, where I received money of the excise of Mr. Ruddier, and after we had done went to Will's and stayed there till three o'clock, and then taking my £12 10s. 0d. due to me for my last quarter's salary, I went with them by water to London to the house where Signor Torriano used to be and stayed there awhile with Mr. Ashwell, Spicer, and Ruddier. Then I went and paid £12 17s. 6d. due from me to Captain Dick Matthews. After that I came back by water playing on my flageolet. There seems now to be a general cease of talk, it being taken for granted that Monk do resolve to stand to the Parliament, and nothing else.

31st. After dinner to Westminster Hall, where all we clerks had orders to wait upon the Committee at the Star Chamber that is to try Colonel Jones,<sup>1</sup> and to give an account what money we had paid him; but the Committee did not sit to-day. I bought the answer to General Monk's letter, which is a very good one, and I keep it by me. Thence to Mrs. Jem, where I found her maid in bed in a fit of the ague, and Mrs. Jem among the people below at work, and by and by she came up hot and merry, as if they had given her wine, at which I was troubled, but said nothing; after a game at cards, I went home. Called in at Harper's and drank with Mr. Pulsford, servant to Mr. Waterhouse,<sup>2</sup> who tells me, that whereas my Lord Fleetwood should have answered to the Parliament to-day, he wrote a letter and desired a little more time, he being a great way out of town. And how that he is quite ashamed of himself, and confesses how he had deserved this, for his baseness to his brother. And that he is like to pay part of the money, paid out of the Exchequer during the Committee of Safety, out of his own purse again, which I am glad on. I could find nothing in Mr. Downing's letter, which Hawley brought me, concerning my office; but I could discern that Hawley had a mind that I would get to be Clerk of the Council, I suppose that he might have the greater salary; but I think it not safe yet to change this for a public employment.

February 1st. In the morning went to my office. At noon I went home and dined with my wife on pease porridge and nothing else. Took Gammer East, and James the porter, a soldier, to my Lord's lodgings, who told me how they were drawn into the field today, and that they were ordered to march away tomorrow, to

<sup>1</sup> Colonel John Jones, impeached, with General Ludlow and Miles Corbett, for treasonable practices in Ireland.

<sup>2</sup> Probably Edward Waterhouse, an heraldic and miscellaneous writer.



make room for General Monk; but they did shout their Colonel Fitch<sup>1</sup> and the rest of the officers out of the field, and swore they would not go without their money, and if they would not give it them, they would go where they might have it, and that was the City. So the Colonel went to the Parliament, and commanded what money could be got, to be got against tomorrow for them and all the rest of the soldiers in town, who in all places made a mutiny this day, and do agree together. Here I took some bedding to send to Mrs. Ann for her to lie in now she hath her fits of ague. Thence I went to Will's and stayed like a fool there and played at cards till nine o'clock and so came home, where I found Mr. Hunt and his wife who stayed and sat with me till ten, and so good night.

2d. To my office, where I found all the officers of the regiments in town waiting to receive money, that their soldiers might go out of town, and what was in the Exchequer they had. Harper, Luellin, and I went to the Temple, to Mr. Calthrop's chamber, and from thence had his man by water to London Bridge, to Mr. Calthrop, a grocer, and received £60 for my Lord. In our way, we talked with our waterman, White, who told us how the watermen had lately been abused by some that had a desire to get in to be watermen to the State, and had lately presented an address of nine or ten thousand hands to stand by this Parliament, when it was only told them that it was to a petition against hackney coaches; and that today they had put out another, to undeceive the world and to clear themselves. After I had received the money we went to the Bridge Tavern and drank a quart of wine, and so back by water, landing Mr. Calthrop's man at the Temple, and we went homewards; but over against Somerset House, hearing the noise of guns, we landed and found the Strand full of soldiers. So I took my money and went to Mrs. Johnson, my Lord's seamstress, and giving her my money to lay up, Doling and I went upstairs to a window, and looked out and saw the Foot face the Horse and beat them back, and stood bawling and calling in the street for a free Parliament and money. By and by a drum was heard to beat a march coming towards them, and they got all ready again and faced them, and they proved to be of the same mind with them; and so they made a great deal of joy to see one another. After all this I took my money and went home on foot

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Fitch, colonel of a regiment of foot in 1658, M.P. for Inverness; he was also Lieutenant of the Tower.

and laid up my money, and changing my stockings and shoes, I having this day left off my great skirt suit, and put on my white suit, with silver lace coat,<sup>1</sup> and went over to Harper's, where I met with W. Simons, Doling, Luellin, and three merchants, one of which had occasion to use a porter, so they sent for one, and James the soldier came, who told us how they had been all day and night upon their guard at St. James's, and that through the whole town they did resolve to stand to what they had began, and that tomorrow he did believe they would go into the City, and be received there. After this we went to a sport, called selling of a horse, for a dish of eggs and herrings, and sat talking there till almost twelve at night.

3d. Drank my morning draught at Harper's and was told there that the soldiers were all quiet upon promise of pay. Thence to St. James's Park, back to White Hall, where in a guard-chamber I saw about thirty or forty prentices of the City, who were taken at twelve o'clock last night, and brought prisoners hither. Thence to my office, where I paid a little more money to some of the soldiers under Lieut.-Col. Miller (who held out the Tower against the Parliament, after it was taken away from Fitch by the Committee of Safety, and yet he continued in his office). About noon, Mrs. Turner<sup>2</sup> came to speak with me and Joyce, and I took them and showed them the manner of the Houses sitting, the doorkeeper very civilly opening the door for us. Thence with my cousin Roger Pepys to Prior's the Rhenish wine-house, and there had a pint or two of wine and a dish of anchovies, and bespoke three or four dozen bottles of wine for him against his wedding. After this done he went away. So we called for nothing more there, but went and bespoke a shoulder of mutton at Wilkinson's to be roasted as well as it could be done, and sent a bottle of wine home to my house. In the meantime she and I and Joyce went walking all over White Hall, whither General Monk was newly come, and we saw all his forces march by in very good plight, and stout officers. Thence to my house where we dined, but with a great deal of patience, for the mutton came in raw, and so we were fain to stay the stewing of it. It growing dark, I and they to take a turn in the Park, where Theoph. (she was sent for to us to dinner)

<sup>1</sup> Pepys's father was a tailor, whence perhaps the importance he attaches throughout the *Diary* to dress; it is evidently more than vanity.

<sup>2</sup> Jane, daughter of John Pepys, of South Creake, Norfolk, married to John Turner, sergeant-at-law; their only child, Theophila, frequently mentioned as The. or Theoph., became the wife of Sir Arthur Harris, Bart., of Stowford, Devon, and died *s.p.*

outran my wife and another poor woman that laid a pot of ale with me that she would outrun her.

4th. In the morning at my lute an hour, and so to my office. At noon walking in the Hall I found Mr. Swan and got him and Captain Stone together, and there advised about Mr. Downing's business. So to Will's and sat there till three o'clock, and then to Mr. Swan's where I found his wife in very genteel mourning for her father, and took him out by water to the Temple, and from thence to Gray's Inn, thinking to speak with Sotherton Ellis, but found him not, so we met with an acquaintance of his, and went and drank, where I ate some bread and butter while they were by chance discoursing of Marriott, the great eater, so that I was, I remember, ashamed to eat what I would have done. I met with Spicer in Lincoln's Inn Court, buying of a hanging-jack to roast birds upon. My wife killed her turkeys that came out of Zealand with my Lord, and could not get her maid Jane by no means at any time to kill anything.

5th. (Lord's day.) In the morning to Mr. Gunning, where a stranger, an old man, preached a good honest sermon. To church in the afternoon, and in Mrs. Turner's pew my wife took up a good black hood and kept it. A stranger preached a poor sermon, and so I read over the whole book of the story of Tobit. Before going to bed I stayed writing of this day its passages, while a drum came by, beating of a strange manner of beat, now and then a single stroke, which my wife and I wondered at, what the meaning of it should be. This afternoon at church I saw Dick Cumberland<sup>1</sup> newly come out of the country from his living, but did not speak to him.

6th. To Westminster, where we found the soldiers all set in the Palace Yard, to make way for General Monk to come to the House. I stood upon the steps, and saw Monk go by, he making observance to the judges as he went along. At noon my father dined with me upon my turkey that was brought from Denmark. After dinner I to Mrs. Ann, and Mrs. Jem being gone out of the chamber, she and I had a very high bout. I rattled her up, she being in her bed, but she becoming more cool, we parted pretty good friends. Thence I went to Will's, where I stayed at cards till ten o'clock, losing half-a-crown, and so home and to bed.

7th. Went to Paul's School, where he that made the speech for the seventh form in praise of the Founder<sup>2</sup> did show a book which

<sup>1</sup> Bishop of Peterborough from 1691 to his death in 1719.

<sup>2</sup> John Colet, Dean of St. Paul's.

Mr. Crumlum had lately got, which he believed to be of the Founder's own writing. After the speeches, in which my brother John came off as well as any of the rest, I went straight home and dined; then to the Hall, where in the Palace I saw Monk's soldiers abuse Billing and all the Quakers, that were at a meeting-place there, and indeed the soldiers did use them very roughly, and were to blame. This day, Mr. Crewe told me that my Lord St. John<sup>1</sup> is for a free Parliament, and that he is very great with Monk, who hath now the absolute command and power to do anything that he hath a mind to do. Boys do now cry 'Kiss my Parliament' instead of 'Kiss my rump,' so great and general a contempt is the Rump come to among all the good and bad.

8th. A little practice on my flageolet, and afterwards walking in my yard to see my stock of pigeons, which begin now with the spring to breed very fast. My wife's brother brought her a pretty black dog, which I liked very well, and went away again. To the Temple and thence to my father's, and about nine o'clock I went away homewards, and in Fleet Street received a great jostle from a man that had a mind to take the wall, which I could not help. Went to bed with my head not well by my too much drinking today, and I had a boil under my chin which troubled me cruelly.

9th. Before I was out of my bed, I heard the soldiers very busy in the morning, getting their horses ready when they lay at Hilton's, but I knew not then their meaning in so doing. In the Hall I understand how Monk is this morning gone into London with his army; and Mr. Fage told me that he do believe that Monk is gone to secure some of the Common Council of the City, who were very high yesterday there, and did vote that they would not pay any taxes till the House was filled up. I went to my office, where I wrote to my Lord after I had been at the Upper Bench, where Sir Robert Pye this morning came to desire his discharge from the Tower; but it could not be granted.<sup>2</sup> To Westminster

<sup>1</sup> Oliver St. John, of Lamport, Northamptonshire, Solicitor-General in 1640, and afterwards Lord Chief Justice of the Upper Bench.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Robert Pye the elder was son-in-law to Hampden, and Colonel of Horse under Fairfax. The son, here spoken of, was subsequently committed to the Tower for presenting a petition to the House of Commons from the county of Berks, which he represented in Parliament, complaining of the want of a settled form of government. Upon Monk's coming to London the secluded members passed a vote to liberate Pye, and at the Restoration he was appointed equerry to the king. He died in 1701.

Hall, where I heard an action very finely pleaded between my Lord Dorset<sup>1</sup> and some other noble persons, his lady and other ladies of quality being there, and it was about £330 per annum that was to be paid to a poor Spital, which was given by some of his predecessors; and given on his side.<sup>2</sup> I called at Mr. Harper's, who told me how Monk had this day clapped up many of the Common Council, and that the Parliament had voted that he should pull down their gates and portcullises, their posts and their chains, which he do intend to do, and do lie in the City all night. I went home and got some alum to my mouth, where I have the beginnings of a cancer, and had also a plaster to a boil underneath my chin.

10th. In the morning I went to Mr. Swan, who took me to the Court of Wards, where I saw the three Lords Commissioners sitting upon some cause where Mr. Scobell was concerned, and my Lord Fountain took him up very roughly about some things that he said. Went into London to Mr. Fage about the cancer in my mouth, which begins to grow dangerous. He told me what Monk had done in the City, how he had pulled down the most part of the gates and chains that they could break down, and that he was now gone back to White Hall. The City look mighty blank, and cannot tell what in the world to do; the Parliament having this day ordered that the Common Council sit no more, but that new ones be chosen, according to what qualifications they shall give them.

11th. This morning I lay long abed, and then to my office, where I read all the morning my Spanish book of Rome. At noon I walked in the Hall where I heard the news of a letter from Monk, who was now gone into the City again, and did resolve to stand for the sudden filling up of the House, and it was very strange how the countenance of men in the Hall was all changed with joy in half an hour's time. So I went up to the lobby, where I saw the Speaker reading of the letter; and after it was read Sir A. Haselrigge came out very angry, and Billing, standing at the door, took him by the arm, and cried, 'Thou man, will thy beast carry thee no longer? thou must fall!' The House presently after rose. I went then down into the Hall where I met with Mr. Cherwind, who had not dined no more than myself, and so we went toward London, in

<sup>1</sup> Richard Sackville, fifth Earl of Dorset: *ob.* 1677.

<sup>2</sup> This was the Sackville College for the poor, at East Grinstead, founded by Robert Sackville, second Earl of Dorset, who died in 1609.

our way calling at two or three shops, but could have no dinner. At last, within Temple Bar, we found a pullet ready roasted, and there we dined. After that he went to his office, where I sat in his study singing, while he was with his man. Thence we took coach for the City to Guildhall, where the Hall was full of people expecting Monk and Lord Mayor to come thither, and all very joyful. Met Monk coming out of the chamber where he had been with the Mayor and Aldermen, but such a shout I never heard in all my life, crying out, 'God bless your Excellency!' Here I met with Mr. Locke,<sup>1</sup> and took him to an alehouse. Hence we went to a merchant's house hard by, where I saw Sir Nich. Crisp,<sup>2</sup> and so we went to the Star tavern (Monk being then at Benson's). In Cheapside there was a great many bonfires, and Bow bells and all the bells in all the churches as we went home were a-ringing. Hence we went homewards, it being about ten at night. But the common joy that was everywhere to be seen! The number of bonfires, there being fourteen between St. Dunstan's and Temple Bar, and at Strand Bridge<sup>3</sup> I could at one view tell thirty-one fires. In King Street seven or eight; and all along, burning, and roasting, and drinking for rumps. There being rumps tied upon sticks and carried up and down. The butchers at the maypole in the Strand<sup>4</sup> rang a peal with their knives when they were going to sacrifice their rump. On Ludgate Hill there was one turning of the spit that had a rump tied upon it, and another basting of it. Indeed it was past imagination, both the greatness and the suddenness of it. At one end of the street you would think there was a whole lane of fire, and so hot that we were fain to keep on the further side.

12th. In the morning, it being Lord's day, to White Hall, where Dr. Holmes<sup>5</sup> preached; but I stayed not to hear, but walking in the court, I heard that Sir Arthur Haselrigge was newly gone

<sup>1</sup> Matthew Locke, the celebrated composer.

<sup>2</sup> An eminent merchant, and one of the Farmers of the Customs. He had advanced large sums to assist Charles I, and was created a baronet by Charles II (1665). He died February 1666, aged sixty-six, and was buried in the church of St. Mildred, Bread Street.

<sup>3</sup> Described in Maitland's History of London as a handsome bridge crossing the Strand, near the east end of Catherine Street, under which a small stream glided from the fields into the Thames, near Somerset House.

<sup>4</sup> Where stands the church of St. Mary-le-Strand.

<sup>5</sup> Nathaniel Holmes, D.D., of Exeter College, Oxford. He was the intruding incumbent of St. Mary Staining, London, and ejected by the Act of Uniformity, and died in 1678.

into the City to Monk, and that Monk's wife<sup>1</sup> removed from White Hall last night. After dinner I heard that Monk had been at Paul's in the morning, and the people had shouted much at his coming out of the church. In the afternoon he was at a church in Broad Street, whereabout he do lodge. To my father's, where Charles Glasscock was overjoyed to see how things are now; who told me the boys had last night broke Barebones' <sup>2</sup> windows.

13th. This day Monk was invited to White Hall to dinner by my Lords; not seeming willing, he would not come. I went to Mr. Fage from my father's, who had been this afternoon with Monk, who did promise to live and die with the City, and for the honour of the City; and indeed the City is very open-handed to the soldiers, that they are most of them drunk all day and had money given them.

14th. My wife, hearing Mr. Moore's voice in my dressing chamber, got herself ready and came down and challenged him for her Valentine, this being the day. To Westminster Hall, there being many new remonstrances and declarations from many counties to Monk and the City, and one coming from the North from Sir Thomas Fairfax.<sup>3</sup> I heard that the Parliament had now changed the oath so much talked of to a promise; and that, among other qualifications for the members that are to be chosen, one is that no man, nor the son of any man, that hath been in arms during the life of the father, shall be capable of being chosen to sit in Parliament. To Will's where like a fool I stayed and lost 6*d.* at cards. This day, by an order of the House, Sir H. Vane was sent out of town to his house in Lincolnshire.

15th. To Mr. Crewe's, where the dining-room being full, Mr. Walgrave and I dined below in the buttery by ourselves upon a good dish of buttered salmon. No news today, but all quiet to see what the Parliament will do about the issuing of the writs tomorrow for the filling up of the House, according to Monk's desire.

<sup>1</sup> Anne Clarges, daughter of a blacksmith, and bred a milliner; mistress and afterwards wife of General Monk, over whom she exercised the greatest influence.

<sup>2</sup> Praise-God Barebones, an active member of the Parliament called by his name. He had lately appeared at the head of a band of fanatics.

<sup>3</sup> Thomas Lord Fairfax, mentioned before. He had succeeded to the Scotch Barony of Fairfax, of Cameron, on the death of his father, in 1648; even after his accession to the title he is frequently styled 'Sir Thomas' in the pamphlets and papers of the day.

16th. I met with Osborne and with Shaw and Spicer, and we went to the Sun tavern in expectation of a dinner, where we had sent us only two trencherfuls of meat, at which we were very merry, and here we stayed till seven at night, I winning a quart of sack of Shaw that one trencherful was all lamb, and he that it was veal. I by having but 3*d.* in my pocket made shift to spend no more, whereas if I had had more I had spent more as the rest did, so that I see it is an advantage to a man to carry little in his pocket.

17th. To Westminster Hall, where I heard that some of the members of the House was gone to meet some of the secluded members and General Monk in the City. Hence to White Hall, thinking to hear more news, where I met with Mr. Hunt, who told me how Monk had sent for all his goods that he had here into the City; and yet again he told me, that some of the members of the House had this day laid in firing into their lodgings at White Hall for a good while, so that we are at a great stand to think what will become of things, whether Monk will stand to the Parliament or no.

18th. A great while at my viol and voice, learning to sing 'Fly boy, fly boy' without book. This day two soldiers were hanged in the Strand for their late mutiny at Somerset House.

19th. (Lord's day.) To Mr. Gunning's, and heard an excellent sermon, and he did there speak largely in commendation of widowhood, and not as we do to marry two or three wives one after another. Here I met with Mr. Moore, and went home with him to dinner, where he told me the discourse that happened between the secluded members and the members of the House, before Monk, last Friday. That there is great likelihood that the secluded members will come in, and so Mr. Crewe and my Lord are likely to be great men, at which I was very glad. Hence home and brought my wife to Mr. Mossum's<sup>1</sup> to hear him, and indeed he made a very good sermon, but only too eloquent for a pulpit. After sermon to my father's, and so home, and it raining my wife got my mother's French mantle and my brother John's hat, and so we went all along home and to bed.

20th. I went forth to Westminster Hall, where I met with Chetwind, Simons, and Gregory.<sup>2</sup> They told me how the Speaker

<sup>1</sup> This was in all probability Robert Mossum, author of several sermons preached at London, and printed about the time of the Restoration, who was in 1666 made Bishop of Derry.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Gregory was, in 1672, clerk of the Cheque at Chatham.



Lenthall do refuse to sign the writs for choice of new members in the place of the excluded; and by that means the writs could not go out today. In the evening, Simons and I to the coffee-club, where I heard Mr. Harrington and my Lord of Dorset and another Lord talking of getting another place at the Cockpit, and they did believe it would come to something. The club broke up very poorly, and I do not think they will meet any more.

21st. In the morning I saw many soldiers going towards Westminster Hall to admit the secluded members again. So I to Westminster Hall, and in Chancery Row I saw about twenty of them who had been at White Hall with General Monk, who came thither this morning and made a speech to them, and recommended to them a Commonwealth and against Charles Stuart. They sat till noon, and at their coming out Mr. Crewe saw me, and bid me come to his house and dine with him, which I did; and he very joyful told me that the House had made General Monk General of all the Forces in England, Scotland, and Ireland; and that upon Monk's desire, for the service that Lawson had lately done in pulling down the Committee of Safety, he had the command of the Sea for the time being. He advised me to send for my Lord forthwith, and told me that there is no question that, if he will, he may now be employed again; and that the House do intend to do nothing more than to issue writs, and to settle a foundation for a free Parliament. After dinner I back to Westminster Hall with him in his coach. Here I met with Mr. Locke and Purcell,<sup>1</sup> Masters of Music, and with them to the Coffee House, into a room next the water, by ourselves, where we spent an hour or two till Captain Taylor came and told us that the House had voted the gates of the City to be made up again and the members of the City<sup>2</sup> that are in prison to be set at liberty; and that Sir G. Booth's<sup>3</sup> case be brought into the House tomorrow. Here we had variety of brave Italian and Spanish songs, and a canon for eight voices, which Mr. Locke had lately made on these words: 'Domine salvum fac Regem,' an admirable thing. Here out of the window it was a most pleasant sight to see the City from one end to the other with a glory about it, so high was the light

<sup>1</sup> Henry Purcell, father or uncle of the celebrated Henry Purcell, who was born in 1658.

<sup>2</sup> Richard Brown, William Wilde, John Robinson, and William Vincent.

<sup>3</sup> Sir George Booth, Bart., of Dunham Massey, then a prisoner in the Tower, from which he was released the next day. In 1661 he was created Baron Delamer for his services to the king.

of the bonfires, and so thick round the City, and the bells rang everywhere. Mr. Fuller, of Christ's, told me very freely the temper of Mr. Widdrington,<sup>1</sup> how he did oppose all the fellows in the College, and feared it would be little to my brother's advantage to be his pupil.

22d. Walking in the Hall, I saw Major-General Brown,<sup>2</sup> who had a long time been banished by the Rump, but now, with his beard overgrown, he comes abroad and sat in the House. To my father's to dinner, where nothing but a small dish of powdered [i.e. salted] beef and dish of carrots. After dinner, my wife staying there, I went to Mr. Crewe's, and so to Mrs. Jemimah, who hath now her instrument about her neck, and indeed is infinitely altered, and holds her head upright. To White Hall, where I met with Will Symons and Mr. Mabbot at Marsh's, who told me how the House had this day voted that the gates of the City should be set up at the cost of the State; and that Major-General Brown's being proclaimed a traitor be made void, and several other things of that nature. I observed this day how abominably Barebones' windows are broke again last night.

23d. Thursday, my birthday, now twenty-seven years. To Westminster Hall, where, after the House rose, I met with Mr. Crewe, who told me that my Lord was chosen by 73 voices to be one of the Council of State. Mr. Pierpoint<sup>3</sup> had the most, 101, and himself the next, 100.

24th. I rose very early, and taking horse at Scotland Yard, at Mr. Garthwayt's stable, I rode to Mr. Pierce's, and in a quarter of an hour, leaving his wife in bed (with whom Mr. Lucy methought was very free as she lay in bed) we both mounted, and so set forth about seven of the clock, the day and the way very foul. We overtook Mr. Blayton, and at Puckridge we baited, where we had a loin of mutton fried. Then up again and as far as Foulmer, within six miles of Cambridge, my mare being almost tired; here

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Ralph Widdrington, having been ejected from his Fellowship by the Master and Fellows of Christ's College, Cambridge, 28th October 1661, sued out a mandamus to be restored to it; and the matter being referred to commissioners—the Bishop of London, the Lord Chancellor, and some of the Judges—he obtained restitution (Kennett's *Register*, p. 552).

<sup>2</sup> Richard Brown, a major-general of the Parliament forces, Governor of Abingdon, and Member for London in the Long Parliament, who had been imprisoned by the Rump faction.

<sup>3</sup> William Pierrepont, M.P. for Thoresby, second son to Robert, first Earl of Kingston: *ob.* 1679, aged seventy-one.

we lay at the Chequer. I lay with Mr. Pierce, who we left here the next morning, upon his going to Hinchingbroke,<sup>1</sup> to speak with my Lord before his going to London, and we two come to Cambridge.

25th. By eight o'clock in the morning to the Falcon in the Petty Cury where we found my father and brother very well. My father, brother, and I to Mr. Widdrington, at Christ's College, who received us very civilly, and caused my brother to be admitted. My father and brother went to visit some friends, Pepys, scholars in Cambridge, while I went to Magdalene College, to Mr. Hill,<sup>2</sup> with whom I found Mr. Zanchy,<sup>3</sup> Burton,<sup>4</sup> and Hollins, and was exceeding civilly received by them. I took my leave on promise to sup with them. A very handsome supper at Mr. Hill's chambers, where I could find that there was nothing at all left of the old preciseness in their discourse, specially on Saturday nights. And Mr. Zanchy told me there was no such thing nowadays among them at any time.

26th. (Sunday.) My brother went to the College Chapel. My father and I to Botolph's Church, where we heard Mr. Nicholas, of Queen's College, who I knew in my time to be Tripos<sup>5</sup> with great applause, upon this text, 'For thy commandments are broad.' To Mr. Widdrington's chamber to dinner, where he used us very courteously again. Found Mr. Pierce at our inn, who told us that he had lost his journey, for my Lord was gone from Hinch-

<sup>1</sup> Hinchingbroke House, so often mentioned in the *Diary*, stood half a mile to the westward of the town of Huntingdon. It was erected late in the reign of Elizabeth, by Sir Henry Cromwell. The knight, getting into pecuniary difficulties, was obliged to sell his estates, which were conveyed, 28th July 1627, to Sir Sidney Montagu, of Barnwell, father of the first Earl of Sandwich, in whose descendant they are still vested.

<sup>2</sup> Joseph Hill, a native of Yorkshire, chosen in 1649 Fellow of Magdalene College, and in 1659 University Proctor: he afterwards retired to London, and, according to Calamy, was offered a bishopric by Charles II, which he declined, disliking the terms of conformity; and, accepting a call to the English Church at Rotterdam in 1678, died there in 1707, aged eighty-three.

<sup>3</sup> Clement Zanchy, or Sankey, scholar of Magdalene College, Cambridge, 1647; Fellow, 1654; described as of the city of London.

<sup>4</sup> Hezekiah Burton, of Lound, Nottinghamshire, pensioner of Magdalene College, Cambridge, 1647; Wray Fellow, 1651.

<sup>5</sup> The Tripos was the person who made the disputation on Ash Wednesday, otherwise called the Bachelor of the Stool. He was generally selected for his skill and readiness in disputation, and allowed great licence of language, an indulgence often abused; and hence statutes were passed 'de auferendis morionum ineptiis et scurrilibus jocis in disputationibus.'

oke to London on Thursday last, at which I was a little put to a mind. So after a cup of drink I went to Magdalene College to get the certificate of the College for my brother's entrance there, at which he might save his year. My father, Mr. Zanchy, and I to my cousin Angier to supper, where I caused two bottles of wine to be carried from the Rose tavern; that was drunk up, and I had not the wit to let them know at table that it was I that paid for them, and so I lost my thanks for them. I stayed up a little while playing the fool with the lass of the house at the door of the chamber, and then to bed.

27th. Up by four o'clock: Mr. Blayton and I took horse and draught to Saffron Walden, where, at the White Hart, we set up our horses and took the master of the house to show us Audley End House,<sup>1</sup> who took us on foot through the park, and so to the house, where the housekeeper showed us all the house, in which the stateliness of the ceilings, chimney-pieces, and form of the whole was exceedingly worth seeing. He took us into the cellar, where we drank most admirable drink, a health to the King. Here I played on my flageolet, there being an excellent echo. He showed us excellent pictures; two especially, those of the four Evangelists and Henry VIII. In our going, my landlord carried us through a very old hospital or almshouse, where forty poor people was maintained; a very old foundation; and over the chimney-piece was an inscription in brass: 'Orate pro anima Thomæ Bryd,'<sup>2</sup> &c.<sup>3</sup>; and the poor box also was on the same chimney-piece with an iron door and locks to it, into which I put 6d. They brought me a draught of their drink in a brown bowl, tipped with silver, which I drank off, and at the bottom was a picture of the Virgin with the Child, in her arms, done in silver. So we went to our inn, and after eating of something and kissed the daughter of the house, she being very pretty, we took leave, the road pretty good, but the weather rainy to Epping. After supper, and some merry talk with a plain bold maid of the house, we went to bed.

28th. Up in the morning, and had some red herrings to our breakfast, while my boot-heel was a-mending, by the same token the boy left the hole as big as it was before. Then to horse and for London, through the forest, where we found the way good, but only in one path, which we kept as if we had rode through a kennel

<sup>1</sup> Then the residence of James Howard, third Earl of Suffolk.

<sup>2</sup> Bryd in the original.

<sup>3</sup> The inscription and the bowl are still to be seen in the almshouse.

all the way. We found the shops all shut, and the militia of the red regiment in arms at the old Exchange, among whom I found and spoke to Nich. Osborne, who told me that it was a thanksgiving-day through the City for the return of the Parliament. So home, where my wife and all well. To Sir Harry Wright's where I found my Lord at dinner, who called for me in, and was glad to see me. Home, where I found Mr. Shepley. I was indeed a little vexed with Mr. Shepley, but said nothing, about his breaking open of my study at my house, merely to give him the key of the stair door at my Lord's, which lock he might better have broke than mine.

29th. To my office. Mr. Moore told me how my Lord is chosen General at Sea by the Council, and that it is thought that Monk will be joined with him therein. My cousin Morton gave me a brave cup of metheglin, the first I ever drank. This day my Lord came to the House, the first time since he came to town; but he had been at the Council before.

March 1st. In the morning went to my Lord's lodgings, and out of the box where my Lord's pamphlets lay I chose as many as I had a mind to have for my own use, and left the rest. I went to Mr. Crewe's, whither Mr. Thomas was newly come to town, being sent with Sir H. Yelverton,<sup>1</sup> my old schoolfellow at Paul's School, to bring the thanks of the county to General Monk for the return of the Parliament.

2d. I went early to my Lord at Mr. Crewe's, where I spoke to him. Here were a great many come to see him, as Secretary Thurloe,<sup>2</sup> who is now by the Parliament chosen again Secretary of State. There were also General Monk's trumpeters to give my Lord a sound of their trumpets this morning. Great is the talk of a single person, and that it would now be Charles, George, or Richard again;<sup>3</sup> for the last of which, my Lord St. John is said to speak high. Great also is the dispute now in the House, in whose name the writs shall run for the next Parliament; and it is said that Mr. Prin, in open House, said, 'In King Charles's.'

3d. To Westminster Hall, where I found that my Lord was

<sup>1</sup> Son of Sir Christopher Yelverton, the first baronet; grandson of Sir Henry Yelverton, Judge C. P., author of the reports. He married Susan, Baroness Grey de Ruthyn, which title descended to his issue.

<sup>2</sup> John Thurloe, who had been Secretary of State to the two Protectors, but was never employed after the Restoration, though the king solicited his services: *ib.* 1668.

<sup>3</sup> Charles Stuart; George Monk; Richard Cromwell.

last night voted one of the Generals at Sea, and Monk the other. I met my Lord in the Hall, who bid me come to him at noon. After dinner I to Warwick House,<sup>1</sup> in Holborn, to my Lord, where he dined with my Lord of Manchester,<sup>2</sup> Sir Dudley North,<sup>3</sup> my Lord Fiennes,<sup>4</sup> and my Lord Berkeley.<sup>5</sup> I stayed in the great hall, talking with some gentlemen there, till they all come out. Then I by coach with my Lord to Mr. Crewe's, in our way talking of public things. He told me he feared there was new design hatching, as if Monk had a mind to get into the saddle. Returning, met with Mr. Gifford, who told me, as I hear from many, that things are in a very doubtful posture, some of the Parliament being willing to keep the power in their hands. After I had left him I met with Tom Harper; he talked huge high that my Lord Protector would come in place again, which indeed is much discoursed of again, though I do not see it possible.

5th. Early in the morning Mr. Hill comes to string my theorbo, which we were about till past ten o'clock, with a great deal of pleasure. To Westminster by water, only seeing Mr. Pinkney<sup>6</sup> at his own house, where he showed me how he had alway kept the Lion and Unicorn, in the back of his chimney, bright, in expectation of the King's coming again. At home I found Mr. Hunt, who told me how the Parliament had voted that the Covenant be printed and hung in churches again. Great hopes of the King's coming again. To bed.

6th. (Shrove Tuesday.) I called Mr. Shepley, and we both went up to my Lord's lodgings at Mr. Crewe's, where he bid us to go home again, and get a fire against an hour after. Which we did, at White Hall, whither he came; and after talking with him and me about his going to sea he called me by myself into the garden, where he asked me how things were with me. He bid me look

<sup>1</sup> Near Gray's Inn.

<sup>2</sup> The Parliamentary General, afterwards particularly instrumental in the king's restoration, became Chamberlain of the Household, K.G., a Privy Counsellor, and Chancellor of the University of Cambridge. He died in 1671, having been five times married.

<sup>3</sup> Sir Dudley North, K.B., became the fourth Lord North, on the death of his father in 1666: *ob.* 1677.

<sup>4</sup> John, third son of William, first Viscount Saye and Sele, and one of Oliver's Lords.

<sup>5</sup> George, thirteenth Lord Berkeley of Berkeley, created Earl of Berkeley, 1679.

<sup>6</sup> Probably Leonard Pinkney, who was clerk of the kitchen at the ensuing coronation feast.

out now at this turn some good place, and he would use all his own, and all the interest of his friends that he had in England, to do me good; and asked me whether I could, without too much inconvenience, go to sea as his secretary, and bid me think of it. He also began to talk of things of State, and told me that he should want one in that capacity at sea that he might trust in, and therefore he would have me to go. He told me also, that he did believe the King would come in, and did discourse with me about it and about the affection of the people and City, at which I was full glad. Mr. Hawley brought me a seaman that had promised £10 to him if he get him a purser's place, which I think to endeavour to do. Here comes my uncle Tom to inquire about the Knights of Windsor, of which he desires to get to be one. I went to the Bell, where were Mr. Eglin, Veizy, Vincent a butcher, and one more, and Mr. Tanner, with whom I played upon a viol, and he a violin, after dinner, and were very merry, with a special good dinner, a leg of veal and bacon, two capons and sausages and fritters, with abundance of wine. After that I went to see Mrs. Jem, at whose chamber door I found a couple of ladies, but she not being there, we hunted her out, and found that she and another had hid themselves behind a door. Well, they all went down into the dining-room, where it was full of tag, rag, and bobtail, dancing, singing, and drinking, of which I was ashamed, and after I had stayed a dance or two, I went away. Wrote by the post, by my Lord's commands, for I. Goods to come up presently; for my Lord intends to go forth with Goods to the Swiftsure till the Nazeby be ready. Everybody now drink the King's health without any fear, whereas before it was very private that a man dare do it. Monk this day is feasted at Mercers' Hall, and is invited one after another to the twelve Halls in London. Many think that he is honest yet, and some or more think him to be a fool that would raise himself, but think that he will undo himself by endeavouring it.

7th. (Ash Wednesday.) Washington told me, upon my question whether he knew of any place now void that I might have by power over friends, that this day Mr. G. Montagu<sup>1</sup> was to be Custos Rotulorum for Westminster, and that by friends I might get to be named by him Clerk of the Peace, with which I was, as I

<sup>1</sup> George Montagu, fifth son of Henry, first Earl of Manchester, afterwards M.P. for Dover, and father of the first Earl of Halifax. He was youngest brother of Lord Manchester.

am at all new things, very much joyed; so when I came to Mr. Crewe's I spoke to my Lord about it, who told me he believed Mr. Montagu had already promised it, and that it was give him only that he might gratify one person with the place I look for. Here, among many that were here, I met with Mr. Lynes, the surgeon, who promised me some seeds of the sensitive plant. Thence going homeward, my Lord overtook me in his coach and called me in, and so I went with him to St. James's; and G. Montagu being gone to White Hall, we walked over the Park thither, all the way he discoursing of the times and of the change of things since the last year, and wondering how he could bear with so great a disappointment as he did. He did give me the best advice that he could what was best for me, whether to stay or go with him, and offered all the ways that could be how he might do me good, with the greatest liberty and love that could be. Homewards, where I found my father newly come from Brampton. He left my uncle with his leg very dangerous, and do believe he cannot continue in that condition long. My uncle did acquaint him very largely what he did intend to do with his estate, to make me his heir and give my brother Tom something, and that my father and mother should have likewise something to raise portions for John and Pall. I pray God he may be as good as his word! This news and my Lord's great kindness makes me very cheerful within.

8th. To Westminster Hall, where there was a general damp over men's minds and faces upon some of the officers of the Army being about making a remonstrance against Charles Stuart or any single person; but at noon it was told that the General had put a stop to it, so all was well again. Here I met with Jasper, who was to look for me to bring me to my Lord at the lobby; whither sending a note to my Lord, he comes out to me and gives me directions to look after getting some money for him from the Admiralty, seeing that things are so unsafe that he would not lay out a farthing for the State till he had received some money of theirs. This noon I met, at the Dog tavern, Captain Philip Holland, with whom I advised how to make some advantage of my Lord's going to sea, which he told me might be having of five or six servants entered on board, and I to give them what wages I pleased, and so their pay to be mine; he was also very urgent to have me take the secretary's place that my Lord did proffer me. At the same time in comes Mr. Wade and Mr. Sterry, secretary to the plenipotentiary in Denmark, who brought the news of the death of the King of



Sweden<sup>1</sup> at Gothenburg the 3d of the last month, and he told me what a great change he found when he came here, the secluded members being restored.

9th. To my Lord at his lodging, and came to Westminster with him in the coach, with Mr. Dudley with him, and he in the Painted Chamber walked a good while; and I telling him that I was willing and ready to go with him to sea, he agreed that I should, and advised me what to write to Mr. Downing about it. All night troubled in my thoughts how to order my business upon this great change with me, that I could not sleep, and being overheated with drink I made a promise the next week to drink no strong drink, for I find that it puts me quite out of order. This day it was resolved that the writs do go out in the name of the Keepers of the Liberty, and I hear that it is resolved privately that a treaty be offered with the King; and that Monk did check his soldiers highly for what they did yesterday.

10th. To my father's in his cutting house, and then I told him my resolution to go to sea with my Lord, and consulted with him how to dispose of my wife, and we resolved of letting her be at Mr. Bowyer's.<sup>2</sup> Thence to the Treasurer of the Navy, where I received £500 for my Lord. Then by coach home, where I took occasion to tell my wife of my going to sea, who was much troubled at it and was with some dispute at last willing to continue at Mr. Bowyer's in my absence. Then to White Hall and set many of my things in order against my going. My wife was late making of caps for me, and the wench making of a pair of stockings that she was knitting of. So to bed.

11th. All the day busy without my band, putting my books and things in order against my going to sea.

12th. This day the wench rose at two in the morning to wash, and my wife and I lay talking a great while. To the White Horse in King Street, where I got Mr. Buddle's horse to ride to Huntsmore to Mr. Bowyer's. Here I lay and took a thing for my cold, namely a spoonful of honey and a nutmeg scraped into it, by Mr. Bowyer's direction, and so took it into my mouth, which I found did me much good.

13th. At my Lord's lodgings, who told me that I was to be secretary, and Crewe deputy treasurer to the fleet, at which I was troubled, but I could not help it. This day the Parliament voted

<sup>1</sup> Charles Gustavus.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Bowyer had probably remarried Mrs. Pepys's mother.

all that had been done by the former Rump against the House of Lords be void, and tonight that the writs go out without any qualification. Things seem very doubtful what will be the end of all; for the Parliament seems to be strong for the King, while the soldiers do all talk against.

14th. To my Lord's, where infinity of applications to him and to me. To my great trouble, my Lord gives me all the papers that was given to him, to put in order and to give him an account of them. Here I got half-a-piece of a person of Mr. Wright's recommending to my Lord, to be Preacher of the Speaker's frigate. I went hence to St. James's, to speak with Mr. Clerke,<sup>1</sup> Monk's secretary, about getting some soldiers removed out of Huntingdon to Oundle, which my Lord told me he did to do a courtesy to the town, that he might have the greater interest in them in the choice of the next Parliament; not that he intends to be chosen himself, but that he might have Mr. G. Montagu and my Lord Mandeville<sup>2</sup> chose there in spite of the Bernards.<sup>3</sup> This done (where I saw General Monk, and methought he seemed a dull heavy man), Pierce and I to White Hall, where with Luellin we dined at Marsh's. Coming home telling my wife what we had to dinner, she had a mind to some cabbage, and I sent for some and she had it. Went to the Admiralty, where a strange thing how I am already courted by the people. This morning I hired a boy and Burr to be my clerk.

15th. Early packing up my things to be sent by cart with the rest of my Lord's. At Will's I met Tom Alcock, one that went to school with me at Huntingdon, but I had not seen him these sixteen years. So into London by water, and in Fish Street my wife and I bought a bit of salmon for 8d. and went to the Sun tavern and eat it, where I did promise to give my wife all that I have in the world, but my books, in case I should die at sea.

16th. No sooner out of bed but troubled with abundance of clients, seamen. To Westminster Hall, where I heard how the Parliament had this day dissolved themselves, and did pass very cheerfully through the Hall, and the Speaker without his mace. The whole Hall was joyful thereat, as well as themselves, and now

<sup>1</sup> Clement Clerke, of Launde Abbey, co. Leicester, created a baronet in 1661.

<sup>2</sup> Eldest son of the Earl of Manchester.

<sup>3</sup> Robert Bernard, created a baronet in 1662, served in Parliament for Huntingdon, before and after the Restoration, and died in 1666.

they begin to talk loud of the King. Tonight I am told, that yesterday, about five o'clock in the afternoon, one came with a ladder to the Great<sup>1</sup> Exchange, and wiped with a brush the inscription that was on King Charles, and that there was a great bonfire made in the Exchange, and people called out, 'God bless King Charles the Second!'

17th. This day, I did before I went out with my wife, seal my will to her, whereby I did give her all that I have in the world, but my books, which I give to my brother John, excepting only French books, which my wife is to have.

18th. I rose early and went to the barber's (Jervas) in Palace Yard and was trimmed by him, and afterwards drank with him a cup or two of ale, and did begin to hire his man to go with me to sea. Then to my Lord's lodging, where I found Captain Williamson and gave him his commission to be Captain of the Harp, and he gave me a piece of gold and 20s. in silver. To Mr. Mossum's, where he made a very gallant sermon upon 'Pray for the life of the King and the King's son' (Ezra vi. 10).

19th. Early to my Lord, where infinity of business to do, which makes my head full; and indeed, for these two or three days I have not been without a great many cares. After that to the Admiralty, where a good while with Mr. Blackburne, who told me that it was much to be feared that the King would come in, for all good men and good things were now discouraged. Thence to Wilkinson's, where Mr. Shepley and I dined; and while we were at dinner my Lord Monk's Life-guard come by with the Sergeant-at-Arms before them, with two Proclamations, that all Cavaliers do depart the town: but the other that all officers that were lately disbanded should do the same. The last of which Mr. R. Creed,<sup>2</sup> I remember said, that he looked upon it as if they had said that all God's people should depart the town. Thence with some sea officers to the Swan, where we drank till one comes to me to pay me some money, viz. £25. My mind is still much troubled for my poor wife, but I hope that this undertaking will be worth my pains. This day, my Lord dined at my Lord Mayor's (Allen), and Jasper was made drunk, which my Lord was very angry at.

<sup>1</sup> So called during the Commonwealth, in lieu of royal.

<sup>2</sup> Major Richard Creed, who commanded a troop under Lambert when that general surrendered to Ingoldsby. He was imprisoned with the rest of the officers, but his name does not recur in the *Diary*, nor is it known whether he was related to John Creed, so frequently mentioned hereafter.

20th. Took a short melancholy leave of my father and mother, without having them to drink or say anything of business one to another. Then to Westminster, where by reason of rain and an easterly wind the water was so high that there was boats rowed in King Street, and all our yards was drowned, that one could not go to my house,<sup>1</sup> so as no man has seen the like almost, most houses full of water.

21st. To my Lord's, but the wind very high against us; here I did very much business, and then to my Lord Widdrington's from my Lord, with his desire that he might have the disposal of the writs of the Cinque Ports. My Lord was very civil to me and called for wine and writ a long letter in answer.

22d. To my Lord's lodging, but the weather continuing very bad my Lord would not go today. After that I went forth about my own business to buy a pair of riding grey serge stockings, and sword and belt and hose, and after that took Wotton and Brigden to the Pope's Head tavern in Chancery Lane where Gilb. Holland and Shelston were, and we dined and drank a great deal of wine, and they paid all. Strange how these people do now promise me everything; one a rapier, the other a vessel of wine, or a gun, and one offered me his silver hatband to do him a courtesy. I pray God to keep me from being proud or too much lifted up hereby.

23d. Carried my Lord's will in a black box to Mr. William Montagu,<sup>2</sup> for him to keep for him. My Lord, Captain Isham,<sup>3</sup> Mr. Thomas, John Crewe, W. Howe, and I to the Tower, where the barges stayed for us; my Lord and the Captain in one, and W. Howe and I &c. in the other, to the Long Reach, where the Swiftsure lay at anchor. In our way we saw the great breach which the late high water had made, to the loss of many £1000 to the people about Limehouse. Soon as my Lord on board, the guns went off bravely from the ships. And a little while after comes the Vice-Admiral Lawson, and seemed very respectful to my Lord, and so did the rest of the Commanders of the frigates that were thereabouts. I to the cabin allotted to me, which was the best that any had that belonged to my Lord. We were late

<sup>1</sup> In Axe Yard, King Street, Westminster.

<sup>2</sup> William, second son of the first Lord Montagu of Boughton, and first cousin to Sir Edward Montagu. He was afterwards Lord Chief Baron: *ob.* 1707, *æt.* 89.

<sup>3</sup> Sir Sidney Montagu, the father of 'my Lord,' had married for his second wife one of the Isham family, of Lamport.

writing of orders for the getting of ships ready, &c.; and also making of others to all the seaports between Hastings and Yarmouth, to stop all dangerous persons that are going or coming between Flanders and there. To bed in my cabin which was but short; however I made shift with it and slept very well, and the weather being good I was not sick at all yet; I know not what I shall be.

24th. At work hard all the day writing letters to the Council, &c. Mr. Creed<sup>1</sup> came on board and dined very boldly with my Lord. The boy Eliezer flung down a can of beer upon my papers, which made me give him a box of the ear, it having all spoiled my papers and cost me a great deal of work. So to bed.

25th. About two o'clock in the morning, letters came from London by our coxswain; so they waked me, but I bid him stay till morning, which he did, and then I rose and carried them into my Lord, who read them a-bed. Among the rest, there was the writ and mandate for him to dispose to the Cinque Ports for choice of Parliament-men. There was also one for me from Mr. Blackburne, who with his own hand superscribes it to S. P., Esq., of which God knows I was not a little proud. I wrote a letter to the Clerk of Dover Castle, to come to my Lord about issuing of those writs. About ten o'clock Mr. Ibbott<sup>2</sup> at the end of the long table begun to pray and preach and indeed made a very good sermon. To dinner, where I took place of all but the Captain. After that, sermon again, at which I slept, God forgive me!

26th. This day it is two years since it pleased God that I was cut for the stone at Mrs. Turner's in Salisbury Court; and did resolve while I live to keep it a festival, as I did the last year at my house, and for ever to have Mrs. Turner and her company with me. But now it pleases God that I am where I am, and so prevented to do it openly; only within my soul I can and do rejoice and bless God, being at this time, blessed be His holy name, in as good health as ever I was in my life. This morning I rose early, and went about making of an establishment of the whole fleet, and a list of all the ships, with the number of men and guns. About an hour after that we had a meeting of the principal Commanders and seamen to proportion out the number of these things. All the afternoon

<sup>1</sup> John Creed, who, having been a puritan, had been averse to the king's coming in.

<sup>2</sup> Edmund Ibbott, S.T.B., in 1662 made rector of Deal: *ob.* 1677.

very many orders were made till I was very weary. At night Mr. Shepley and W. Howe came and brought some bottles of wine and some things to eat in my cabin, where we were very merry, remembering the day of being cut for the stone. Captain Cuttance came afterwards and sat drinking till eleven, a kindness he do not usually do the greatest officer in the ship.

27th. This morning, the wind came about, and we fell into the Hope; and in our passing by the Vice-Admiral, he and the rest of the frigates with him, did give us abundance of guns, and we them, so much that the report of them broke all the windows in my cabin and broke off the iron bar that was upon it to keep anybody from creeping in at the scuttle. This noon I sat the first time with my Lord at table since my coming to sea. All the afternoon exceeding busy in writing of letters and orders. In the afternoon Sir Harry Wright<sup>1</sup> came on board us about his business of being chosen a Parliament-man. My Lord brought him to see my cabin when I was hard a-writing. At night supped with my Lord too, with the Captain.

28th. This morning and the whole day busy. At night there was a gentleman very well bred, his name was Banes, going for Flushing, who spoke French and Latin very well, brought by direction from Captain Clerke hither as a prisoner because he called out of the vessel that he went in, 'Where is your King, we have done our business, Vive le Roi!' He confessed himself a Cavalier in his heart, and that he and his whole family had fought for the King; but that he was then drunk, having been all night taking his leave at Gravesend the night before, and so could not remember what it was that he said; but in his words and carriage showed much of a gentleman. My Lord had a great kindness for him, but did not think it safe to release him, but commanded him to be used civilly, so he was taken to the Master's cabin and had supper there. But a while after, he sent a letter down to my Lord, which my Lord did like very well, and did advise with me what was best to be done. So I put in something to my Lord and then to the Captain that the gentleman was to be released, which was done. So I went up and sat and talked with him in Latin and French; and about eleven at night he took boat again, and so God bless him. This day we had news of the election at Huntingdon

<sup>1</sup> M.P. for Harwich; created a baronet by Cromwell, 1658, and by Charles II, 1660. He married Anne, daughter of Lord Crewe, and sister to Sir E. Montagu's wife, and resided at Dagenham, Essex.

for Bernard and Pedley,<sup>1</sup> at which my Lord was much troubled for his friends' missing of it.

29th. We lie still a little below Gravesend. At night Mr. Shepley returned from London and told us of several elections for the next Parliament.

30th. I was saluted in the morning with two letters from some that I had done a favour to, which brought me in each a piece of gold. This day, while my Lord and we were at dinner, the *Nazeby* came in sight towards us, and at last came to anchor close by us. After dinner my Lord and many others went on board her, where everything was out of order, and a new chimney made for my Lord in his bed-chamber, which he was much pleased with. My Lord, in his discourse, discovered a great deal of love to this ship.<sup>2</sup>

31st. This morning, I gave Mr. Hill, that was on board with the Vice-Admiral, a bottle of wine, and was exceedingly satisfied with the power I have to make my friends welcome.

April 1st. (Lord's day.) Mr. Ibbott preached very well. After dinner my Lord did give me a private list of all the ships that were to be set out this summer, wherein I do discern that he hath made it his care to put by as much of the Anabaptists as he can. I made a commission for Captain Wilgness of the *Bear* tonight, which got me 30s.

2d. Up very early, and to get all my things and my boy's packed up. Great concourse of commanders here this morning, to take leave of my Lord upon his going into the *Nazeby*. Made shift before night to get my cabin in pretty good order. It is but little, but very convenient, having one window to the sea and another to the deck, and a good bed. This morning comes Mr. Edward Pickering,<sup>3</sup> like a coxcomb as he always was: he tells me that the King will come in, but that Monk did resolve to have the doing of it himself, or else to hinder it.

3d. There come many merchants to get convoy to the Baltic, which a course was taken for. They dined with my Lord, and

<sup>1</sup> John Bernard and Nicholas Pedley, re-elected in the next Parliament. The latter had been a commissioner of the Wine Office. Sir E. Montagu had set up his eldest son and G. Montagu as candidates.

<sup>2</sup> Lord Sandwich's flag was on board the *Nazeby* when he went to the Sound.

<sup>3</sup> Younger brother of Sir Gilbert Pickering, Bart., born in 1618, and bred to the law; and in 1681 was a resident in Lincoln's Inn. He married Dorothy, one of the daughters of Sir John Weld, of Arnolds, in Edmonton, Middlesex, and died in 1698, *s.p.s.*

one of them, by name Alderman Wood, talked much to my Lord of the hopes that we have now to be settled (under the King, he meant); but my Lord took no notice of it. This day came the Lieutenant of the Swiftsure (who was sent by my Lord to Hastings, one of the Cinque Ports, to have got Mr. Edward Montagu to have been one of their burgesses, but could not, for they were all promised before). My heart exceeding heavy for not hearing of my dear wife, and indeed I do not remember that ever my heart was so apprehensive of her absence as at this very time.

4th. This morning came Colonel Thomson with the wooden leg, and General Pen, and dined with my Lord and Mr. Blackburne, who told me that it was certain now that the King must of necessity come in, and that one of the Council told him there is something doing in order to a treaty already among them. The Commissioners come today, only to consult about a further reducement of the fleet, and to pay them as fast as they can. At night my Lord resolved to send the Captain of our ship to Weymouth, and promote his being chosen there, which he did put himself into readiness to do the next morning.

5th. We ready to set sail, which we did about noon, and came in the evening to Lee roads and anchored. To the castles<sup>1</sup> about Deal, where our fleet lay, and anchored. Captain Clerke brought me a noted caudle. At night very sleepy to bed.

6th. Under sail as far as the Spitts. In the afternoon W. Howe and I to our violins, the first time since we came on board. In the evening, it being fine, I stayed late walking with Mr. Cuttance upon the quarter-deck, learning of some sea terms; and so to supper and to bed.

7th. The wind grew high, and we, being among the sands, lay at anchor; I began to be dizzy and squeamish. Before dinner my Lord sent for me down to eat some oysters, the best, my Lord said, that ever he eat in his life, though I have eat as good at Bardsey. After dinner and all the afternoon I walked upon the deck to keep myself from being sick, and at last, about five o'clock, went to bed and got a caudle made me, and sleep upon it very well.

8th. (Lord's day.) We had a brave wind all the afternoon, and overtook two good merchantmen going to the East Indies. The lieutenant and I lay out of his window with his glass, looking at the women on board them, being pretty handsome.

9th. In sight of the Nore and South Forelands. This afternoon

<sup>1</sup> The castles were Walmer, Sandgate, Sandwich, Deal, and Dover.



I first saw France and Calais, with which I was much pleased, though it was at a distance. About five o'clock we came to the Goodwin, so to the castles about Deal, where our fleet lay, among whom we anchored. Great was the shout of guns from the castles and ships, and our answers, that I never heard yet so great rattling of guns. Nor could we see one another on board for the smoke that was among us, nor one ship from another.

10th. This morning many or most of the commanders in the fleet came on board and dined here, so that some of them and I dined together in the roundhouse, where we were very merry. Hither came the Vice-Admiral to us, who sat and talked, and seemed a very good-natured man. At night, as I was all alone in my cabin in a melancholy fit playing on my violin, my Lord and Sir R. Stayner came into the coach<sup>1</sup> and supped there, and called me out to supper with them.

11th. A gentleman came from my Lord of Manchester to my Lord for a pass for Mr. Boyle,<sup>2</sup> which was made him. All the news from London is that things go on further towards a King. That the Skinners' Company the other day, at their entertaining of General Monk, had took down the Parliament Arms in their Hall and set up the King's. In the evening my Lord and I had a great deal of discourse about the several Captains of the fleet and his interest among them, and had his mind clear to bring in the King. He confessed to me that he was not sure of his own Captain [Cuttance] to be true to him, and that he did not like Captain Stokes. I stayed with the lieutenant late, showing him my manner of keeping a journal. It comes now into my mind to observe that I am sensible that I have been a little too free to make mirth with the minister of our ship, he being a very sober and an upright man.

12th. At night I went up to the lieutenant's cabin and there we broached a vessel of ale that we had sent for among us from Deal today. There was the minister and doctor with us. To bed, and it being very rainy, and the rain coming upon my bed, I went and lay with John Goods in the great cabin below. I to bed, and what with the goodness of the bed and the rocking of the ship I slept till almost ten o'clock, and then this day, the weather being very bad, we had no strangers on board.

14th. Rose and drank a good morning draught there with Mr. Shepley, which occasioned my thinking upon the happy life that I

<sup>1</sup> i.e. the council chamber.

<sup>2</sup> The celebrated Robert Boyle, youngest son of Richard, first Earl of Cork.

live now, had I nothing to care for but myself. My Lord is chosen at Weymouth this morning; my Lord had his freedom brought him by Captain Teddiman of the port of Dover, by which he is capable of being elected for them. This day I heard that the Army had in general declared to stand by what the next Parliament shall do.

15th. (Lord's day.) Up early and was trimmed by the barber in the great cabin below. After that to put my clothes on and then sermon; and then to dinner, where my Lord told us that the University of Cambridge had a mind to choose him for their burgess, which he pleased himself with, to think that they do look upon him as a thriving man, and said so openly at table. At dinner-time, Mr. Cooke came back from London with a packet which caused my Lord to be full of thoughts all day, and at night he bid me privately to get two commissions ready: one for Captain Robert Blake to be captain of the Worcester in the room of Captain Dekings, an Anabaptist and one that had witnessed a great deal of discontent with the present proceedings; the other for Captain Coppin to come out of that into the Newbury in the room of Blake, whereby I perceive that General Monk do resolve to make a thorough change to make way for the King.

16th. All the morning giving out orders and tickets to the Commanders of the fleet. After dinner busy all the afternoon writing, and so till night.

17th. All the morning getting ready commissions for the Vice-Admiral and the Rear-Admiral.<sup>1</sup> A very pleasant afternoon, and I upon the deck all day: it was so clear that my Lord's glass showed us Calais very plain, and the cliffs were as plain to be seen as Kent, and my Lord first made me believe that it was Kent.

18th. Mr. Cooke returned from London bringing me this news, that the Sectaries do talk high what they will do, but I believe all to no purpose, that the Cavaliers are something unwise to talk so high on the other side as they do. That the Lords do meet every day at my Lord of Manchester's, and resolve to sit the first day of the Parliament. That it is evident now that the General and the Council do resolve to make way for the King's coming. And it is now clear that either the Fanatics must now be undone, or the gentry and citizens throughout England, and clergy, must fall, in spite of their militia and army, which is not at all possible, I think.

<sup>1</sup> Sir Richard Stayner, knighted and made a vice-admiral by Cromwell, 1657, and after the Restoration sent to command at Tangier till the governor arrived.

19th. At dinner, news brought us that my Lord was chosen at Dover. This day it has rained much, so that when I came to go to bed I found it wet through, so I was fain to wrap myself up in a dry sheet, and so lay all night.

20th. This evening came Mr. Boyle on board, for whom I writ an order for a ship to transport him to Flushing. He supped with my Lord, my Lord using him as a person of honour. Mr. Shepley told me that he heard for certain at Dover that Mr. Edward Montagu<sup>1</sup> did go beyond sea when he was here first the other day, and I am apt to believe that he went to speak with the King.

21st. This day dined Sir John Boys<sup>2</sup> and some other gentlemen, formerly great Cavaliers, and among the rest one Mr. Norwood,<sup>3</sup> for whom my Lord give a convoy to carry him to the Brill, but he is certainly going to the King; for my Lord commanded me that I should not enter his name in my book. My Lord do show them and that sort of people great civility. All their discourse and others are of the King's coming, and we begin to speak of it very freely; and heard how in many churches in London, and upon many signs there, and upon merchants' ships in the river, they had set up the King's arms. In the afternoon the Captain would by all means have me up to his cabin and there treated me huge nobly, giving me a barrel of pickled oysters and opened another for me, and a bottle of wine, which was a great favour. At night late singing with W. Howe, and under the barber's hands in the coach.

22d. Several Londoners, strangers, friends of the Captains, dined here, who, among other things, told us how the King's arms are every day set up in houses and churches, particularly in Allhallows' Church in Thames Street, John Simpson's church, which, being privately done, was a great eyesore to his people when they came to church and saw it. Also, they told us for certain that the King's statue is making by the Mercers' Company (who are bound to do it<sup>4</sup>) to set up in the Exchange.

23d. I had 40s. given me by Captain Cowes of the Paradox. In the evening, for the first time, extraordinary good sport among

<sup>1</sup> Eldest son of Edward, second Lord Montagu, of Boughton, killed at Bergen, 1665.

<sup>2</sup> Of Sandwich, gentleman of the privy chamber.

<sup>3</sup> A Major Norwood had been governor of Dunkirk; and a person of the same name occurs, as one of the esquires of the body at the coronation of Charles II. Probably he was Richard Norwood of Dane's Court, in the Isle of Thanet.

<sup>4</sup> As trustees for Sir Thomas Gresham.

the seamen after my Lord had done playing at ninepins. After that W. Howe and I went to play two trebles in the great cabin below, which my Lord hearing, after supper he called for our instruments and played a set of Locke's two trebles and a bass, and that being done, he fell to singing of a song made upon the Rump, with which he played himself very well to the tune of 'The Blacksmith.'

24th. This morning I had Mr. Luellin and Mr. Shepley to the remainder of my oysters. After that very busy all the morning. While I was at dinner with my Lord, the coxswain of the Vice-Admiral came for me to the Vice-Admiral to dinner. So I told my Lord, and he gave me leave to go. I rose therefore from table and went, where there was very many Commanders, and very pleasant we were on board the London, which hath a state-room much bigger than the Nazeby, but not so rich. After supper my Lord and we had some more very good music and singing of 'Turn Amaryllis,' as it is printed in the song book.

25th. Dined to-day with Captain Clerke on board the Speaker (a very brave ship<sup>1</sup>), where was the Vice-Admiral, Rear-Admiral, and many other Commanders. After dinner home, not a little contented to see how I am treated, and with what respect made a fellow to the best Commanders in the fleet.

26th. This day come Mr. Donne<sup>2</sup> back from London, who brought letters with him that signify the meeting of the Parliament yesterday. And in the afternoon, by other letters, I hear that about twelve of the Lords met and had chosen my Lord of Manchester Speaker of the House of Lords (the young Lords that never sat yet do forbear to sit for the present), and Sir Harbottle Grimston,<sup>3</sup> Speaker for the House of Commons. Mr Shepley, W. Howe, and I down with J. Goods into my Lord's storeroom of wine and other drink, where it was very pleasant to observe the massy timbers that the ship is made of. We in the room were wholly under water and yet a deck below that. After that to supper, where Tom Guy supped with us, and we had very good laughing, and after that some music, where Mr. Pickering beginning to play a bass part upon the viol did it so like a fool that I was ashamed of him. After that to bed.

<sup>1</sup> Of fifty-two guns; afterwards named the *Mary*.

<sup>2</sup> Probably Thomas Danes, at that time one of the Admiralty messengers.

<sup>3</sup> Ancestor of the earls of Verulam. He was made Master of the Rolls November following, and died 1685.

27th. This morning Pim [the tailor] spent in my cabin putting a great many ribbons to a suit. After dinner came on board Sir Thomas Hatton<sup>1</sup> and Sir R. Maleverer,<sup>2</sup> going for Flushing; but all the world know that they go where the rest of the many gentlemen go that every day flock to the King at Breda. They supped here, and my Lord treated them, as he do the rest that go thither, with a great deal of civility. After supper, the two knights went on board the Grantham that is to convey them to Flushing.

28th. In the afternoon I played at ninepins with Mr. Pickering, I and Mr. Pett against him and Ned Osgood, and won a crown apiece of him. He had not enough money to pay me. After supper my Lord exceeding merry, and he and I and W. Howe to sing, and so to bed.

29th. (Sunday.) This day I put on first my fine cloth suit made of a cloak. After sermon in the morning Mr. Cooke came from London with a packet, bringing news how all the young lords that were not in arms against the Parliament do now sit. That a letter is come from the King to the House, which is locked up by the Council till next Thursday, that it may be read in the open House when they meet again, they having adjourned till then to keep a fast tomorrow. My Lord called me into the great cabin below, where he told me that the Presbyterians are quite mastered by the Cavaliers. After dinner I walked a great while upon the deck with the surgeon and purser and other officers of the ship, and they all pray for the King's coming, which I pray God send.

30th. All morning getting instructions ready for the squadron of ships that are going today to the Straits. W. Howe, Mr. Shepley, and I got my Lord's leave to go to see Captain Sparling. So we took boat and first went on shore, it being very pleasant in the fields; but a very pitiful town Deal is. We went to Fuller's (the famous place for ale), but they have not but what was in the vat. After that to Poole's, a tavern in the town, where we drank, and so to boat again, and went to the Assistance, where we were treated very civilly by the Captain, and he did give us such music upon the harp by a fellow that he keeps on board that I never expect to hear the like again, yet he is a drunken simple fellow to look on as any I ever saw. After supper Mr. Shepley, W. Howe, and I up to the lieutenant's cabin, where we drank, and W. Howe and I were very merry, and among other frolics he pulls out the

<sup>1</sup> Of Long Stanton, co. Cambridge, Bart.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Richard Mauleverer, of Allerton Mauleverer, Yorkshire, Bart.

spigot of the little vessel of ale and drew some into his mounture, and after he had drank, I endeavouring to dash it in his face, he got my velvet studying cap, and drew some into mine too, that we made ourselves a great deal of mirth, but spoiled my clothes with the ale that we dashed up and down. After that to bed with drink enough in my head.

May 1st. It being a very pleasant day, I wished myself in Hyde Park. While we were at supper we heard a great noise upon the quarter-deck, so we all rose, and found it was to save the coxswain of the *Cheriton*, who, dropping overboard, was drowned. Today, I hear they were very merry at Deal, setting up the King's flag upon one of their maypoles, and drinking his health upon their knees in the streets, and firing the guns, which the soldiers of the Castle threatened, but durst not oppose.

2d. In the morning at a breakfast of radishes in the purser's cabin. Comes Donne from London, with letters that tell us the welcome news of the Parliament's votes yesterday, which will be remembered for the happiest May-day that hath been many a year to England. The King's letter was read in the House, wherein he submits himself and all things to them, as to an Act of Oblivion to all, unless they shall please to except any, as to the confirming of the sales of the King's and Church lands, if they see good. The House, upon reading the letter, ordered £50,000 to be forthwith provided to send to His Majesty for his present supply; and a committee chosen to return an answer of thanks to His Majesty for his gracious letter; and that the letter be kept among the records of the Parliament; and in all this not so much as one No. Great joy all yesterday at London, and at night more bonfires than ever, and ringing of bells, and drinking of the King's health upon their knees in the streets, which methinks is a little too much. But everybody seems to be very joyful in the business, insomuch that our Sea-commanders now begin to say so too, which a week ago they would not do. And our seamen, as many as had money or credit for drink, did do nothing else this evening. This day come Mr. North<sup>1</sup> (Sir Dudley North's son) on board to spend a little time here, which my Lord was a little troubled at, but he seems to be a fine gentleman, and at night did play his part exceeding well at first sight.

3d. This morning my Lord showed me the King's declaration and his letter to the two Generals to be communicated to the fleet. The contents of the letter are his offer of grace to all that will come

<sup>1</sup> Charles, eldest son of Dudley, afterwards fourth Lord North.

in within forty days, only excepting them that the Parliament shall hereafter except. That the sales of lands during these troubles, and all other things, shall be left to the Parliament, by which he will stand. The letter dated at Breda, April 14, 1660, in the twelfth year of his reign. Upon the receipt of it this morning by an express, Mr. Phillips, one of the messengers of the Council from General Monk, my Lord summoned a council of war, and in the meantime did dictate to me how he would have the vote ordered which he would have pass this council. Which done, the Commanders all came on board, and the council sat in the coach (the first council of war that had been in my time), where I read the letter and declaration; and while they were discoursing upon it I seemed to draw up a vote, which, being offered, they passed. Not one man seemed to say No to it, though I am confident many in their hearts were against it. After this was done I went up to the quarter-deck with my Lord and the Commanders, and there read both the papers and the vote; which done, and demanding their opinion, the seamen did all of them cry out, 'God bless King Charles!' with the greatest joy imaginable. That being done, Sir R. Stayner, who had invited us yesterday, took all the Commanders and myself on board him to dinner, which not being ready, I went with Captain Hayward to the Plymouth and Essex,<sup>1</sup> and did what I had to do, and returned, where very merry at dinner. After dinner to the rest of the ships quite through the leet, which was a very brave sight to visit all the ships, and to be received with the respect and honour that I was on board them all; and much more to see the great joy that I brought to all men; not one through the whole fleet showing the least dislike of the business. In the evening, as I was going on board the Vice-Admiral, the General began to fire his guns, which he did all that he had in the ship, and so did all the rest of the Commanders, which was very allant, and to hear the bullets go hissing over our heads as we were in the boat. This done, and finished my proclamation, I returned to the Nazeby, where my Lord was much pleased to hear how all the fleet took it in a transport of joy, showed me a private letter of the King's to him, and another from the Duke of York, in such familiar style as to their common friend, with all kindness imaginable. And I found by the letters, and so my Lord told me too, that there had been many letters passed between them for a great

<sup>1</sup> John Hayward was captain of the *Plymouth*. Thomas Binns commanded the *Essex*.

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while, and I perceive unknown to Monk. And among the rest that had carried these letters Sir John Boys is one, and Mr. Norwood, which had a ship to carry him over the other day when my Lord would not have me put down his name in the book. The King speaks of his being courted to come to the Hague, but do desire my Lord's advice where to come to take ship; and the Duke offers to learn the seaman's trade of him, in such familiar words as if Jack Cole and I had writ them. This was very strange to me, that my Lord should carry all things so wisely and prudently as he do, and I was over-joyful to see him in so good condition, and he did not a little please himself to tell me how he had provided for himself so great a hold on the King. After this to supper, and then to writing of letters till twelve at night, and so up again at three in the morning. My Lord seemed to put great confidence in me, and would take my advice in many things.

4th. I wrote this morning many letters, and to all the copies of the vote of the council of war I put my name, that if it should come in print my name may be to it. I sent a copy of the vote to Doling, enclosed in this letter:—

'Sir,

He that can fancy a fleet (like ours) in her pride, with pendants loose, guns roaring, caps flying, and the loud "Vive le Roy's!" echoed from one ship's company to another, he, and he only, can apprehend the joy this enclosed vote was received with, or the blessing he thought himself possessed of that bore it, and is

Your humble servant.'

About nine o'clock I got all my letters done, and sent them by the messenger that came yesterday. This morning come Captain Isham on board with a gentleman going to the King, by whom very cunningly, my Lord tells me, he intends to send an account of this day's and yesterday's actions here, notwithstanding he had writ to the Parliament to have leave of them to send the King the answer of the fleet. Since my writing of the last paragraph my Lord called me to him to read his letter to the King, to see whether I could find any slips in it or no. And as much of the letter<sup>1</sup> as I can remember is thus:

'May it please your Most Excellent Majesty,' and so begins.

<sup>1</sup> See the letter printed in Lister's *Life of Lord Clarendon*, vol. iii, p. 404. It is dated 4th May.



That he yesterday received from General Monk His Majesty's letter and direction; and that General Monk had desired him to write to the Parliament to have leave to send the vote of the seamen before he did send it to him, which he had done by writing to both Speakers; but for his private satisfaction he had sent it thus privately (and so the copy of the proceedings yesterday was sent him), and that this come by a gentleman that came this day on board, intending to wait upon His Majesty, that he is my Lord's countryman, and one whose friends have suffered much on His Majesty's behalf. That my Lords Pembroke<sup>1</sup> and Salisbury<sup>2</sup> are put out of the House of Lords. That my Lord is very joyful that other countries do pay him the civility and respect due to him; and that he do much rejoice to see that the King do receive none of their assistance (or some such words) from them, he having strength enough in the love and loyalty of his own subjects to support him. That His Majesty had chosen the best place, Scheveling, for his embarking, and that there is nothing in the world of which he is more ambitious than to have the honour of attending His Majesty, which he hoped would be speedy. That he had commanded the vessel to attend at Helvelsluys till this gentleman returns, that so if His Majesty do not think it fit to command the fleet himself, yet that he may be there to receive his commands and bring them to His Lordship. He ends his letter, that he is confounded with the thoughts of the high expressions of love to him in the King's letter, and concludes,

'Your most loyal, dutiful, faithful, and obedient subject and servant,  
E. M.'

In the afternoon came a minister on board, one Mr. Sharpe, who is going to the King; who tells me that Commissioners are chosen both of the Lords and Commons to go to the King; and that Dr. Clarges<sup>3</sup> is going to him from the Army, and that he will be here tomorrow. My letters at night tell me that the House did deliver their letter to Sir John Greenville, in answer to the King's sending, and that they give him £500 for his pains, to buy him a jewel, and

<sup>1</sup> Philip, fifth Earl of Pembroke, and second Earl of Montgomery: *ob.* 1669. Clarendon says: 'This young earl's affections were entire for His Majesty.'

<sup>2</sup> William Cecil, second Earl of Salisbury: *ob.* 1668. After Cromwell had put down the House of Peers he was chosen a member of the House of Commons, and sat with them.

<sup>3</sup> Thomas Clarges, physician to the army, created a baronet 1674: *ob.* 1695. He had been previously knighted; his sister Anne married General Monk.

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that besides the £50,000 ordered to be borrowed of the City for the present use of the King, the twelve companies of the City do give every one of them to His Majesty, as a present, £1000.

5th. This evening come Dr. Clarges to Deal, going to the King; where the townspeople strewed the streets with herbs against his coming, for joy of his going. Never was there so general a content as there is now. I cannot but remember that our parson did, in his prayer tonight, pray for the long life and happiness of our King and dread Sovereign, that may last as long as the sun and moon endureth.

6th. (Lord's day.) This morning while we were at sermon comes in Dr. Clarges and a dozen gentlemen to see my Lord, who after sermon dined with him; I remember that last night, upon discourse concerning Clarges, my Lord told me he was a man of small *entendimiento*. After they were gone from on board my Lord writ a letter to the King, and give it to me to carry privately to Sir William Compton<sup>1</sup> on board the Assistance, which I did; and after a health to His Majesty on board there I left them under sail for Breda. I find that, all my debts paid and my preparations to sea paid for, I have £40 clear in my purse. After supper to bed.

7th. My Lord went this morning about the flag-ships in a boat, to see what alterations there must be as to the arms and flags. He did give me orders also to write for silk flags and scarlet waist-clothes;<sup>2</sup> for a rich barge; for a noise of trumpets, and a set of fiddlers. Very great deal of company come to-day, among others Mr. Bellassis,<sup>3</sup> Sir Thomas Lenthropp,<sup>4</sup> Sir Henry Chicheley, Colonel Philip Honiwood, and Captain Titus,<sup>5</sup> the last of whom my Lord showed all our cabins, and I suppose he is to take notice what room there will be for the King's entertainment. Wrote a letter to the French Ambassador, in French, about the release of a ship we had taken. After I was in bed Mr. Shepley and W. Howe came and sat in my cabin, where I gave them three bottles of Margate ale.

8th. After dinner come several persons of honour, as my Lord

<sup>1</sup> Third son of Spencer, Earl of Northampton, a Privy Councillor and Master of the Ordnance: *ob.* 1663, aged thirty-eight.

<sup>2</sup> The sailors' clothes contained in bags, hung about the cage-work of a ship's hull to protect the men in action.

<sup>3</sup> Henry, eldest son of Lord Bellasis, made K.B. at Charles II's coronation.

<sup>4</sup> Sir Thomas Leventhorpe, Bart., married Mary, daughter of Sir Capell Bedell, Bart.: *ob.* 1671.

<sup>5</sup> Colonel Silius Titus, gentleman of the bedchamber to Charles II, the reputed author of *Killing no Murder*.

St. John and others, for convoy to Flushing, and great giving of them salutes. My Lord and we at ninepins: I lost 9s. While we were at play Mr. Cooke brings me news of my wife. He went to Huntsmore<sup>1</sup> to see her, and brought her and my father to London, where he left her at my father's very well, and speaks very well of her love to me. My letters today tell me how it was intended that the King should be proclaimed today in London with a great deal of pomp. I had also news who they are that are chosen of the Lords and Commons to attend the King; and also the whole story of what we did the other day in the fleet, at reading of the King's declaration, and my name at the bottom of it.

9th. Up very early, writing a letter to the King as from the two Generals of the fleet in answer to his letter to them, wherein my Lord do give most humble thanks for his gracious letter and declaration, and promises all duty and obedience to him. This letter was carried this morning to Sir Peter Killigrew,<sup>2</sup> who came hither this morning early to bring an order from the Lords' House to my Lord, giving him power to write an answer to the King. This morning my Lord St. John and other persons of honour were here to see my Lord, and so away to Flushing. As we were sitting down to dinner in comes Noble with a letter from the House of Lords to my Lord, to desire him to provide ships to transport the Commissioners to the King, which are expected here this week. He brought us certain news that the King was proclaimed yesterday with great pomp, and brought down one of the Proclamations, with great joy to us all; for which God be praised. This morning came Mr. Saunderson,<sup>3</sup> that writ the story of the King, hither, who is going over to the King.

10th. This morning came on board Mr. Pinkney and his son, going to the King with a petition finely writ by Mr. Whore, for to be the King's embroiderer; for whom and Mr. Saunderson I got a ship. Lord Winchelsea<sup>4</sup> and a great deal of company dined here. Mr. Edward Montagu, my Lord's son,<sup>5</sup> came on board

<sup>1</sup> A hamlet belonging to Iver, in which parish Robert Bowyer founded a free school, about 1750 (Lyson's *History of Buckinghamshire*, p. 587).

<sup>2</sup> Of Arwenack, Cornwall, M.P. for Camelford, 1660.

<sup>3</sup> Afterwards Sir William Sanderson, gentleman of the chamber, author of the History of Mary Queen of Scots, James I, and Charles I. His wife, Dame Bridget, was mother of the maids.

<sup>4</sup> Heneage Finch, second Earl of Winchilsea, constituted by General Monk, governor of Dover Castle, July 1660; made Lord Lieutenant of Kent, and afterwards ambassador to Turkey: *ob.* 1689.

<sup>5</sup> The eldest afterwards second Earl of Sandwich.

with Mr. Pickering with him. The child was sick in the evening. At night, while my Lord was at supper, in comes my Lord Lauderdale<sup>1</sup> and Sir John Greenville, who supped here, and so went away. After they were gone, my Lord called me into his cabin, and told me how he was commanded to set sail presently for the King, and was very glad thereof. I got him afterwards to sign things in bed.

11th. This morning we began to pull down all the State's arms in the fleet, having first sent to Dover for painters and others to come to set up the King's. There dined here my Lord Crafford<sup>2</sup> and my Lord Cavendish,<sup>3</sup> and other Scotchmen, whom I afterwards ordered to be received on board the Plymouth, and to go along with us. After dinner, we set sail from the Downs, I leaving my boy to go to Deal for my linen. In the afternoon overtook us three or four gentlemen: two of the Berties,<sup>4</sup> and one Mr. Dormerhoy,<sup>5</sup> a Scotch gentleman, whom I found afterwards to be a very fine man; who, telling my Lord that they heard the Commissioners were come out of London today, my Lord dropped anchor over against Dover Castle, (which give us about thirty guns in passing) and upon a high debate with the Vice- and Rear-Admiral whether it were safe to go, and not stay for the Commissioners, he did resolve to send Sir R. Stayner to Dover, to enquire of my Lord Winchelsea whether or not they are come out of London, and then to resolve to-morrow morning of going or not; which was done. It blew very hard all this night that I was afraid of my boy. About 11 at night came the boats from Deal, with great store of provision, by the same token John Goods told me that above 20 of the fowls are smothered, but my boy was put on board the Northwich.

<sup>1</sup> John Maitland, second earl, and afterwards created Marquis of March, Duke of Lauderdale, and Earl of Guildford (in England) and K.G. He became sole Secretary of State for Scotland in 1661, and was a Gentleman of His Majesty's Bedchamber, and died in 1682, *s.p.*

<sup>2</sup> John Crawford, fourteenth Earl of Crawford, restored in 1661 to the office of High Treasurer of Scotland, which he had held eight years under Charles I.

<sup>3</sup> William Lord Cavendish, afterwards fourth earl and first Duke of Devonshire.

<sup>4</sup> Robert and Edward Bertie, two of the surviving sons of Robert, first Earl of Lindsay, killed at Edgehill. Their mother was Elizabeth, only child of Edward, first Lord Montagu of Boughton: they were, therefore, nearly connected with Sir E. Montagu, and with Pepys, in some degree.

<sup>5</sup> This may be rather Thomas Dalmahoy, who had married the Duchess Dowager of Hamilton.

12th. This morning I enquired for my boy, whether he was come well or no, and it was told me that he was well in bed. My Lord called me to his chamber, he being in bed, and gave me many orders to make, for direction for the ships that are left in the Downs, giving them the greatest charge in the world to bring no passengers with them, when they come after us to Scheveling Bay, excepting Mr. Edward Montagu, Mr. Thomas Crewe, and Sir H. Wright. Sir R. Stayner told my Lord, that my Lord Winchelsea understands by letters, that the Commissioners are only to come to Dover to attend the coming over of the King. So my Lord did give order for weighing anchor, which we did, and sailed all day. In our way in the morning, coming in the midway between Dover and Calais, we could see both places very easily, and very pleasant it was to me that the further we went the more we lost sight of both lands. In the afternoon at cards with Mr. North and the Doctor.<sup>1</sup> By us, in the Lark frigate, Sir R. Freeman and some others, going from the King to England, come to see my Lord, and so onward on their voyage.

13th. (Lord's day.) To the quarter-deck, upon which the tailors and painters were at work, cutting out some pieces of yellow cloth in the fashion of a crown and C. R., and put it upon a fine sheet, and that into the flag instead of the State's arms, which after dinner was finished and set up after it had been shown to my Lord, who liked it so well as to bid me give the tailors 20s. among them for doing of it. This morn Sir J. Boys and Captain Isham met us in the Nonsuch, the first of whom, after a word or two with my Lord, went forward, the other stayed. I heard by them how Mr. Downing had never made any address to the King, and for that was hated exceedingly by the Court, and that he was in a Dutch ship which sailed by us, then going to England with disgrace. Also how Mr. Morland<sup>2</sup> was knighted by the King this week, and that the King did give the reason of it openly, that it was for his giving him intelligence all the time he was clerk to Secretary Thurloe. In the afternoon a council of war, only to acquaint them that the Harp

<sup>1</sup> Clerke.

<sup>2</sup> Samuel Morland, successively scholar and fellow of Magdalene College, and Pepys's tutor there, became afterwards one of Thurloe's under secretaries, and was employed in several embassies, particularly to the Vaudois, by Cromwell, whose interests he betrayed, by secretly communicating with Charles II. In consideration of these services he was created a baronet of Sulhamstead Banister, Berks, after the Restoration. He was buried at Hammersmith, 6th January 1696.

must be taken out of all their flags, it being very offensive to the King.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Cook brought me a letter from my wife and a Latin letter from my brother John, with both of which I was exceedingly pleased. No sermon all day, we being under sail, only at night prayers, wherein Mr. Ibbot prayed for all that were related to us in a spiritual and fleshly way. Late at night we writ letters to the King of the news of our coming, and Mr. Edward Pickering carried them. Captain Isham went on shore, nobody showing of him any respect; so the old man very fairly took leave of my Lord, and my Lord very coldly bid him 'God be with you,' which was very strange, but that I hear that he keeps a great deal of prating and talking on shore, on board, at the King's Courts, what command he had with my Lord, &c.

14th. In the morning when I woke and rose I saw myself out of the scuttle close by the shore, which afterwards I was told to be the Dutch shore; the Hague was clearly to be seen by us. My Lord went up in his night-gown into the cuddy to see how to dispose thereof for himself and us that belong to him, to give order for our removal today. Some nasty Dutchmen came on board to proffer their boats to carry things from us on shore, &c., to get money by us. Before noon some gentlemen came on board from the shore to kiss my Lord's hands. And by and by Mr. North and Dr. Clerke went to kiss the Queen of Bohemia's hands from my Lord, with twelve attendants from on board to wait on them, among which I sent my boy, who, like myself, is with child to see any strange thing. After noon they came back again, after having kissed the Queen of Bohemia's <sup>2</sup> hand, and were sent again by my Lord to do the same to the Prince of Orange.<sup>3</sup> So I got the Captain to ask leave for me to go, which my Lord did give, and I, taking my boy and Judge Advocate with me, went in company with them. The weather bad; we were sadly washed when we came near the shore, it being very hard to land there. The shore is, as all the country between that and the Hague, all sand. The rest of the company got a coach by themselves; Mr. Creed and I went in the fore part of a coach, wherein were two very pretty ladies, very fashionable, and with black patches, who very merrily sang all the

<sup>1</sup> No doubt because Charles II objected to the arms used during the Protectorate.

<sup>2</sup> Elizabeth, daughter of James I, and widow of Frederic Elector Palatine, and titular King of Bohemia.

<sup>3</sup> Afterwards William III; then very young.

way, and that very well, and were very free to kiss two blades that were with them. I took out my flageolet and piped, but in piping I dropped my rapier stick, but when I came to the Hague, I sent my boy back again for it and he found it, for which I did give him 6*d.*, but some horses had gone over it and broke the scabbard. The Hague is a most neat place in all respects. The houses so neat in all places and things as is possible. Here we walked up and down a great while, the town being now very full of Englishmen, for that the Londoners were come on shore today. But going to see the Prince,<sup>1</sup> he was gone forth with his governor, and so we walked up and down the town and court to see the place; and by the help of a stranger, an Englishman, we saw a great many places, and were made to understand many things, as the intention of maypoles, which we saw there standing at every great man's door, of different greatness according to the quality of the person. About ten at night the Prince comes home, and we found an easy admission. His attendance very inconsiderable as for a Prince; but yet handsome, and his tutor a fine man, and himself a very pretty boy. This done, we went to a place we had taken to sup in, where a sallet and two or three bones of mutton were provided for a matter of ten of us, which was very strange. The Judge and I to another house, leaving them there, and he and I lay in one press bed (there being two more in the same room), my boy sleeping on a bench by me.

15th. We lay till past three o'clock, then up and down the town, to see it by daylight; where we saw the soldiers of the Prince's guard, all very fine, and the burghers of the town with their arms and muskets as bright as silver. And meeting this morning a schoolmaster that spoke good English and French, he went along with us and showed us the whole town, and indeed I cannot speak enough of the gallantry of the town. Everybody of fashion speaks French or Latin or both. The women many of them very pretty and in good habits, fashionable, and black spots. He went with me to buy a couple of baskets, one of them for Mrs. Pierce, the other for my wife. The Judge and I to the Grande Salle, where we were showed the place where the States General sit in council. The hall is a great place, where the flags that they take from their enemies are all hung up; and things to be sold, as in Westminster, and not much unlike it, but that not so big, but much neater. To a bookseller's, and bought for the love of the binding

<sup>1</sup> Of Orange.

three books: the French Psalms in four parts, Bacon's Organon, and Farnab. Rhetor. After that the Judge and I and my boy by coach to Scheveling again, where we went into a house of entertainment and drank there, the wind being very high, and we saw two boats overset, and the gallants forced to be pulled on shore by the heels, while their trunks, portmanteaus, hats, and feathers were swimming in the sea. Among others, the ministers that come along with the Commissioners (Mr. Case<sup>1</sup> among the rest) sadly dipped. So they came in where we were, and I, being in haste, left my Copenhagen knife and so lost it. In the afternoon my Lord called me on purpose to show me his fine clothes which are now come hither, and indeed are very rich as gold and silver can make them, only his sword he and I do not like. In the afternoon my Lord and I walked together in the coach two hours, talking together upon all sorts of discourse: as religion, wherein he is, I perceive, wholly sceptical, saying, that indeed the Protestants as to the Church of Rome are wholly fanatics: he likes uniformity and form of prayer. About State-business, among other things, he told me that his conversion to the King's cause (for I was saying that I wondered from what time the King could look upon him to become his friend) commenced from his being in the Sound, when he found what usage he was likely to have from a Commonwealth. My Lord, the Captain, and I supped in my Lord's chamber, where I did perceive that he did begin to show me much more respect than ever he did yet. After supper my Lord sent for me, intending to have me play at cards with him, but I not knowing cribbage, we fell into discourse of many things, till it was so rough a sea and the ship rolled so much that I was not able to stand, and so he bid me go to bed.

16th. Come in some with visits, among the rest one from Admiral Opdam, who spoke Latin well, but not French nor English, whom my Lord made me to give his answer and to entertain: he brought my Lord a tierce of wine and a barrel of butter, as a present. Commissioner Pett<sup>2</sup> was now come to take care to

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Case, a member of the assembly of divines, one of the ministers sent to congratulate the king.

<sup>2</sup> Peter Pett, then one of the Commissioners of the Navy, and afterwards knighted by the Duke of Ormond, when Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. His ancestors had been eminent shipbuilders at Deptford for several generations, and had served their respective sovereigns with credit and success. At this time there were three others of the same name and family in the civil service of the navy.



get all things ready for the King on board. My Lord in his best suit, this the first day, in expectation to wait upon the King. But Mr. Edward Pickering, coming from the King, brought word that the King would not put my Lord to the trouble of coming to him; but that he would come to the shore to look upon the fleet today, which we expected, and had our guns ready to fire, and our scarlet waist-clothes out and silk pendants, but he did not come. This evening came Mr. John Pickering<sup>1</sup> on board, like an ass, with his feathers and new suit that he had made at the Hague. My Lord very angry for his staying on shore, bidding me a little before to send for him, telling me that he was afraid that, for his father's sake, he might have some mischief done him, unless he used the General's name. This afternoon Mr. Edward Pickering told me in what a sad, poor condition for clothes and money the King was, and all his attendants, when he came to him first from my Lord, their clothes not being worth forty shillings the best of them. And how overjoyed the King was when Sir J. Greenville brought him some money; so joyful, that he called the Princess Royal<sup>2</sup> and Duke of York to look upon it as it lay in the portmanteau, before it was taken out. My Lord told me, too, that the Duke of York is made High Admiral of England.

17th. Dr. Clerke came to tell me that he heard this morning, by some Dutch that are come on board already to see the ships, that there was a Portugese taken yesterday at the Hague, that had a design to kill the King. But this I heard afterwards was only the mistake upon one being observed to walk with his sword naked, he having lost his scabbard. Before dinner, Mr. Edward Pickering and I, W. Howe, Pim, and my boy to Scheveling, where we took coach, and so to the Hague, where walking, intending to find one that might show us the King incognito, I met with Captain Whittington (that had formerly brought a letter to my Lord from the Mayor of London), and he did promise me to do it; but first we went and dined at a French house, but paid 16s. for our part of the club. At dinner in came Dr. Cade, a merry mad parson of the King's. And they two after dinner got the child and me (the others not being able to crowd in) to see the King, who kissed the

<sup>1</sup> Eldest son of Sir Gilbert Pickering, whom he succeeded in his titles and estates in 1668.

<sup>2</sup> Mary, eldest daughter of Charles I, and widow of the Prince of Orange, who died 1647. She was carried off by the smallpox, December 1660, leaving a son, afterwards King William III.

child very affectionately. Then we kissed his, and the Duke of York's, and the Princess Royal's hands. The King seems to be a very sober man; and a very splendid Court he hath in the number of persons of quality that are about him, English, very rich in habit. From the King to the Lord Chancellor, who did lie bedrid of the gout: he spoke very merrily to the child and me. After that, going to see the Queen of Bohemia, I met Dr. Fuller, whom I sent to a tavern with Mr. Edward Pickering while I and the rest went to see the Queen, who used us very respectfully: her hand we all kissed. She seems a very debonnaire, but a plain lady. In a coach we went to see a house of the Princess Dowager's, in a park about half a mile or a mile from the Hague, where there is one, the most beautiful room for pictures in the whole world. She had here one picture upon the top, with these words, dedicating it to the memory of her husband: '*Incomparabili marito, inconsolabilis vidua.*' Here I met with Mr. Woodcock of Cambridge, Mr. Hardy, and another; and Mr. Woodcock beginning, we had two or three fine songs, he and I and W. Howe, to the echo, which was very pleasant and the more because in a heaven of pleasure and in a strange country, that I never was taken up more with a sense of pleasure in my life. After that we parted and back to the Hague and took a tour or two about the Forehault, where the ladies in the evening do as our ladies do in Hyde Park. But for my life I could not find one handsome one, but their coaches very rich and themselves so too.

18th. Very early up, and hearing that the Duke of York, our Lord High Admiral, would go on board to-day, Mr. Pickering and I took waggon for Scheveling, leaving the child in Mr. Pierce's hands with directions to keep him within doors all day till he heard from me. But the wind being very high that no boats could get off from shore, we returned to the Hague (having breakfasted with a gentleman of the Duke's and Commissioner Pett, sent on purpose to give notice to my Lord of his coming), where I hear that the child is gone to Delft to see the town; so we took a schuit,<sup>1</sup> and very much pleased with the manner and conversation of the passengers, where most speak French; went after them, and met them by the way. We got a smith's boy of the town to go along with us, and he showed us the church where Van Tromp lies entombed with a very fine monument. His epitaph is concluded thus: '*Tandem Bello Anglico tantum non victor, certè invictus,*

<sup>1</sup> A drag-barge, the towing horse being ridden by a lad.

vivere et vincere desiit.' There is a sea-fight cut in marble, with the smoke, the best expressed that ever I saw in my life. From thence to the great church, that stands in a fine great market-place, over against the Stadthouse, and there I saw a stately tomb of the old Prince of Orange, of marble and brass; wherein, among other rarities, there are the angels with their trumpets expressed as it were crying. Here were very fine organs in both the churches. It is a most sweet town, with bridges and a river in every street. Observing that in every house of entertainment there hangs in every room a poor man's box, and desiring to know the reason thereof, it was told me that it was their custom to confirm all bargains by putting something into the poor people's box, and that that binds as fast as anything. We also saw the Guest-house, where it was very pleasant to see what neat preparation there is for the poor. We saw one poor man a-dying there. We 'light by chance of an English house to drink in, where we were very merry, and discoursing of the town and the thing that hangs up in the Stadthouse like a bushel, which I was told is a sort of punishment for some sort of offenders to carry through the streets over his head, which is a great weight. Back by water, where a pretty, sober, Dutch lass sat reading all the way, and I could not fasten any discourse upon her. At our landing we met with Commissioner Pett going down to the water-side with Major Harley,<sup>1</sup> who is going upon a dispatch into England. They having a coach, I left the parson and my boy, and went along with Commissioner Pett, Mr. Ackworth, and Mr. Dawes, his friends, to the Princess Dowager's house again. We went into the garden, wherein are gallant nuts better than ever I saw, and a fine echo under the house in a vault made on purpose with pillars, where I played on my flageolet to great advantage. To supper to Commissioner Pett where we sat late; and among other mirth Mr. Ackworth vied wives, each endeavouring to set his own wife out to the best advantage, he having, as they said, an extraordinary handsome wife. But Mr. Dawes could not be got to say anything of his.

19th. Up early and went to Scheveling, where I found no getting on board, though the Duke of York sent every day to see whether he could do it or no. Here I met with Mr. Pinkney and his sons and with them went back to the Hague, in our way 'lighting and

<sup>1</sup> Afterwards Colonel Edward Harley, M.P. for Herefordshire, governor of Dunkirk; ancestor of the Earls of Oxford of that race. He was afterwards made a Knight of the Bath at the coronation of Charles II.

going to see a woman that makes pretty rock-work in shells, &c., which could I have carried safe, I would have bought some of it. At the Hague we went to buy some pictures, where I saw a sort of painting done upon woollen cloth, drawn as if there were a curtain over it, which was very pleasant but dear. Another pretty piece of painting I saw, on which there was a great wager laid by young Pinkney and we whether it was a principal or a copy. But not knowing how to decide, it was broken off. By waggon to Lausdune, where the 365 children were born. We saw the hill where they say the house stood wherein the children were born. The basins wherein the male and female children were baptized do stand over a large table that hangs upon a wall, with the whole story of the thing in Dutch and Latin beginning, 'Margarita Herman Comitissa,' &c. The thing was done about 200 years ago.<sup>1</sup> The town is a little small village which answers much to one of our small villages, such a one as Chesterton in all respects, and one could have thought it in England but for the language of the people. We went into a little drinking house, where there were a great many Dutch boors eating of fish in a boorish manner, but very merry in their way. But the houses here as neat as in the great places. From thence to the Hague again, playing at Crambo<sup>2</sup> in the waggon. When we were come thither I met my old chamber-fellow, Mr. Ch. Anderson, and friend of his, both physicians, Mr. Wright, who took me to a Dutch house where there was an exceeding pretty lass, where I stayed till 12 at night. Going to my lodging we met with the bell-man, who struck upon a clapper, which I took in my hand, and it is just like the clapper that our boys frighten the birds away from the corn with in summer time in England. So to bed.

20th. Up early, and with Mr. Pickering and the child by waggon to Scheveling, where it not being fit to go off, I went to lie down in a chamber in the house, where in another bed there was a pretty Dutch woman; but, though I had a month's mind, I had not the boldness to go to her. So there I slept an hour or two. At last she rose, and then I rose and walked up and down the chamber and saw her dress herself after the Dutch dress, and talked to her as much as I could, and took occasion from her ring, which she wore on her first finger, to kiss her hand, but had not the face to offer anything more. So at last I left her there and went to my company. About eight o'clock I went into the church at Scheveling,

<sup>1</sup> This story has been frequently printed.    <sup>2</sup> A game at rhyming words.

which was pretty handsome, and in the chancel a very great upper part of the mouth of a whale, which indeed was of a prodigious bigness, bigger than one of our long-boats that belong to one of our ships. Commissioner Pett at last came to our lodging and caused the boats to go off; so, some in one boat and some in another, we all bid adieu to the shore. But through the badness of the weather we were in great danger and a great while before we could get to the ship. This hath not been known four days together, such weather this time of year, a great while. Indeed, our fleet was thought to be in great danger, but we found all well. *I having spoke a word or two with my Lord, being not very well settled, partly through my last night's drinking, and want of sleep, I lay down in my gown upon my bed and slept till the four o'clock gun the next morning waked me, which I took for eight at night, and rising mistook the sun rising for the sun setting on Sunday night.*

21st. So into my naked bed and slept till nine o'clock, and then John Goods waked me, and by the Captain's boy brought me four barrels of Mallow oysters, which Captain Patnell had sent me from the Murlace. The weather foul all this day also. After dinner about writing one thing or other all day and setting my papers in order, hearing, by letters that came hither in my absence, that the Parliament had ordered all persons to be secured in order to a trial, that did sit as judges in the late King's death, and all the officers attending the Court. Sir John Lenthall<sup>1</sup> moving in the House that all that had borne arms against the King should be exempted from pardon, he was called to the bar of the House, and after a severe reproof he was degraded his knighthood. We expect every day to have the King and Duke on board as soon as it is fair. My Lord do nothing now, but offers all things to the pleasure of the Duke as Lord High Admiral: so that I am at a loss what to do.

22d. Up, and trimmed by a barber that has not trimmed me yet, my Spaniard being on shore. News brought that the two Dukes are coming on board, which by and by they did, in a Dutch boat, the Duke of York in yellow trimmings, the Duke of

<sup>1</sup> Sir John Lenthall, who survived till 1681, was the only son of Speaker Lenthall, and Cromwell's governor of Windsor Castle. He had been knighted by the Protector in 1657; but is styled 'Mr. Lenthall' in the *Commons' Journal of the House*, 12th May 1660, where the proceedings alluded to by Pepys are fully detailed.

Gloucester in grey and red. My Lord went in a boat to meet them; the Captain, myself, and others standing at the entering port. So soon as they were entered we shot the guns off round the fleet. After that they went to view the ship all over, and were most exceedingly pleased with it. They seem to be both very fine gentlemen. After that done, upon the quarter-deck table under the awning, the Duke of York and my Lord, Mr. Coventry<sup>1</sup> and I, spent an hour at allotting to every ship their service in their return to England; which having done, they went to dinner, where the table was very full; the two Dukes at the upper end, my Lord Opdam next on one side, and my Lord on the other. Two guns given to every man while he was drinking the King's health, and so likewise to the Duke's health. I took down Monsieur d'Esquier to the great cabin below, and dined with him in state alone with only one or two friends of his. All dinner the harper belonging to Captain Sparling played to the Dukes. After dinner, the Dukes and my Lord to see the Vice- and Rear-Admirals, and I in a boat after them. After that done they made to the shore in the Dutch boat that brought them, and I got into the boat with them; but the shore was full of people to expect their coming, as that it was black (which otherwise is white sand). When we came near the shore my Lord left them and came into his own boat, and General Pen and I with him, my Lord being very well pleased with this day's work. By the time we came on board again news is sent us that the King is on shore; so my Lord fired all his guns round twice and all the fleet after him, which, in the end, fell into disorder, which seemed very handsome. The gun over against my cabin I fired myself to the King, which was the first time that he had been saluted by his own ships since this change; but, holding my head too much over the gun, I had almost spoiled my right eye. Nothing in the world but going of guns almost all this day. In the evening we began to remove cabins;

<sup>1</sup> Sir William Coventry, to whom Pepys became so warmly attached afterwards, was the youngest son of Thomas first Lord Coventry, the Lord Keeper. He entered at Queen's College, Oxford, in 1642; and on his return from his travels was made secretary to the Duke of York, and elected M.P. for Yarmouth. In 1662 he was appointed a Commissioner of the Navy; in 1665 knighted and sworn a privy councillor; and, in 1667, constituted a Commissioner of the Treasury; but, having been forbid the court, on account of his challenging the Duke of Buckingham, he retired into the country, nor could he subsequently be prevailed upon to accept of any official employment. *ob.* 1686, aged sixty. Sir William Coventry's Correspondence with Pepys, in 1664, is in the Bodleian Library, Rawlinson MSS., A 174.

I to the carpenter's cabin, and Dr. Clerke with me, who came on board this afternoon, having been twice ducked in the sea today, and Mr. North and John Pickering the like. Many of the King's servants came on board tonight; and so many Dutch of all sorts came to see the ship till it was quite dark, that we could not pass by one another, which was a great trouble to us all. This afternoon, Mr. Downing (who was knighted yesterday by the King) was here on board, and had a ship for his passage into England with his lady and servants. By the same token he called me to him when I was going to write the order, to tell me that I must write him Sir G. Downing. My Lord lay in the roundhouse tonight. This evening, I was late writing a French letter by my Lord's order to Monsieur Kragh, Ambassadeur de Denmarke à la Haye, which my Lord signed in bed.

23d. In the morning came infinity of people on board from the King to go along with him. My Lord, Mr. Crewe, and others go on shore to meet the King as he comes off from shore, where Sir R. Stayner bringing His Majesty into the boat, I hear that His Majesty did with a great deal of affection kiss my Lord upon his first meeting. The King with the two Dukes and Queen of Bohemia, Princess Royal, and Prince of Orange came on board, where I, in their coming in, kissed the King's, Queen's, and Princess's hands, having done the other before. Infinite shooting off of the guns, and that in a disorder on purpose, which was better than if it had been otherwise. All day, nothing but Lords and persons of honour on board, that we were exceeding full. Dined in a great deal of state, the Royal company by themselves in the coach, which was a blessed sight to see. I dined with Dr. Clerke, Dr. Quartermain, and Mr. Darcy in my cabin. After dinner, the King and Duke altered the name of some of the ships, viz., the Nazeby into Charles; the Richard, James; the Speaker, Mary; the Dunbar (which was not in company with us), the Henry; Winsly, Happy Return; Wakefield, Richmond; Lambert, the Henrietta; Cheriton, the Speedwell; Bradford, the Success. That done, the Queen, Princess Royal, and Prince of Orange took leave of the King, and the Duke of York went on board the London, and the Duke of Gloucester the Swiftsure. Which done we weighed anchor, and with a fresh gale and most happy weather we set sail for England. All the afternoon the King walked here and there, up and down (quite contrary to what I thought him to have been), very active and stirring. Upon the quarter-deck he fell into

discourse of his escape from Worcester, where it made me ready to weep to hear the stories that he told of his difficulties that he had passed through, as his travelling four days and three nights on foot, every step up to his knees in dirt, with nothing but a green coat and a pair of country breeches on, and a pair of country shoes that made him so sore all over his feet that he could scarce stir. Yet he was forced to run away from a miller and other company that took them for rogues. His sitting at table at one place, where the master of the house, that had not seen him in eight years, did know him but kept it private; when at the same table there was one that had been of his own regiment at Worcester could not know him, but made him drink the King's health and said that the King was at least four fingers higher than he. At another place, he was by some servants of the house made to drink, that they might know that he was not a Roundhead, which they swore he was. In another place, at his inn, the master of the house, as the King was standing with his hands upon the back of a chair by the fireside, kneeled down and kissed his hand privately, saying that he would not ask him who he was, but bid God bless him whither he was going. Then the difficulty of getting a boat to get into France, where he was fain to plot with the master thereof to keep his design from the foreman and a boy (which was all the ship's company), and so get to Fécamp in France. At Rouen he looked so poorly that the people went into the rooms before he went away, to see whether he had not stole something or other. In the evening I went up to my Lord to write letters for England, which we sent away with word of our coming by Mr. Edward Pickering. The King supped alone in the coach; after that I got a dish, and we four supped in my cabin as at noon. About bedtime my Lord Bartlett<sup>1</sup> (who I had offered my service to before) sent for me to get him a bed, who with much ado I did get to bed to my Lord Middlesex<sup>2</sup> in the great cabin below, but I was cruelly troubled before I could dispose of him and quit myself of him. So to my cabin again, where the company still was and were talking more of the King's difficulties: as how he was fain to eat a piece of bread and cheese out of a poor boy's pocket; how, at a Catholic house, he was fain to lie in the priest's hole a good while in the house for his privacy. After that our company broke up.

<sup>1</sup> A mistake for Berkeley. Lord Berkeley had been deputed, with Lord Middlesex and four other peers, by the House of Lords, to recall the king.

<sup>2</sup> Lionel Cranfield, third Earl of Middlesex: *ob.* 1674, *s.p.*



We have all the Lords Commissioners on board us, and many others. Under sail all night, and most glorious weather.

24th. Up, and made myself as fine as I could, with the linning stockings on and wide canons<sup>1</sup> that I bought the other day at Hague. Extraordinary press of noble company and great mirth all the day. There dined with me in my cabin (that is, the carpenter's) Dr. Earle<sup>2</sup> and Mr. Hollis, the King's chaplains; Dr. Scarborough,<sup>3</sup> Dr. Quarterman,<sup>4</sup> and Dr. Clerke, physicians; Mr. Darcy<sup>5</sup> and Mr. Fox<sup>6</sup> (both very fine gentlemen), the King's servants, where we had brave discourse. Walking upon the decks, where persons of honour all the afternoon, among others Thomas Killigrew<sup>7</sup> (a merry droll, but a gentleman of great esteem with the King), who told us many merry stories: one, how he wrote a letter three or four days ago to the Princess Royal, about a Queen Dowager of Judæa and Palestine, that was at the Hague *incognita*, that made love to the King, etc., which was Mr. Cary (a courtier's) wife, that had been a nun, who are all married to Jesus. At supper the three Doctors of Physic again at my cabin, where I put Dr. Scarborough in mind of what I heard him say about the use of the eyes, which he owned that children do, in every day's experience, look several ways with both their eyes, till custom teaches them otherwise; and that we do now see but with one eye, our eyes looking in parallel lines. After this discourse I was called to write a pass for my Lord Mandeville, to take up horses to London, which I wrote in the King's name and carried it to him to sign, which was the first and only one that ever he

<sup>1</sup> i.e. canions, boot hose tops (*Kersey's Dictionary*).

<sup>2</sup> John Earle, Dean of Westminster, successively Bishop of Worcester and Salisbury: *ob.* 1665.

<sup>3</sup> Charles Scarborough, M.D., principal physician to Charles II (by whom he was knighted in 1669), James II, and William III, a learned and incomparable anatomist.

<sup>4</sup> William Quarterman, M.D., of Pembroke College, Oxford.

<sup>5</sup> Marmaduke, fifth son of Conyers Lord Darcy, one of the companions of Charles's exile, whom the king was wont to call 'Duke Darcy'; and he is so styled in Charles's narrative of his escape, as given to Pepys. Buried in the south aisle of St. George's Chapel, Windsor.

<sup>6</sup> Afterwards Sir Stephen Fox, Paymaster to the Forces.

<sup>7</sup> Younger son of Sir Robert Killigrew, of Hanworth, Middlesex, page of honour to Charles I, and groom of the bedchamber to Charles II, whose fortunes he had followed. He was resident at Venice, 1651; a great favourite with the king, on account of his uncommon vein of humour, and author of several plays: *ob.* 1683.

signed in the ship *Charles*. To bed, coming in sight of land a little before night.

25th. By the morning we were come close to the land, and everybody made ready to get on shore. The King and the two Dukes did eat their breakfast before they went; and there being set some ship's diet before them, only to show them the manner of the ship's diet, they eat of nothing else but pease and pork and boiled beef. I had Mr. Darcy in my cabin and Dr. Clerke, who eat with me, told me how the King had given £50 to Mr. Shepley for my Lord's servants, and £500 among the officers and common men of the ship. I spoke with the Duke of York about business, who called me Pepys by name, and upon my desire did promise me his future favour. Great expectation of the King's making some Knights, but there was none. About noon, though the brigantine that Beale made was there ready to carry him, yet he would go in my Lord's barge with the two Dukes. Our Captain steered, and my Lord went along bare with him. I went, and Mr. Mansell, and one of the King's footmen, and a dog that the King loved (which dirtied the boat, which made us laugh, and we think that a king and all that belong to him are but just as others are), in a boat by ourselves, and so got on shore when the King did, who was received by General Monk with all imaginable love and respect at his entrance upon the land of Dover. Infinite the crowd of people and the gallantry of the horsemen, citizens, and noblemen of all sorts. The Mayor of the town came and give him his white staff, the badge of his place, which the King did give him again. The Mayor also presented him from the town a very rich Bible, which he took, and said it was the thing that he loved above all things in the world. A canopy was provided for him to stand under, which he did, and talked awhile with General Monk and others, and so into a stately coach there set for him, and so away through the town towards Canterbury without making any stay at Dover. The shouting and joy expressed by all is past imagination. Seeing that my Lord did not stir out of his barge, I got into a boat, and so into his barge, and spoke a word or two to my Lord, and so returned back to the ship, and going did see a man almost drowned that fell out of his boat into the sea, but with much ado was got out. My Lord almost transported with joy that he had done all this without any the least blur or obstruction in the world, that could give offence to any, and with the great honour he thought it would be to him. Being overtook by the brigantine,

my Lord and we went out of our barge into it, and so went on board with Sir W. Batten<sup>1</sup> and the Vice- and Rear-Admirals. At night I supped with the Captain, who told me what the King had given us. My Lord returned late, and at his coming did give me order to cause the mark to be gilded and a Crown and C. R. to be made at the head of the coach table, where the King today with his own hand did mark his height, which accordingly I caused the painter to do, and is now done, as is to be seen.

26th. Mr. North and Dr. Clerke and all the great company being gone, I found myself very uncouth all this day for want thereof. My Lord dined with the Vice-Admiral to-day (who is as officious, poor man! as any spaniel can be; but I believe all to no purpose, for I believe he will not hold his place); so I dined commander at the coach table today, and all the officers of the ship with me, and Mr. White of Dover. After a game or two at ninepins, to work all the afternoon, making above twenty orders. In the evening my Lord (having been ashore, the first time that he hath been ashore since he come out of the *Hope*, having resolved not to go till he had brought His Majesty into England) returned on board with a great deal of pleasure. The Captain told me that my Lord had appointed me £30 out of the 1000 ducats which the King had given to the ship, at which my heart was very much joyed.

27th. (Lord's day.) Called up by John Goods to see the Garter and herald's coat, which lay in the coach, brought by Sir Edward Walker, King at Arms, this morning for my Lord. My Lord had summoned all the Commanders on board him to see the ceremony, which was thus: Sir Edward, putting on his coat, and having

<sup>1</sup> Clarendon describes William Batten as an obscure fellow, and, although unknown to the service, a good seaman, who was in 1642 made Surveyor to the Navy; in which employ he evinced great animosity against the king. The following year, while vice-admiral to the Earl of Warwick, he chased a Dutch man-of-war into Bridlington Bay, knowing that Queen Henrietta Maria was on board; and then, learning that she had landed and was lodged on the quay, he fired a hundred shot upon the house, some of which passing through Her Majesty's chamber, she was obliged, though indisposed, to retire for safety into the open fields. This act, brutal as it was, found favour with the Parliament. But Batten became afterwards discontented; and when a portion of the fleet revolted, he carried the *Constant Warwick*, one of the best ships in the Parliament navy, over into Holland, with several seamen of note. For this act of treachery he was knighted and made a rear-admiral by Prince Charles. We hear no more of Batten till the Restoration, when he became a Commissioner of the Navy, and was soon after M.P. for Rochester.

laid the George and Garter and the King's letter to my Lord upon a crimson cushion (in the coach all the Commanders standing by), makes three congees to him, holding the cushion in his arms. Then, laying it down with the things upon it upon a chair, he takes the letter and delivers it to my Lord, which my Lord breaks open and gives him to read. It was directed to 'Our trusty and well beloved Sir Edward Montagu, Knight, one of our Generals at sea and our Companion elect of our Noble Order of the Garter.' The contents of the letter is to show that the Kings of England have for many years made use of this honour as a special mark of favour to persons of good extraction and virtue (and that many Emperors, Kings, and Princes of other countries have borne this honour), and that whereas my Lord is of a noble family, and hath now done the King such service by sea at this time as he hath done, he do send him this George and Garter to wear as Knight of the Order, with a dispensation for the other ceremonies of the habit of the Order, and other things, till hereafter, when it can be done. So the herald, putting the ribbon about his neck and the Garter on his left leg, he saluted him with joy as Knight of the Garter, and that was all. After that was done he took his leave of my Lord, and so to shore again to the King at Canterbury, where he yesterday gave the like honour to General Monk, who are the only two for many years that have had the Garter given them before they had honours of Earldom or the like, excepting only the Duke of Buckingham, who was only Sir George Villiers when he was made Knight of the Garter.<sup>1</sup> A while after, Mr. Thomas Crewe and Mr. J. Pickering, who had stayed long enough for all the world to see him to be a fool, took ship for London. The officers being all on board, there was no room for me at table, so I dined in my cabin, where Mr. Drum brought me a lobster and a bottle of oil, instead of vinegar, whereby I spoiled my dinner. Late to a sermon.

28th. Called up at two in the morning for letters for my Lord from the Duke of York. The Captain did call over all the men in the ship (not the boys) and give every one of them a ducat of the King's money that he gave the ship, and the officers according to their quality. I received in the Captain's cabin, for my share, sixty ducats.

29th. The King's birthday. Abroad to shore with my Lord (which he offered me of himself, saying that I had a great deal of

<sup>1</sup> A.D. 1616.

work to do this month, which was very true). On shore we took horses, my Lord and Mr. Edward, Mr. Hetley and I, and three or four servants, and had a great deal of pleasure in riding. Among other things, my Lord shewed me a house that cost a great deal of money, and is built in so barren and inconvenient a place, that my Lord calls it the fool's house. At last we came upon a very high cliff by the seaside, and rode under it, we having laid great wagers, Lord De Mernew, that it was not so high as Paul's; my Lord and Mr. Hetley that it was. But we riding under it, my Lord made a pretty good measure of it with two sticks, and found it to be not above thirty-five yards high, and Paul's is reckoned to be about ninety. From thence toward the large again; and in our way from the people at Ford going to make a bonfire for joy of the day, it being the King's birthday, and had some gun which they did fire at my Lord's company, of which I did give twenty shillings among them to drink. While we were on the top of the cliff we saw and heard our men in the feet go off for the same joy, and it being a pretty fair day, we could see above twenty miles into the sea. Being returned on board, my Lord called for Mr. Shepley's book of Paul's, by which we were confirmed in our wager.

30th. About eight o'clock in the morning the lieutenant came to me to know whether I would eat a dish of mackerel, newly caught for my breakfast, which the Captain and we did in the coach. All this morning making up my accounts, in which I counted that I had made myself now worth about £80, at which my heart was glad and blessed God. Mr. Shepley told me how my Lord had put me down for 70 guilders among the money which was given to my Lord's servants, which my heart did much rejoice at.

31st. Captain Sparling<sup>1</sup> of the Assistance brought me a pair of silk stockings of a light blue, which I was much pleased with. This day the month ends. I in very good health, and all the world in a merry mood because of the King's coming. I began to teach Mr. Edward,<sup>2</sup> who I find to have a very good foundation laid for his Latin by Mr. Fuller.

June 1st. Of the money that the Duke of York did give my Lord's servants, 22 ducatoons came to my share. I did give Mr. Shepley the fine pair of buckskin gloves that I bought for myself about five years ago. My poor wife has not been well: she would

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Sparling.

<sup>2</sup> Little Edward Montagu.

fain see me and be at her house again, but we must be content. She writes how there was a talk that I should be knighted by the King, which they (the Joyces) laugh at; but I thinke myself happier in my wife and estate than they are in their. The Captain come on board, when I was going to bed, quite fuddled; the Vice-Admiral, Rear-Admiral, and he had been drinking all day.

2d. Being with my Lord in the morning about business in his cabin, I took occasion to give thanks for his love to me in the share that he had given me of His Majesty's money and the Duke's. He told me he hoped to do me a more lasting kindness, if all things stand as they are now between him and the King; but, says he, 'We must have a little patience, and we will rise together; in the meantime, I will do you all the good jobs I can.' Which was great content for me to hear from my Lord. All the morning with the Captain, computing how much the thirty ships that come with the King from Scheveling their pay comes to for a month (because the King promised to give them all a month's pay), and it comes to £6,538, and the Charles particularly, £777. I wish we had the money. All the afternoon with two or three Captains in the Captain's cabin, drinking of white wine and sugar, and eating pickled oysters, where Captain Sparling told us the best story that ever I heard, about a gentleman that persuaded a country fool to let him get his oysters or else they would stink.

3d. Captain Holland is come to get an order for the setting out of his ship, and to renew his commission. He tells me how every man goes to the Lord Mayor to set down their names, as such as do accept of His Majesty's pardon, and showed me a certificate under the Lord Mayor's hand that he had done so.

At sermon in the morning: after dinner into my cabin to cast my accounts up, and find myself to be worth near £100, for which I bless Almighty God, it being more than I hoped for so soon, being, I believe, not clearly worth £25 when I come to sea, besides my house and goods.

4th. In the evening I made an order for Captain Sparling of the Assistance to go to Middelburg to fetch over some of the King's goods. I took the opportunity to send all my Dutch money, 70 ducatoons and 29 gold ducats, to be changed, if he can, for English money, which is the first venture that ever I made, and so I have since been a little afraid of it. This morning the King's proclamation against drinking, swearing, and debauchery was read

to our ships' companies in the fleet, and indeed it gives great satisfaction to all.

5th. In the morning my Lord went on shore with the Vice-Admiral a-fishing. In the evening in my cabin a great while getting the song without book, 'Help, help, Divinity, etc.' After supper my Lord called for the lieutenant's cittern, and with two candlesticks, with money in them, for cymbals, we made barber's music,<sup>1</sup> with which my Lord was well pleased.

6th. In the morning I had letters come, that told me, among other things, that my Lord's place of Clerk of the Signet was fallen to him, which he did most lovingly tell me that I should execute, in case he could not get a better employment for me at the end of the year, because he thought that the Duke of York would command all; but he hoped that the Duke would not remove me but to my advantage.

My letters tell me that Mr. Calamy<sup>2</sup> had preached before the King in a surplice (this I heard afterwards to be false); that my Lord, General Monk, and three more lords are made Commissioners for the Treasury; that my Lord had some great place conferred on him, and they say Master of the Wardrobe; that the two Dukes do haunt the Park much, and they were at a play, 'Madam Epicene,'<sup>3</sup> the other day; that Sir Anthony Cooper,<sup>4</sup> Mr. Hollis,<sup>5</sup> and Mr. Annesley,<sup>6</sup> late President of the Council of State, are made Privy Councillors to the King.

7th. About three in the morning the people began to wash the deck, and the water came pouring into my mouth, which waked me, and I was fain to rise and get on my gown and sleep leaning on my table. After dinner come Mr. John Wright and Mr. Moore, with the sight of whom my heart was very glad. They brought an order for my Lord's coming up to London, which my Lord resolved to do tomorrow. All the afternoon getting my things

<sup>1</sup> In the *Notices of Popular Histories*, printed for the Percy Society, there is a curious woodcut, representing the interior of a barber's shop, in which, according to the old custom, the person waiting to be shaved is playing on the 'ghittern' till his turn arrives. Dekker also mentions a 'barber's cittern' for every serving-man to play upon. This is no doubt 'the barber's music' with which Lord Sandwich entertained himself.

<sup>2</sup> Edward Calamy, the celebrated Nonconformist divine, born 1616, appointed chaplain to Charles II, 1660: *ob.* 1666.

<sup>3</sup> *Epicene, or the Silent Woman*, a comedy, by Ben Jonson.

<sup>4</sup> Afterwards chancellor, and created Earl of Shaftesbury.

<sup>5</sup> Afterwards Lord Holles.

<sup>6</sup> Afterwards Earl of Anglesey.

in order to set forth tomorrow. At night walked up and down with Mr. Moore, who did give me an account of all things at London: among others, how the Presbyterians would be angry if they durst, but they will not be able to do anything. Most of the Commanders on board, and supped with my Lord.

8th. Out early, took horses at Deal. Came to Canterbury, dined there. I saw the minster and the remains of Becket's tomb. To Sittingbourne and Rochester. At Chatham and Rochester the ships and bridge. Come to Gravesend. A good handsome wench I kissed, the first that I have seen a great while.

9th. Up betimes, 25s. the reckoning. Paid the house, and by boats to London, six boats. Landed at the Temple. To Whitehall with my Lord and Mr. Edward Montagu. Found the King in the Park. There walked. Gallantly great.

10th. (Lord's day.) At my father's found my wife, and to walk with her in Lincoln's Inn Walks.

11th. With my Lord to Dorset House,<sup>1</sup> to the Chancellor.

12th. To my Lord and with him to the Duke of Gloucester. The two Dukes dined with the Speaker, and I saw there a fine entertainment, and dined with the pages.

13th. To my Lord's and thence to the Treasurer of the Navy. So to Mr. Crewe's, where I blotted a new carpet that was hired, but got it out again with fair water. By water with my Lord in a boat to Westminster, and to the Admiralty, now in a new place.

14th. To my Lady Pickering, with the plate that she did give my Lord the other day.

15th. My Lord told me how the King has given him the place of the Great Wardrobe.<sup>2</sup>

16th. To my Lord, and so to White Hall with him about the Clerk of the Privy Seal's place, which he is to have. Then to the Admiralty, where I wrote some letters. Here Colonel Thompson told me, as a great secret, that the Nazeby was on fire when the King was there, but that is not known; when God knows it is quite false. Got a piece of gold from Major Holmes<sup>3</sup> for the horse of Dixwell's I brought to town.

17th. (Lord's day.) To Mr. Mossum's; a good sermon. This

<sup>1</sup> Dorset House, in Salisbury Court, Fleet Street, at this time occupied by the Chancellor, once the residence of the Bishops of Salisbury, one of whom (Jewel) alienated it to the Sackville family.

<sup>2</sup> With an official residence, often referred to by Pepys.

<sup>3</sup> Afterwards Sir Robert Holmes. He is styled 'Major,' although in the navy. Thus Lord Sandwich and Sir W. Penn were called 'Generals.'



day the organs did begin to play at White Hall before the King. After dinner to Mr. Mossum's again, and so in the garden, and heard Chippell's father preach, that was page to the Protector, and just by the window that I stood at sat Mrs. Butler, the great beauty. Mr. Edward and I into Gray's Inn Walks, and saw many beauties.

18th. To my Lord's, where much business. With him to the Parliament House, where he did intend to have made his appearance today, but he met Mr. Crewe upon the stairs, and would not go in. He went to Mrs. Brown's, and stayed till word was brought him what was done in the House. This day they made an end of the twenty men to be excepted from pardon to their estates. By barge to Stepney with my Lord, where at Trinity House we had great entertainment. With my Lord there went Sir W. Pen,<sup>1</sup> Sir H. Wright, Hetley, Pierce, Creed,<sup>2</sup> Hill, I, and other servants. Back again to the Admiralty, and so to my Lord's lodgings, where he told me that he did look after the place of the Clerk of the Acts for me. This evening my wife's brother, Balty, came to me to let me know his bad condition and to get a place for him, but I perceive he stands upon a place for a gentleman, that may not stain his family when, God help him, he wants bread.

19th. Much business at my Lord's. This morning my Lord went into the House of Commons, and there had the thanks of the House in the name of the Parliament and Commons of England for his late service to his King and country. A motion was made for a reward for him, but it was quashed by Mr. Annesley, who, above most men, is engaged to my Lord's and Mr. Crewe's families. Lady Pickering told me the story of her husband's case, and desired

<sup>1</sup> Sir William Penn was born at Bristol in 1621, of the ancient family of the Penns, of Penn Lodge, Wilts. He was captain at the age of twenty-one; rear-admiral of Ireland at twenty-three; vice-admiral of England and general in the first Dutch war at thirty-two. He was subsequently M.P. for Weymouth, governor of Kinsale, and vice-admiral of Munster. After the Dutch fight in 1665, where he distinguished himself as second in command under the Duke of York, he took leave of the sea, but continued to act as a Commissioner for the Navy till 1669, when he retired to Wanstead, on account of his bodily infirmities, and dying there, 16th September 1670, aged 49, was buried in the church of St. Mary Redcliffe, in Bristol, where a monument to his memory is still to be seen.

<sup>2</sup> From the way in which Pepys speaks of his friend John Creed, he was probably of humble origin, and nothing is known of his history previously to the Restoration, when he seems to have been a retainer in the service of Sir Edward Montagu. In 1662 he was made Secretary to the Commissioners for Tangier, and in 1668 he married Elizabeth Pickering, the niece of his original patron, by whom he had eleven children.

June 1660

DIARY OF SAMUEL PEPYS

my assistance with my Lord, and did give me, wrapped up in paper, £5 in silver. With my Lord to White Hall, and my Lady Pickering. My Lord went at night with the King to Baynard's Castle to supper, and I home. My wife and the girl and dog came home today. I found a quantity of chocolate left for me, I know not from whom.

20th. To my Lord (who lay long in bed this day, because he came home late from supper with the King). With my Lord to the Parliament House, and after that with him to General Monk's, where he dined at the Cockpit. I home and dined with my wife. Thence to the Admiralty, and despatched away Mr. Cooke to sea; whose business was a letter from my Lord about Mr. G. Montagu to be chosen as a Parliament-man in my Lord's room at Dover; and another to the Vice-Admiral to give my Lord a constant account of all things in the fleet, merely that he may thereby keep up his power there; another letter to Captain Cuttance to send the barge that brought the King on shore to Hinchinbroke by Lynn.

21st. To my Lord, much business. With him to the Council Chamber, where he was sworn; and the charge of his being admitted Privy Counsellor is £26. At the Dog tavern Captain Curle, late of the *Maria*, gave me five pieces in gold and a silver can for my wife, for the commission I did give him this day for his ship, dated April 20, 1660. Thence to the Parliament-door, and with my Lord to see the Great Wardrobe, where Mr. Townsend brought us to the governor of some poor children in tawny clothes, who had been maintained there these eleven years, which put my Lord to a stand how to dispose of them, that he may have the house for his use. The children did sing finely, and my Lord did bid me give them five pieces in gold at his going away. To White Hall, where, the King being gone abroad, my Lord and I walked a great while, discoursing of the simplicity of the Protector in his losing all that his father had left him. My Lord told me that the last words that he parted with the Protector with (when he went to the Sound) were that he should rejoice more to see him in his grave at his return home, than that he should give way to such things as were then in hatching, and afterwards did ruin him; and that the Protector said that whatever G. Montagu, my Lord Broghill,<sup>1</sup> Jones, and the Secretary would have him to do, he would do it, be it what it would. To my father's, where Sir

<sup>1</sup> Roger Boyle, Lord Broghill, created Earl of Orrery, 1660: *ob.* 1679.

Thomas Honeywood and his family were come of a sudden, and so we forced to lie all together in a little chamber, three storeys high.

22d. To my Lord, where much business. With him to White Hall, where, the Duke of York not being up, we walked a good while in the Shield Gallery. Mr. Hill (who for these two or three days hath constantly attended my Lord) told me of an offer of £500 for a baronet's dignity, which I told my Lord of in the balcony of this gallery, and he said he would think of it. I to my Lord's and gave order for horses to be got to draw my Lord's great coach to Mr. Crewe's. My dear friend Mr. Fuller of Twickenham and I dined alone at the Sun tavern, where he told me how he had the grant of being Dean of St. Patrick's in Ireland; and I told him my condition, and both rejoiced one for another. Thence to my Lord's, and had the great coach to Brigham's, who give me a can of good julep and told me how my Lady Monk deals with him and others for their places, asking him £500, though he was formerly the King's coach-maker and sworn to it. Thence called at my father's, and so to Mr. Crewe's, where Mr. Hetley had sent a letter for me, and two pair of silk stockings, one for W. Howe, and the other for me.

23d. To my Lord's lodgings, where Tom Guy came to me, and there stayed to see the King touch people for the King's evil.<sup>1</sup> But he did not come at all, it rained so; and the poor people were forced to stand all the morning in the rain in the garden. Afterward he touched them in the Banqueting-house. With my Lord to my Lord Frezendorfe's,<sup>2</sup> where he dined to-day. He told me that he had obtained a promise of the Clerk of the Acts place for me, at which I was glad.

24th. Sunday. To Mr. G. Montagu, and told him what I had received from Dover, about his business likely to be chosen there.

25th. With my Lord at White Hall all the morning. I spoke with Mr. Coventry about my business, who promised me all the assistance I could expect. Dined with young Mr. Powell, lately come from the Sound, being amused at our great changes here, and Mr. Southerne, now Clerk to Mr. Coventry, at the Leg in King Street. Thence to the Admiralty, where I met Mr. Turner of the Navy Office, who did look after the place of Clerk of the Acts.

<sup>1</sup> This ceremony was of great antiquity in England; it has been traced to Edward the Confessor.

<sup>2</sup> John Frederic de Friesendorff, ambassador from Sweden to Charles II, who created him a baronet 1661.

He was very civil to me, and I to him, and shall be so. There came a letter from my Lady Monk to my Lord about it this evening, but he refused to come to her; but meeting in White Hall with Sir Thomas Clarges, her brother, my Lord returned answer that he could not desist in my business, and that he believed that General Monk would take it ill if my Lord should name the officers in his army; and therefore he desired to have the naming of one officer in the fleet. With my Lord by coach to Mr. Crewe's, and very merry by the way, discoursing of the late changes and his good fortune. Thence home, and then with my wife to Dorset House to deliver a list of the names of the justices of the peace for Huntingdonshire. I met [there] Mr. Kipps, my old friend, now seal-bearer to the Lord Chancellor.

26th. My Lord dined at his lodgings all alone to-day. I went to Secretary Nicholas to carry him my Lord's resolutions about his title which he had chosen, and that is Portsmouth. Mr. Watts came to me, a merchant, to offer me £500 if I would desist from the Clerk of the Acts place. I pray God direct me in what I do herein. To Mr. Townsend, who went with me to Backwell,<sup>1</sup> the goldsmith's, and there we chose £100 worth of plate for my Lord to give Secretary Nicholas.

27th. With my Lord to the Duke, where he spoke to Mr. Coventry to despatch my business of the Acts,<sup>2</sup> in which place everybody gives me joy, as if I were in it, which God send. Dined with my Lord and all the officers of his regiment, who invited my Lord and his friends, as many as he would bring, to dinner at the Swan at Dowgate, a poor house, and ill dressed but very good fish, and plenty. Here Mr. Symons the surgeon told me how he was likely to lose his estate that he had bought, at which I was not a little pleased. By coach to the Speaker's, where my Lord supped with the King, but I could not get in. So back again, and after a song or two in my chamber in the dark, which do (now that the bed is out) sound very well, I went home and to bed.

<sup>1</sup> Edward Backwell, an alderman of London and opulent banker, ruined by the shutting up of the exchequer in 1672, when he retired to Holland, where he died.

<sup>2</sup> The letters patent, dated 13th July, 12 Charles II, recite and revoke letters patent of 16th February, 14 Charles I, whereby the office of Clerk of the Ships had been given to Dennis Flemming and Thomas Barlow, or the survivor. D. F. was then dead, but T. B. living, and Samuel Pepys was appointed in his room, at a salary of £33 6s. 8d. per annum, with 3s. 4d. for each day employed in travelling, and £6 per annum for boat-hire and all fees due.

28th. To Sir G. Downing, the first visit I have made him since he came. He is so stingy a fellow I care not to see him; I quite cleared myself of his office, and did give him liberty to take anybody in. After this to my Lord, who lay abed till eleven o'clock, it being almost five before he went to bed, they supped so late last night with the King. This morning I saw poor Bishop Wren<sup>1</sup> going to chapel, it being a thanksgiving day for the King's return. I carried my wife and Mrs. Pierce to Clothworkers' Hall to dinner, where Mr. Pierce, the purser, met us. We were invited by Mr. Chaplin the victualler. Our entertainment very good, a brave hall, good company, and very good music. Where, among other things, I was pleased that I could find out a man by his voice, whom I had never seen before, to be one that sang behind the curtain formerly at Sir W. Davenant's opera.

29th. Up and to White Hall, where I got my warrant from the Duke to be Clerk of the Acts. Also I got my Lord's warrant from the Secretary for his honour of Earl of Portsmouth and Viscount Montagu of Hinchinbroke. To White Hall, where I was told by Mr. Hutchinson at the Admiralty that Mr. Barlow, my predecessor, Clerk of the Acts, is yet alive and coming up to town to look after his place, which made my heart sad a little. At night told my Lord thereof, and he bade me get possession of my patent, and he would do all that could be done to keep him out. This night my Lord and I looked over the list of the Captains, and marked some that my Lord had a mind to put out. Our wench very lame, abed these two days.

30th. By times to Sir R. Fanshawe to draw up the preamble to my Lord's patent. So to my Lord, and with him to White Hall, where I saw a great many fine antique heads of marble that my Lord Northumberland<sup>2</sup> had given the King. Meeting Mr. De Cretz,<sup>3</sup> we looked over some of the pieces in the gallery, and he told me [by] whose hands they were, with great pleasure. Dined at home and Mr. Hawley with me upon six of my pigeons which my wife has resolved to kill here. This day came Will [Wayne-man], my boy, to me: the maid continuing lame, so that my wife could not be longer without somebody to help her. With Sir Edward Walker for my Lord's pedigree. To White Hall with Mr. Moore, where I met with a letter from Mr. Turner, offering

<sup>1</sup> Matthew Wren, Bishop of Ely: *ob.* 1667, aged eighty-two.

<sup>2</sup> Algernon Percy, tenth Earl of Northumberland.

<sup>3</sup> Son of John De Creetz, sergeant-painter to James I and Charles I.

me £150 to be joined with me in my patent, and to advise me how to improve the advantage of my place and to keep off Barlow.

July 1st. This morning come home my fine camlott cloak with gold buttons, and a silk suit, which cost me much money, and I pray God to make me able to pay for it. In the afternoon to the Abbey, where a good sermon by a stranger, but no Common Prayer yet.

2d. Infinite of business that my heart and head and all were full. Met with Purser Washington, with whom and a lady, a friend of his, I dined at the Bell tavern in King Street, but the rogue had no more manners than to invite me and to let me pay my club. All the afternoon with my Lord, going up and down the town: at seven at night he went home, and there the principal officers of the Navy, among the rest myself was reckoned one. We had order to meet tomorrow to draw up such an order of the Council as would put us into action before our patents were passed. At which my heart was glad. At night supped with my Lord, he and I together, in the great dining-room alone by ourselves, the first time I ever did it in London. Home to bed, my maid pretty well again.

3d. All the morning the officers and Commissioners of the Navy we met at Sir G. Carteret's<sup>1</sup> chamber and agreed upon orders for the Council to supersede the old ones, and empower us to act. Dined with Mr. Stephens, the Treasurer's man of the Navy, and Mr. Turner, to whom I offered £50 out of my own purse for one year, and the benefit of a clerk's allowance beside, which he thanked me for; but I find he hath some design yet in his head, which I could not think of. In the afternoon my heart was quite pulled down by being told that Mr. Barlow was to enquire today for Mr. Coventry; but at night I met with my Lord, who told me that I need not fear, for he would get me the place against the world. And when I came to W. Howe he told me that Dr. Petty had been with my Lord, and did tell him that Barlow was a

<sup>1</sup> Sir George Carteret had originally been bred to the sea service, and became Comptroller of the Navy to Charles I, and governor of Jersey, where he obtained considerable reputation by his gallant defence of that island against the Parliament forces. At the Restoration he was made vice-chamberlain to the king, treasurer of the navy, and a privy councillor, and in 1661 was elected M.P. for Portsmouth. He continued in favour with his sovereign till his death in 1680, æt. suæ 80. He married his cousin Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Philip Carteret, of St. Ouen, and had issue three sons and five daughters.

sickly man and did not intend to execute the place himself, which put me in great comfort again.

4th. Up early, and to the Treasurer's of the Navy. At his house comes Commissioner Pett, and he and I went to view the houses in Seething Lane belonging to the Navy, where I find the worst very good, and had great fears in my mind that they will shuffle me out of them, which troubles me. From thence to the Excise Office in Broad Street, where I received £500 for my Lord. Thence to Mr. Backwell's, the goldsmith, where I took my Lord's £100 in plate for Mr. Secretary Nicholas, and my own piece of plate, being a state dish and cup in chased work for Mr. Coventry, cost me above £19. Carried these and the money by coach to my Lord's at White Hall, and from thence carried Nicholas's plate to his house and left it there, intending to speak with him anon. So to Westminster Hall, where meeting with Mons. l'Impertinent and W. Bowyer, I took them to the Sun tavern, and gave them a lobster and some wine, and sat talking like a fool till four o'clock. So to my Lord's, and walking all the afternoon in White Hall Court, in expectation of what shall be done in the Council as to our business. It was strange to see how all the people flocked together bare, to see the King looking out of the Council window. At night my Lord told me how my orders that I drew last night, about giving us power to act, are granted by the Council, at which he and I were very glad.

5th. This morning my brother Tom brought me my jackanapes coat with silver buttons. It rained this morning, which makes us fear that the glory of this great day will be lost; the King and Parliament being to be entertained by the City today with great pomp. Mr. Hater<sup>1</sup> was with me today, and I agreed with him to be my clerk. Being at White Hall, I saw the King, the Dukes, and all their attendants go forth in the rain to the City, and it bedraggled many a fine suit of clothes. I was forced to walk all the morning in White Hall, not knowing how to get out because of the rain. Met with Mr. Cooling,<sup>2</sup> my Lord Chamberlain's secretary, who took me to dinner among the gentlemen waiters, and after dinner into the wine-cellar. He told me how he had a

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Hayter. He remained with Pepys for some time; and by his assistance was made Petty Purveyor of Petty Missions.

<sup>2</sup> Richard Cooling, or Coling, A.M., of All Souls College, secretary to the Earls of Manchester and Arlington, when they filled the office of Lord Chamberlain, and a clerk of the Privy Council in ordinary. There is a mezzotint print of him in the Pepysian Library.

project for all us Secretaries to join together and get money by bringing all business into our hands. Thence to the Admiralty, where Mr. Blackburne and I (it beginning to hold up) went and walked an hour or two in the Park, he giving of me light in many things in my way in this office that I go about. And in the evening I got my present of plate carried to Mr. Coventry's. At my Lord's at night comes Dr. Petty to me to tell me that Barlow was come to town, and other things, which put me into a despair, and I went to bed very sad.

6th. In the afternoon my Lord and I and Mr. Coventry and Sir G. Carteret went and took possession of the Navy Office, whereby my mind was a little cheered, but my hopes not great. From thence Sir G. Carteret and I to the Treasurer's Office, where he set some things in order. To my Lord's, where in the dark, W. Howe and I did sing extempores, and I find by use that we are able to sing a bass and a treble pretty well.

7th. I took an order for the advance of the salaries of the officers of the Navy, and mine is raised to £350 per annum.

8th. (Lord's day.) To White Hall chapel, where I got in with ease by going before the Lord Chancellor with Mr. Kipps. Here I heard very good music, the first time that ever I remember to have heard the organs and singing-men in surplices in my life. The Bishop of Chichester<sup>1</sup> preached before the King, and made a great flattering sermon, which I did not like that Clergy should meddle with matters of State. Dined with Mr. Luellin and Salisbury at a cook's shop. Home, and stayed all the afternoon with my wife till after sermon. There till Mr. Fairbrother<sup>2</sup> came to call us out to my father's to supper. He told me how he had perfectly procured me to be made Master in Arts by proxy, which did somewhat please me, though I remember my cousin Roger Pepys<sup>3</sup> was the other day persuading me from it.

9th. To the Navy Office,<sup>4</sup> where in the afternoon we met and sat, and there I begun to sign bills in the office the first time.

10th. This day I put on first my new silk suit, the first that ever

<sup>1</sup> Henry King, Dean of Rochester, advanced to the See of Chichester, 1641: *ob.* 1669.

<sup>2</sup> William Fairbrother, in 1661 made D.D. at Cambridge *per regias litteras*. He was fellow of King's College, Cambridge, and proctor of the university.

<sup>3</sup> Roger Pepys, a barrister, M.P. for Cambridge, 1661, and afterwards recorder of that town.

<sup>4</sup> The navy office was erected on the site of Lumley House, formerly belonging to the Fratres Sanctæ Crucis (or Crutched Friars).



I wore in my life. Home, and called my wife, and took her to Dr. Clodins's to a great wedding of Nan Hartlib to Mynheer Roder,<sup>1</sup> which was kept at Goring House<sup>2</sup> with very great state, cost, and noble company. But among all the beauties there, my wife was thought the greatest. Finding my Lord in White Hall garden, I got him to go to the Secretary's, which he did and desired the despatch of his and my bills to be signed by the King. His bill is to be Earl of Sandwich,<sup>3</sup> Viscount Hinchinbroke, and Baron of St. Neots. Home, with my mind pretty quiet: not returning, as I said I would, to see the bride put to bed.

11th. With Sir E. Pen by water to the Navy Office, where we met and despatched business. And that being done, we went all to dinner to the Dolphin upon Major Brown's invitation. After that, to the office again, where I was vexed, and so was Commissioner Pett, to see a busy fellow come to look out the best lodgings for my Lord Berkeley [of Stratton], and the combining between him and Sir W. Pen; and, indeed, was troubled much at it.

12th. Up early, and by coach to White Hall with Commissioner Pett, where, after we had talked with my Lord, I went to the Privy Seal, and got my bill perfected there and at the Signet: and then to the House of Lords, and met with Mr. Kipps, who directed me to Mr. Beale to get my patent engrossed; but, he not having time to get it done in Chancery-hand, I was forced to run all up and down Chancery Lane and the Six Clerks' Office, but could find none that could write the hand that were at leisure. And so in despair went to the Admiralty, where we met the first time there, my Lord Montagu, my Lord Berkeley [of Stratton], Mr. Coventry, and all the rest of the principal officers and Commissioners, except only the Comptroller, who is not yet chosen.

13th. Up early, the first day that I put on my black camlott coat with silver buttons. To Mr. Spong, whom I found in his night-gown writing of my patent. It being done, we carried it to

<sup>1</sup> Afterwards knighted, 5th August 1660, as Sir John Roder. See *Diary*, 7th August 1660. Le Neve calls him Roth, and says he was of Utrecht. Nan Hartlib was sister to Samuel Hartlib.

<sup>2</sup> The house occupied the site of Mulberry Gardens, upon which Buckingham Palace now stands.

<sup>3</sup> The motive for Sir Edward Montagu's so suddenly altering his intended title is not explained; probably the change was adopted as a compliment to the town of Sandwich, off which the fleet was lying, before it sailed to bring Charles from Scheveling.

Worcester House,<sup>1</sup> to the Chancellor, where Mr. Kipps (a strange providence that he should now be in a condition to do me a kindness which I never thought him capable of doing for me), got me the Chancellor's *recepti* to my bill; and so carried it to Mr. Beale for a docket; but he was very angry, and unwilling to do it, because he said it was ill writ (because I had got it writ by another hand and not by him); but by much importunity I got Mr. Spong to go to his office and make an end of my patent; and in the meantime Mr. Beale to be preparing my docket, which being done, I did give him two pieces, after which it was strange how civil and tractable he was to me. From thence I went to the Navy Office where I got leave to have a door made me into the leads. From then, much troubled in mind about my patent, I went to Mr. Beale again, who had now finished my patent and made it ready for the seal. So I went away towards Westminster, and in my way met with Mr. Spong, who still would be giving me counsel of getting my patent out, for fear of another change and my Lord Montagu's fall. After that to Worcester House, where, by Mr. Kipps's means and my pressing in General Montagu's name to the Chancellor, I did, beyond all expectation, get my seal passed; and while it was doing in one room, I was forced to keep Sir G. Carteret (who by chance met me there, ignorant of my business) in talk. To my wife, whom I had left in a coach, and presented her with my patent, at which she was overjoyed; so to the Navy Office, and showed her my house,<sup>2</sup> and were both mightily pleased. I to my Lord's, where I despatched an order for a ship to fetch Sir R. Honeywood home, for which I got two pieces of my Lady Honeywood by young Mr. Powell. Late writing letters; and great doings of music at the next house, which was Whalley's; the King and Dukes there with Madame Palmer,<sup>3</sup> a pretty woman that they have a fancy to, to make her husband a cuckold. Here, at the old door that did go into his lodgings, my Lord, I, and W. Howe did stand listening a great while to the music.

14th. With Major Tollemache and others to Harper's, and I sent for my barrel of pickled oysters and there eat them; while we were

<sup>1</sup> The earls of Worcester had a large house in the Strand.

<sup>2</sup> In Seething Lane.

<sup>3</sup> Barbara Villiers, only child of William Viscount Grandison, wife of Roger Palmer, created Earl of Castlemaine, 1661. She became the king's mistress at the Restoration, and was in 1670 made Duchess of Cleveland. She died 1709, aged sixty-eight. One of her sons by Charles II was created Duke of Grafton.

doing so comes in Mr. Pagan Fisher,<sup>1</sup> the poet, and promises me what he had long ago done, a book in praise of the King of France, with my arms, and a dedication to me, very handsome. Took Mr. Butler (*Monsieur l'Impertinent*) with me into London by coach and showed him my house at the Navy Office, and did give order for the laying in coals. So into Fenchurch Street, and did give him a glass of wine at Rawlinson's and was trimmed in the street.

15th. Lay long in bed to recover my rest. Drank my morning draught at Wilkinson's, and after that to Westminster Abbey, and in Henry the Seventh's chapel heard part of a sermon, the first that ever I heard there. To my Lord's and dined all alone at the table with him. I find him plainly to be a sceptic in all things of religion, and to make no great matter of anything therein, but to be a perfect Stoic. My wife and I mightily pleased with our new house that we hope to have. My patent has cost me a great deal of money, about £40, which is the only thing at present which do trouble me much.

16th. This morning it proved very rainy weather, so that I could not remove my goods to my house.

17th. This morning (as indeed all the mornings nowadays) much business at my Lord's. There came to my house before I went out Mr. Barlow, an old consumptive man, and fair conditioned. After much talk I did grant him what he asked, viz. £50 per annum if my salary be not increased, and £100 per annum in case it be to £350, at which he was very well pleased to be paid as I received my money, and not otherwise, so I brought him to my Lord's bed-side, and he and I did agree together. That done, and the day proving fair, I went home and got all my things packed up and sent away, and my wife and I and Mrs. Hunt went by coach,

<sup>1</sup> Payne Fisher, who styled himself *Paganus Piscator*, was born in 1616, in Dorsetshire, and removed from Hart Hall, Oxford, of which he had been a commoner, to Magdalen College, Cambridge, in 1634; and there took a degree of B.A., and first discovered a turn for poetry. He was afterwards a captain in the king's service at Marston Moor fight; but, leaving his command, employed his pen against the cause which he had supported with his sword, and became a favourite of Cromwell's. After the king's return he obtained a scanty subsistence by flattering men in power, and was frequently imprisoned for debt. He died 1693 in the Fleet prison. He published several poems, chiefly in Latin; and, in 1682, printed a book of heraldry, with the arms of such of the gentry as he had waited upon with presentation copies. He was a man of talents, but vain, unsteady, and conceited, and a great time-server.

overtaking the carts a-drinking in the Strand. Being come to my house and set in the goods, and at night sent my wife and Mrs. Hunt to buy something for supper; they bought a quarter of lamb, and so we eat it, but it was not half roasted. Will,<sup>1</sup> Mr. Blackburne's nephew, is so obedient, that I am greatly glad of him.

18th. This morning we met at the office: I dined at my house in Seething Lane, and after that, about four o'clock, going to Westminster Hall I met with Mr. Carter and Mr. Cooke. I did also meet with Mr. Pierce, the surgeon, with a porter with him, with a barrel of lemons, which my man Burr sends me from sea. I took all these people home to my house and did give them some drink. Thence to my Lord about business, and being in talk, in comes one with half a buck from Hinchinbroke, and it smelling a little strong, my Lord did give it me (though it was as good as any could be). I did carry it to my mother, and did leave the venison with her to dispose of as she pleased.

19th. Took Mr. Michell and his wife to the Dog tavern, where I did give them a dish of anchovies and olives, and paid for all; and we did talk of our old discourse when we did use to talk of the King, in the time of the Rump, privately; after that to the Admiralty Office, in White Hall, where I staved and writ my last observations for these four days last past. Great talk of the difference between the Episcopal and Presbyterian Clergy, but I believe it will come to nothing.

20th. I sent my wife to my father's, and he is to give me £5 worth of pewter.

21st. This morning Mr. Barlow had appointed for me to bring him what form I would have the agreement between him and me to pass, which I did to his lodgings at the Golden Eagle in the new street between Fetter Lane and Shoe Lane. Dined at a club, where we had three voices to sing catches. About business of my Lord's concerning his creation.<sup>2</sup>

22d. Lord's day. After dinner to White Hall, where I find my Lord at home, and walked in the garden with him, he showing me all the respect that can be. I left him, and went to walk in

<sup>1</sup> William Hewer, of whose family nothing more is known except that his father died of the plague, 14th September 1665. He became afterwards a Commissioner of the Navy and Treasurer for Tangier, and was the constant companion of Pepys, who died in his house at Clapham, previously the residence of Sir Dennis Gauden. Mr. Hewer was buried in the old church at Clapham.

<sup>2</sup> In the peerage.

the inward Park, but could not get in; one man was basted by the keeper for carrying some people over on his back through the water. Home, and at night had a chapter read; and I read prayers out of the common Prayer Book, the first time that ever I read prayers in this house. So to bed.

23d. Mr. Barlow and I went forth to a scrivener in Fenchurch Street, whom we found sick of the gout in bed, signed and sealed our agreement before him, and afterwards Mr. Barlow by appointment came and dined with me, and both of us very pleasant and pleased. After dinner to my Lord, who took me to Secretary Nicholas;<sup>1</sup> and there before him and Secretary Morris<sup>2</sup> my Lord and I upon our knees together took our oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, and the Oath of the Privy Seal, of which I was much glad, though I am not likely to get anything by it at present; but I do desire it, for fear of a turn-out of our office.

24th. To White Hall, where I did acquaint Mr. Watkins with my being sworn into the Privy Seal, at which he was much troubled, but did not offer me a kinsman of his to be my clerk, which I did give him some hope of, though I never intend it. In the afternoon I spent much time in walking in White Hall Court with Mr. Bickerstaffe,<sup>3</sup> who was very glad of my Lord's being sworn, because of his business with his brother Baron,<sup>3</sup> which is referred to my Lord Chancellor, and to be ended tomorrow. Baron had got a grant beyond sea, to come in before the reversionary of the Privy Seal.

25th. I got my certificate of my Lord's and my being sworn. This morning my Lord took leave of the House of Commons, and had the thanks of the House for his great service to his country.<sup>4</sup> In the afternoon (but this is a mistake, for it was yesterday in the afternoon) Monsieur l'Impertinent and I met and I took him to the Sun and drank with him, and in the evening going away we met his mother and sisters and father coming from the Gatehouse, where they lodge, where I did the first time salute them all, and very pretty Madame Frances<sup>5</sup> is indeed.

<sup>1</sup> Sir Edward Nicholas, many years principal Secretary of State to Charles I and II; dismissed in 1663 from his office through the intrigues of Lady Castlemaine, and *ob.* 1669, aged seventy-six.

<sup>2</sup> Sir William Morice, Secretary of State from 1660 to 1668: *ob.* 1676. He was kinsman to General Monk.

<sup>3</sup> They were both clerks of the Privy Seal.

<sup>4</sup> In the journals this is stated to have taken place 24th July.

<sup>5</sup> Mr. Butler's sister.

26th. Early to White Hall, thinking to have a meeting of my Lord and the principal officers, but my Lord could not, it being the day that he was to go and be admitted in the House of Lords, his patent being done, which he presented upon his knees to the Speaker; and so it was read in the House, and he took his place. T. Doling carried me to St. James's Fair,<sup>1</sup> and there meeting with W. Symons and his wife, and Luellin, and D. Scobell's wife and cousin, we went to Wood's at the Pall Mall (our old house for clubbing), and there we spent till ten at night. So by link home to bed.

27th. To my Lord's where Will, my clerk, and I were all the afternoon making up my accounts, and I find myself worth about £100 after all my expenses. We got a coach, but the horses were tired and could not carry us farther than St. Dunstan's. So we 'light and took a link and so home weary to bed.

28th. A boy brought me a letter from Poet Fisher, who tells me that he is upon a panegyric of the King, and desired to borrow a piece of me; and I sent him half a piece. To Westminster, and there met Mr. Henson, who had formerly had the brave clock that went with bullets<sup>2</sup> (which is now taken away from him by the King, it being his goods). I went with him to the Swan tavern and sent for Mr. Butler, who was now all full of his high discourse in praise of Ireland, whither he and his whole family are going by Col. Dillon's persuasion; but so many lies I never heard in praise of anything as he told of Ireland.

29th. Lord's day. With my Lord to White Hall Chapel, where I heard a cold sermon of the Bishop of Salisbury's, Duppa's,<sup>3</sup> and the ceremonies did not please me, they do so overdo them. My Lord went to dinner at Kensington with my Lord Camden.<sup>4</sup>

30th. This afternoon I got my £50, due to me for my first quarter's salary as Secretary to my Lord, paid to Thomas Hater for me, which he received and brought home to me, of which I am

<sup>1</sup> In August of the following year, the Fair, called St. James's Fair, was kept the full appointed time, being a fortnight; during which time many lewd and infamous persons were committed by the king's command.—*Rugge's Diurnal*. It was afterwards known as May Fair, and not finally abolished till the reign of George III.

<sup>2</sup> Some clocks were made with a small ball, or bullet, on an inclined plane, which turns every minute. The king's clocks probably dropped bullets.

<sup>3</sup> Brian Duppa, successively Bishop of Chichester, Salisbury, and Winchester: *ob.* 1662.

<sup>4</sup> Baptist Noel, second Viscount Campden, Lord Lieutenant of Rutlandshire: *ob.* 1682.

full glad. To Westminster and met with Mr. Moore, and took him and his friend, a bookseller of Paul's Church-yard to the Rhenish wine-house, and drinking there, the swordbearer of London (Mr. Man) came to ask for us, with whom we sat late, discoursing about the worth of my office of Clerk of the Acts, which he hath a mind to buy, and I asked four years' purchase.

31st. To White Hall, where my Lord and the principal officers met, and had a great discourse about raising of money for the Navy, which is in very sad condition, and money must be raised for it. Mr. Blackburne, Dr. Clerke, and I to the Quaker's, and dined there. I back to the Admiralty, and there was doing things in order to the calculating of the debts of the Navy and other business all the afternoon. At night I went to the Privy Seal, where I found Mr. Crofts and Mathews making up all their things to leave the office tomorrow, to those that come to wait the next month.

August 1st. Up very early, and by water to White Hall to my Lord's, and there talked with him about the affairs of the Navy. I took at noon Mr. Harper to the Leg in King Street, and did give him his dinner, who did still advise me much to act wholly myself at the Privy Seal, but I told him that I would not, because I had other business to take up my time. In the afternoon at the office again, where we had many things to sign; and I went to the Council Chamber, and there got my Lord to sign the first bill, and the rest all myself; but received no money today.

2d. To Westminster by water with Sir W. Batten and Sir W. Pen (our servants in another boat) to the Admiralty; and from thence I went to my Lord's to fetch him thither, where we stayed in the morning about ordering of money for the victuallers, and advising how to get a sum of money to carry on the business of the Navy. From thence W. Hewer and I to the office of Privy Seal, where I stayed all the afternoon and received about £40 for yesterday and today, at which my heart rejoiced for God's blessing to me, to give me this advantage by chance, there being of this £40 about £10 due to me for this day's work. So great is the present profit of this office, above what it was in the King's time; there being the last month about 300 bills, whereas in the late King's time it was much to have 40. I went and cast up the expense that I laid out upon my former house (because there are so many that are desirous of it, and I am, in my mind, loth to let it go out of my hands, for fear of a turn). I find my layings-out to

come to about £20, which with my fine will come to about £22 to him that shall hire my house<sup>1</sup> of me.

3d. At noon my wife and I by coach to Dr. Clerke's to dinner. I was very much taken with his lady, a comely, proper woman, though not handsome, but a woman of the best language I ever heard.

4th. To White Hall, where I found my Lord gone with the King by water to dine at the Tower with Sir J. Robinson,<sup>2</sup> Lieutenant. I found my Lady Jemimah at my Lord's, with whom I stayed and dined all alone; after dinner to the Privy Seal Office where I did business. So to a committee of Parliament (Sir Heneage Finch,<sup>3</sup> chairman) to give them an answer to an order of theirs, 'that we could not give them any account of the Accounts of the Navy in the years 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, as they desire.' After that I went and bespoke some linen of Betty Lane in the Hall, and after that to the Trumpet. At night, it being very rainy, and it thundering and lightening exceedingly, I took coach at the Trumpet door, taking Monsieur l'Impertinent along with me as far as the Savoy. I made haste home.

5th. Lord's day. My wife being in much pain, I went this morning to Dr. Williams, in Holborn, and he did give me an ointment, which I sent home by my boy, and a plaister, which I took with me to Westminster, where I dined with Mr. Shepley. After dinner to St. Margaret's; the first time I ever heard Common Prayer in that church. To Westminster stairs where I saw a fray between Mynheer Clinker, a Dutchman, that was at Hartlib's wedding, and a waterman, which made good sport.

6th. My wife ill in pain abed, which I was troubled at and not a little impatient. This night Mr. Man offered me £1000 for my office of Clerk of the Acts, which made my mouth water; but yet I dare not take it till I speak with my Lord to have his consent.

7th. Mr. Moore and myself dined at my Lord's with Mr. Shepley. While I was at dinner in came Samuel Hartlib,<sup>4</sup> and his brother-in-law,<sup>5</sup> now knighted by the King, to request my

<sup>1</sup> In Axe Yard.

<sup>2</sup> Sir John Robinson, created a baronet for his services to Charles II, 1660, and had an augmentation to his arms. He was Lord Mayor of London, 1663. He retained the lieutenancy of the Tower till 1678.

<sup>3</sup> Solicitor-General 1660; Lord Keeper 1673; Chancellor 1675; created Earl of Nottingham, 1681: *ob.* 1682.

<sup>4</sup> Samuel Hartlib, son of a Polish merchant, and author of several ingenious works on agriculture, for which he had a pension from Cromwell.

<sup>5</sup> Sir John Roder, or Roth.



promise of a ship for them to Holland, which I had promised to get for them. After dinner to the Privy Seal all the afternoon. At night, meeting Samuel Hartlib, he took me by coach to Kensington, to my Lord of Holland's; I stayed in the coach while he went in about his business. With Mr. Moore and Dean Fuller to the Leg in King Street, and sending for my wife, we dined there very merry.

8th. To Mr. Butler's, to see his daughters. We found them very pretty, and Colonel Dillon<sup>1</sup> there, a very merry and witty companion, but methinks they live in a gaudy but very poor condition.

9th. With Judge-Advocate Fowler, Mr. Creed, and Mr. Shepley to the Rhenish wine-house,<sup>2</sup> and Captain Hayward of the Plymouth, who is now ordered to carry my Lord Winchelsea Ambassador to Constantinople. We were very merry, and Judge-Advocate did give Captain Hayward his Oath of Allegiance and Supremacy.

10th. With Mr. Moore and Creed to Hyde Park by coach, and saw a fine foot-race three times round the Park, between an Irishman and Crow, that was once my Lord Claypole's<sup>3</sup> footman. (By the way, I cannot forget that my Lord Claypole did the other day make inquiry of Mrs. Hunt concerning my house in Axe Yard, and did set her on work to get it of me for him, which methinks is a very great change.) Crow beat the other by above two miles. For this month or two it is not imaginable how busy my head has been, and especially this month my waiting at the Privy Seal makes me much more unable to think of anything, because of my constant attendance there after I have done at the Navy Office. But blessed be God for my good chance of the Privy Seal, where I get every day, I believe, about £3. This place my Lord did give me by chance, neither he nor I thinking it to be of the worth that he and I find it to be. Many people look after my house in Axe Yard to hire it, so that I am troubled with them.

<sup>1</sup> Frances Butler's suitor.

<sup>2</sup> In Channel, now Cannon Row, Westminster, at the end of a passage leading from King Street. It is mentioned again 24th November 1660. There was another Rhenish wine-house in Crooked Lane.

<sup>3</sup> John Lord Claypole, married, in 1645, Elizabeth, second daughter of Oliver Cromwell, to whom he became Master of the Horse, and a Lord of the Bedchamber; he was also placed in his father-in-law's Upper House. During Richard Cromwell's time he retained all his places at Court; and at the Restoration never having made an enemy whilst his relations were in power, he was not molested, and lived till 1688.

11th. At night sent for the barber, and was trimmed in the kitchen, the first time that ever I was so. I was vexed this night that W. Hewer was out of doors till ten at night, but was pretty well satisfied again when my wife told me that he wept because I was angry, though indeed he did give me a good reason for his being out, but I thought it a good occasion to let him know that I do expect his being at home. So to bed.

12th. Lord's day. To my Lord, and with him to White Hall Chapel, where Mr. Calamy preached, and made a good sermon upon these words, 'To whom much is given, of him much is required.' He was very officious with his three reverences to the King, as others do. After sermon a brave anthem of Captain Cooke's,<sup>1</sup> which he himself sung, and the King was well pleased with it. My Lord dined at my Lord Chamberlain's.<sup>2</sup>

13th. My father told me that he had propounded Mr. John Pickering for Sir Thomas Honynood's daughter, which I think he do not deserve for his own merit. I know not what he may do for his estate. Home by coach and took my £100, which is the first that ever I was master of at once.

14th. To the Privy Seal, and thence to my Lord's, where Mr. Pim, the tailor, and I agreed upon making me a velvet coat. From thence to the Privy Seal again, where Sir Samuel Morland came with a baronet's grant to pass, which the King had given him to make money of. Here we stayed with him a great while; and he told me the whole manner of his serving the King in the time of the Protector; and how Thurloe's bad usage made him to do it; how he discovered Sir R. Willis, and how he had sunk his fortune for the King; and that now the King had given him a pension of £500 per annum out of the Post Office for life, and the benefit of two baronets; all which do make me begin to think that he is not so much a fool as I took him to be. I did make even with Mr. Fairbrother for my degree of Master of Arts, which cost me about £9 16s. At night good sport, with having the girl and boy to comb my head before I went to bed, in the kitchen.

15th. To the office, and after dinner by water to White Hall, where I found the King gone this morning by five of the clock to

<sup>1</sup> Henry Cooke, who had served in the royal army and obtained a captain's commission, was made, at the Restoration, Master of the Children of the Chapel Royal; he was an excellent musician; and died in 1672. He was one of the original performers in *The Siege of Rhodes*.

<sup>2</sup> The Earl of Manchester.

see a Dutch pleasure-boat below bridge, where he dines, and my Lord with him. The King do tire all his people that are about him with early rising since he came. To my Lord's, where he did give me direction about his business in his absence, he intending to go into the country tomorrow morning.

16th. This morning my Lord carried me by coach to Mr. Crewe's, in the way talking how good he did hope my plan would be to me, and in general speaking that it was not the salary of any place that did make a man rich, but the opportunity of getting money while he is in the place. He took leave, and so for Hinchbroke. My Lady Jemimah and Mr. Thomas Crewe in the coach with him.

17th. To the office, and that done, home to dinner where Mr. Unthank, my wife's tailor, dined with me, we have nothing but a dish of sheep's trotters. At night I and Creed and the Judge-Advocate went to Mr. Pim, the tailor's, who took us to the Half Moon, and there did give us great store of wine and anchovies, and would pay for them all. This night I saw Mr. Creed show many the strangest motions to shift off his drink I ever saw in my life.

18th. Towards Westminster by water, and landed my wife at Whitefriars with £5 to buy her a petticoat. My father has persuaded her to buy a most fine cloth of 26s. a yard, and a rich lace, that the petticoat will come to £5, at which I was somewhat troubled; but she doing it very innocently, I could not be angry. Captain Ferrers took me and Creed to the Cockpit play, the first that I have had time to see since my coming from sea, 'The Loyal Subject,'<sup>1</sup> where one Kynaston,<sup>2</sup> a boy, acted the Duke's sister [Olympia], but made the loveliest lady that ever I saw in my life. After the play done we three went to drink, and, by Captain Ferrers's means, Kynaston and another, that acted Archas the General, came and drank with us. Hence home by coach, and after being trimmed, leaving my wife to look after her little bitch which was just now a-whelping, I to bed.

19th. Lord's day. This morning Sir William Batten, Pen, and myself went to church to the churchwardens to demand a pew,

<sup>1</sup> A tragi-comedy by Beaumont and Fletcher.

<sup>2</sup> Edward Kynaston, engaged by Sir W. Davenant, in 1660, to perform the principal female characters: he afterwards assumed the male ones in the first parts of tragedy, and continued on the stage till the end of King William's reign. He died in 1706.

which at present could not be given us; but we are resolved to have one built. So we stayed, and heard Mr. Mills,<sup>1</sup> a very good minister. Home to dinner, where my wife had on her new petticoat that she bought yesterday, which indeed is a very fine cloth and a fine lace; but that being of a light colour and the lace all silver, it makes no great show. I went up to put my papers in order, and finding my wife's clothes lie carelessly laid up I was angry with her, which I was much troubled for.

20th. (Office day.) As Sir W. Pen and I were walking in the garden a messenger came to me from the Duke of York to fetch me to the Lord Chancellor. So I went with Mrs. Turner in her coach as far as Worcester House, but my Lord Chancellor being gone to the House of Lords, I went thither, and (there being a law case before them this day) got in, and there stayed all the morning, seeing their manner of sitting on woolpacks, &c., which I never did before. This afternoon at the Privy Seal, where reckoning with Mr. Moore, he had got £100 for me together, which I was glad of, guessing that the profit of this month would come to £100. With W. Hewer by coach to Worcester House, where I 'light, sending him home with the £100 that I received today. Here I stayed and saw my Lord Chancellor come into his Great Hall, where wonderful how much company there was to expect him at a seal. Before he would begin any business he took my papers of the state of the debts of the fleet, and there viewed them before all the people, and did give me his advice privately how to order things to get as much money as we can of the Parliament.

21st. I met Mr. Crewe and dined with him, where there dined one Mr. Hickman,<sup>2</sup> an Oxford man, who spoke very much against the height of the now old clergy, for putting out many of the religious fellows of colleges, and inveighing against them for their being drunk, which, if true, I am sorry to hear. To the Brazen Nose tavern. It being post-night, I wrote to my Lord to give

<sup>1</sup> Daniel Mills, D.D., thirty-two years rector of St. Olave's, Hart Street, and buried there October 1689, aged sixty-three. In 1667 Sir Robert Brooks presented him to the rectory of Wanstead, which he also held till his death.

<sup>2</sup> Henry Hickman, a native of Worcestershire, took the degree of B.A. at St. Catharine Hall, Cambridge, and, migrating to Oxford, obtained a fellowship at Magdalen College, from the usurping powers, which he lost in 1660 to make room for the rightful owner. He then retired to Holland, and passed most of his time abroad, dying at Leyden in 1692. He wrote several theological tracts, and was considered a severe enemy to the ceremonies of the Church of England.

him notice that all things are well; that General Monk is made Lieutenant of Ireland, which my Lord Roberts<sup>1</sup> (made deputy) do not like of, to be deputy to any man but the King himself.

22d. In the House, after the Committee was up, I met with Mr. G. Montagu and joyed him in his entrance (this being his 3d day) for Dover. Here he made me sit all alone in the House, none but he and I, half an hour, discoursing how things stand with Mr. Herring, the minister of St. Bride's. Hence to my father's (walking).

23d. By water to Doctors' Commons, to Dr. Walker,<sup>2</sup> to give him my Lord's papers to view over concerning his being empowered to be Vice-Admiral under the Duke of York. Thence by water to White Hall, to the Parliament House, where I spoke with Colonel Birch,<sup>3</sup> and so to the Admiralty chamber, where we and Mr. Coventry had a meeting about several businesses. Amongst others, it was moved that Phineas Pett<sup>4</sup> (kinsman to the Commissioner), of Chatham, should be suspended his employment till he had answered some articles put in against him, as that he should formerly say that the King was a bastard and his mother a strumpet. To Westminster Hall, where I met with W. Symons, &c., and with them to the Dog, where we eat a musk melon, the first that I have eat this year.

25th. This night W. Hewer brought me home from Mr. Pim's my velvet coat and cap, the first that ever I had.

26th. (Lord's day.) With Sir W. Pen to the parish church, where we are placed in the highest pew of all. A stranger preached a dry and tedious long sermon. To church again in the afternoon with my wife; in the garden and on the leads at night.

27th. This morning comes one with a vessel of Northdown ale from Mr. Pierce, the purser, to me, and after him another with a brave Turkey carpet and a jar of olives from Captain Cuttance, and a pair of fine turtle-doves to my wife. These things came up today in our smack, and my boy Ely came along with them, and came after office was done to see me. I did give him half-a-crown because I saw that he was ready to cry to see that he could not be entertained by me here. Major Hart came to me, whom I did

<sup>1</sup> John Robartes, second Lord Robartes, advanced to the earldom of Radnor, 1679: *ob.* 1685.

<sup>2</sup> One of the judges of the Admiralty.

<sup>3</sup> Colonel John Birch represented Leominster at that time, and afterwards Penryn. He was an active Member of Parliament.

<sup>4</sup> Employed by the Admiralty as a shipbuilder.

receive with wine and anchovies, which made me so dry that I was ill with them all night, and was fain to have the girl rise and fetch me some drink.

28th. Sometime I spent this morning beginning to teach my wife some scale in music, and found her apt beyond imagination. Colonel Scroope<sup>1</sup> is this day excepted out of the Act of Indemnity, which has been now long in coming out, but it is expected to-morrow. I carried home £80 from the Privy Seal by coach, and at night spent a little more time with my wife about her music with great content. To bed, a little troubled that I fear my boy Will is a thief and has stole some money of mine, particularly a letter that Mr. Jenkins did leave the last week with me with half-a-crown in it to send to his son.

29th. Before I went to the office my wife and I examined my boy Will about his stealing of things, but he denied all with the greatest subtlety and confidence in the world. Home to dinner, and there I found my wife had discovered my boy Will's theft and a great deal more than we imagined, at which I was vexed, and intend to put him away. To my office at the Privy Seal in the afternoon, and then sent for my boy's father and talked with him about his son, and had his promise that if I will send home his boy he will take him notwithstanding his indenture. To bed, and caused the boy's clothes to be brought up to my chamber. But after we were all abed the wench (which lies in our chamber) caused us to listen of a sudden, which put my wife into such a fright that she shook every joint of her, and a long time that I could not get her out of it. The noise was the boy, we did believe, got in a desperate mood out of his bed to do himself or William [Hewer] some mischief. But the wench went down and got a candle lighted, and finding the boy in bed, and locking the doors fast, with a candle burning all night, we slept well but with a great deal of fear.

30th. We found all well in the morning below stairs, but the boy in a sad plight of seeming sorrow; but he is the most cunning rogue that ever I met with of his age. To White Hall, where I met with the Act of Indemnity (so long talked of and hoped for), with the Act of Rate for Poll-money, and for judicial proceedings. This the first day that ever I saw my wife wear black patches since we were married. My Lord come to town today.

<sup>1</sup> Colonel Adrian Scroope, one of the persons who sat in judgment upon Charles I.

31st. After dinner to my Lord, who told me that he is ordered to go suddenly to sea and did give me some orders to be drawing up against his going.

September 1st. Dined at the Bullhead upon the best venison pasty that ever I eat of in my life, and with one dish more, it was the best dinner I ever was at. Here rose in discourse at table a dispute between Mr. Moore and Dr. Clerke, the former affirming that it was essential to a tragedy to have the argument true, which the Doctor denied and left it to me to be judge, and the cause to be determined next Tuesday morning at the same place, upon the eating of the remains of the pasty, and the loser to pay 10s. All this afternoon sending express to the fleet to order things against my Lord's coming; and taking direction of my Lord about some rich furniture to take along with him for the Princess.<sup>1</sup> And talking after this, I hear by Mr. Townsend that there is the greatest preparation against the Prince de Ligne's <sup>2</sup> coming over from the King of Spain that ever was in England for their Ambassador.

2d. (Sunday.) To St. Margaret's, and heard a good sermon upon the text 'Teach us the old way,' or something like it, wherein he [the preacher] ran over all the new tenets in policy and religion, which have brought us into all our late divisions.

3d. Up, and to Mr. —, the goldsmith, where I bought my wedding-ring, and there, with much ado, got him to put a gold ring to the jewel which the King of Sweden did give my Lord: out of which my Lord had now taken the King's picture, and intends to make a George of it. About noon, my Lord, having taken leave of the King in the Shield Gallery <sup>3</sup> (where I saw with what kindness the King did hug my Lord at his parting), I went over with him and saw him in his coach at Lambeth, and there took leave of him, he going to the Downs. Mr. Cooke came back from my Lord for me to get him some things, a toilet-cap and comb-case of silk, to make use of in Holland, for he goes to the Hague.

4th. Looking over the joiners who are flooring my dining-room. So to the Bullhead, where we had the remains of our pasty, where I did give my verdict against Mr. Moore upon last Saturday's wager, where Dr. Fuller coming in do confirm me in my verdict.

<sup>1</sup> The Princess of Orange.

<sup>2</sup> Claude Lamoral, Prince de Ligne, had commanded the cavalry in the Low Countries, was afterwards Viceroy of Sicily, and governor of Milan. He died at Madrid in 1679.

<sup>3</sup> At Whitehall.

5th. To the office. Home to dinner, where I did so clear up my boy's roguery to his father, that he could not speak against my putting him away; and so I did give him 10s. for the boy's clothes and tore his indentures. In the evening my wife being a little impatient, I went along with her to buy her a necklace of pearl, which will cost £4 10s., which I am willing to comply with her in for her encouragement, and because I have lately got money, having now about £200 in cash beforehand in the world. Home, and having in our way bought a rabbit and two little lobsters, my wife and I did sup late, and so to bed. Great news nowadays of the Duke d'Anjou's<sup>1</sup> desire to marry the Princess Henrietta. Hugh Peters is said to be taken. The Duke of Gloucester is ill, and it is said it will prove the small-pox.

6th. Sir W. Batten told me how Commissioner Pett did pay himself for the entertainment that he did give the King at Chatham at his coming in, and 20s. a day all the time he was in Holland, which I wonder at. I am unwilling to mix my fortune with him that is going down the wind. Sent all my books to my Lord's, in order to send them to my house that I now dwell in.

7th. My Lord set sail for Holland.

8th. At night sent for by Sir W. Pen, with whom I sat late drinking a glass of wine and discoursing, and I find him to be a very sociable man and an able man and very cunning.

9th. (Sunday.) Major Hart came to see me in the garden, who tells me that we are all like to be speedily disbanded,<sup>2</sup> and then I lose the benefit of a muster.

10th. (Office day.) News of the Duke's intention to go tomorrow to the fleet for a day or two to meet his sister. Sent to hire two ketches for the present use of the Duke. So we landed at the Bear, at the Bridge foot, where we saw Southwark Fair, I having not at all seen Bartholomew Fair.

11th. At night I caused the girl to wash the wainscot of our parlour, which she did very well, which caused my wife and I good sport. The Duke of York did go today by break of day to the Downs. The Duke of Gloucester ill. The House of Parliament was to adjourn today.

12th. (Office day.) At home all the afternoon looking after my workmen, whose laziness do much trouble me.

<sup>1</sup> Only brother to Louis XIV; he became Duke of Orleans on the death of his uncle.

<sup>2</sup> The train-bands.



13th. My wife went to the burial of a child of my cousin Scott's; and it is observable that within this month my aunt Wright was brought to bed of two girls, my cousin Stradwick of a girl and a boy, and all died. Mr. Hawley did give me a little black rattoo,<sup>1</sup> painted and gilt. This day the Duke of Gloucester died of the small-pox by the great negligence of the doctors.

14th. My mother is very ill, at which my heart is very sad. In the afternoon Luellin, &c., came to my house, and he being drunk and I being to defend the ladies from his kissing them, I kissed them myself very often with a great deal of mirth.

15th. To Westminster, where I met with Dr. Castles, who chid me for some error in our Privy Seal business; among the rest, for letting the fees of the six judges pass unpaid, which I know not what to say to till I speak to Mr. Moore. I was much troubled, for fear of being forced to pay the money myself. Called at my father's going home, and bespoke mourning for myself for the death of the Duke of Gloucester.

16th. (Sunday.) My Lord of Oxford,<sup>2</sup> I am told, is also dead of the small-pox; in whom his family dies, after 600 years having that honour in their family and name. To the Park, where I saw how far they had proceeded in the Pall-mall, and in making a river through the Park, which I had never seen before since it was begun. Thence to White Hall Garden, where I saw the King in purple mourning for his brother. A gentleman in the Poultry had a great and dirty fall over a waterpipe that lay along the channel.

17th. I did give my wife £15 to go to buy mourning things for her, which she did. I received £41 for my interest in my house, and so I am freed of my poor little house. Home by link with my money under my arm. So to bed after I had looked over the things my wife had bought today, with which being not very well pleased, they costing too much, I went to bed in a discontent.

18th. This day I heard that the Duke of York, upon the news of the death of his brother yesterday, came hither by post last night.

19th. To the Mitre tavern, in Wood Street (a house of the greatest note in London), where I met W. Symons and D. Scobell and their wives, Mr. Samford, Luellin, Chetwind, one Mr. Vivian,

<sup>1</sup> Probably an Indian rattan cane.

<sup>2</sup> This was untrue, because Aubrey de Vere, then Earl of Oxford, survived till 1703, when the title became extinct.

and Mr. White,<sup>1</sup> formerly chaplain to the Lady Protectress<sup>2</sup> (and still so, and one they say that is likely to get my Lady Frances for his wife.) Here some of us fell to handicap, a sport that I never knew before, which was very good.

20th. To Major Hart's lodgings in Cannon Street, who used me very kindly with wine and good discourse, particularly upon the ill method which Colonel Birch and the Committee use in defending of the Army and the Navy; promising the Parliament to save them a great deal of money, when we judge that it will cost the King more than if they had nothing to do with it, by reason of their delays and scrupulous inquiries into the account of both.

21st. (Office day). There all the morning and afternoon till four o'clock. Thence to White Hall. Back by water about three o'clock, and upon the water saw the corpse of the Duke of Gloucester brought down Somerset House stairs to go by water to Westminster to be buried. To the Hoop tavern, and sent for Mr. Chaplin, who with Nicholas Osborne and one Daniel came to us, and we drank off two or three quarts of wine, which was very good; the drawing of our wine causing a great quarrel in the house between the two drawers which should draw us the best, which caused a great deal of noise and falling out till the master parted them and came up to us and did give us a large account of the liberty that he gives his servants, all alike, to draw what wine they will to please his customers; and we did eat above 200 walnuts. Nicholas Osborne did give me a barrel of samphire, and showed me the keys of Mardyke<sup>3</sup> Fort, which he that was commander of the fort sent him as a token when the fort was demolished, which I was mightily pleased to see, and I will get them of him if I can.

22d. This morning I called up my boy (my maid's brother, who was gone to bed, and I could not see him last night), and found him a pretty, well-looking boy, and one that I think will please me. I bought a pair of short black stockings, to wear over a pair of silk ones for mourning; and I met with The. Turner and

<sup>1</sup> According to Noble, Jeremiah White married Lady Frances Cromwell's waiting-woman, in Oliver's lifetime, and they lived together fifty years. The story is, that Oliver found White on his knees to Frances Cromwell, and that, to save himself, he pretended to have been soliciting her interest with her waiting-woman, whom Oliver compelled him to marry. M. Noble's *Memorials of the Protectoral House of Cromwell* (1784), vol. ii, pp. 151-2.

<sup>2</sup> Oliver Cromwell's wife.

<sup>3</sup> A fort four miles east of Dunkirk, probably dismantled when that town was sold to Louis XIV.

Joyce buying of things to go into mourning, too, for the Duke, which is now the mode of all the ladies in town. This day, Mr. Edward Pickering is come from my Lord, and says that he left him well in Holland, and that he will be here within three or four days. To Westminster, where I bought a hanging jack. I had the boy up tonight for his sister to teach him to put me to bed, and I heard him read, which he did pretty well.

23d. (Lord's day.) Came one from my father's with a black cloth coat, made of my short cloak, to walk up and down in. To the Abbey, where I expected to hear Mr. Baxter or Mr. Rowe preach their farewell sermon, and in Mr. Symons's pew I sat and heard Mr. Rowe. Before sermon I laughed at the reader, who in his prayer desires of God that He would imprint His word on the thumbs of our right hands and on the great toes of our right feet. In the midst of the sermon some plaster fell from the top of the Abbey, that made me and all the rest in our pew afeard, and I wished myself out. This afternoon the King having news of the Princess being come to Margate, he and the Duke of York went down thither in barges to her.

24th. (Office day.) To dinner by coach with my wife to my cousin Scott's. I arose from table, and went to the Temple Church, where I had appointed Sir W. Batten to meet him; and there at Sir Heneage Finch Solicitor-General's chambers, before him and Sir W. Wilde, Recorder of London (whom we sent for from his chamber), we were sworn justices of peace for Middlesex, Essex, Kent, and Southampton: with which honour I did find myself mightily pleased, though I am wholly ignorant in the duty of a justice of peace. From thence to my Lord's. Knocking at the door, there passed by Mons. l'Impertinent for whom I took a coach and went with him to a dancing meeting in Broad Street, at the house that was formerly the glass-house, Luke Channell master of the school, where I saw good dancing.

25th. I did send for a cup of tea (a China drink), of which I never had drank before, and went away (the King and the Princess coming up the river this afternoon as we were at our pay). My Lord told me how the ship that brought the Princess and him (the Tredagh) did knock six times upon the Kentish Knock, which put them in great fear for the ship; but got off well. He told me also how the King had knighted Vice-Admiral Lawson and Sir Richard Stayner.

26th. (Office day.) To the church to consult about our gallery.

With the workmen all the afternoon, our house being in a most sad pickle. In the evening to the office, where I fell a-reading of Speed's Geography for a while. So home, thinking to have found Will at home, but he not being come home I was very angry, and when he came did give him a very great check for it, and so to bed.

28th. All the afternoon among my workmen, and did give them drink, and very merry with them, it being my luck to meet with a sort of drolling workmen on all occasions.

29th. All day at home to make an end of our dirty work of the plasterers, and indeed my kitchen is now so handsome that I did not repent of all the trouble that I have been put to to have it done. This day, or yesterday, I hear, Prince Rupert <sup>1</sup> is come to court; but welcome to nobody.

30th. (Lord's day.) At night went to bed without prayers, my house being everywhere foul above stairs.

October 1st. After dinner with my father to the Mitre, where I drank a glass of wine with Mr. Mansell, a poor Reformado <sup>2</sup> of the Charles's, who came to see me. The Commissioners are very busy disbanding of the army, which they say do cause great robbing.

2d. At Will's I met with Mr. Spicer, and with him to the Abbey to see them at vespers. There I found but a thin congregation already. So I see that religion, be it what it will, is but a humour, and so the esteem of it passeth as other things do.

3d. To my Lord's, who sent a great iron chest to White Hall; and I saw it carried into the King's closet, where I saw most incomparable pictures. Among the rest a book open upon a desk, which I durst have sworn was a real book. Back again to my Lord, and dined all alone with him, who did treat me with a great deal of respect; and after dinner did discourse an hour with me and advise about some way to get himself some money to make up for all his great expenses, saying that he believed that he might have anything that he would ask of the King. This day I heard the Duke speak of a great design that he and my Lord of Pembroke have, and a great many others, of sending a venture to some parts of Africa to dig for gold ore there. They intend to admit as many as will venture their money, and so make themselves a company.

<sup>1</sup> Son of Frederick, Prince Palatine of the Rhine, afterwards styled King of Bohemia, by Elizabeth, only sister to Charles I: *ob.* 1682.

<sup>2</sup> That is, a discharged officer from the *Royal Charles*.

£250 is the lowest share for every man. But I do not find that my Lord do much like it.

4th. I and Lieutenant Lambert to Westminster Abbey, where we saw Dr. Frewen<sup>1</sup> translated to the Archbishopric of York. Here I saw the Bishops of Winchester,<sup>2</sup> Bangor,<sup>3</sup> Rochester,<sup>4</sup> Bath and Wells,<sup>5</sup> and Salisbury,<sup>6</sup> all in their habits, in King Henry Seventh's chapel. But, Lord! at their going out, how people did most of them look upon them as strange creatures, and few with any kind of love or respect. From thence to my Lord's to dinner, and after dinner Lieut. Lambert and I did look upon my Lord's model, and he told me many things in a ship that I desired to understand.

5th. Office day; dined at home, and all the afternoon at home to see my painters make an end of their work, which they did today to my content.

6th. Colonel Slingsby<sup>7</sup> and I at the office, getting a ketch ready for the Prince de Ligne to carry his things away today, who is now going home again. I was to give my Lord an account of the stations and victuals of the fleet, in order to the choosing of a fleet fit for him to take to sea to bring over the Queen.

7th. (Lord's day.) To White Hall on foot, calling at my father's to change my long black cloak for a short one (long cloaks being now quite out); but he being gone to church, I could not get one. I heard Dr. Spurstow<sup>8</sup> preach before the King a poor dry sermon; but a very good anthem of Captain Cooke's afterwards. To my Lord's, and dined with him; he all dinner-time talking French to me, and telling me the story how the Duke of York hath got my Lord Chancellor's daughter with child, and that she do lay it to him, and that for certain he did promise her marriage, and had signed it with his blood, but that he by stealth had got the paper out of her cabinet. And that the King would have him to marry

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Accepted Frewen, Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry.

<sup>2</sup> Brian Duppa, translated from Salisbury.

<sup>3</sup> William Roberts.

<sup>4</sup> John Warner, *ob.* 1666, aged eighty-six.

<sup>5</sup> William Pierce, translated from Peterborough, 1632.

<sup>6</sup> Humphrey Henchman, afterwards Bishop of London.

<sup>7</sup> Afterwards Sir Robert Slingsby.

<sup>8</sup> William Spurstow, D.D., Vicar of Hackney and Master of Catharine Hall, Cambridge, both which pieces of preferment he lost for nonconformity, 1662.

her, but that he will not. So that the thing is very bad for the Duke and them all; but my Lord do make light of it, as a thing that he believes is not a new thing for the Duke to do abroad. After dinner to the Abbey, where I heard them read the church service, but very ridiculously. A poor cold sermon of Dr. Lamb's,<sup>1</sup> one of the prebends in his habit, came afterwards, and so all ended; and by my troth a pitiful sorry devotion that these men pay.

8th. At my father's about gilded leather for my dining-room. Then home and Mr. Moore with me, who stayed and supped. We love one another's discourse so that we cannot part when we do meet.

9th. This morning Sir W. Batten with Colonel Birch to Deptford to pay off two ships. Sir W. Pen and I stayed to do business, and afterwards together to White Hall, where I went to my Lord, and saw in his chamber his picture, very well done; and am with child till I get it copied out, which I hope to do when he is gone to sea. To White Hall again, where at Mr. Coventry's chamber I met with Sir W. Pen again, and so with him to Redriffe by water, and from thence walked over the fields to Deptford. I find him to be a merry fellow and pretty good natured, and sings very loose songs. I found our gentlemen and Mr. Prin at the pay. About noon we dined together. After dinner to the pay of another ship till 10 at night, and so home in our barge, a clear moonshine night. I found Mr. Prin a good, honest, plain man, but in his discourse not very free or pleasant. Among all the tales that passed among us today, he told us of one Damford, that, being a black man, did scald his beard with mince-pie, and it came up again all white in that place and continued to his dying day.

10th. Office day all the morning. At night comes Mr. Moore and tells me how Sir Hards. Waller<sup>2</sup> (who only pleads guilty), Scott, Coke,<sup>3</sup> Peters,<sup>4</sup> Harrison, &c. were this day arraigned at the bar of the Sessions House, there being upon the bench the Lord Mayor, General Monk, my Lord of Sandwich, &c.; such a bench of noblemen as had not been ever seen in England! They all seem to be dismayed, and will all be condemned without question.

<sup>1</sup> James Lamb, in 1662 made Rector of St. Andrew's, Holborn.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Hardress Waller, Knight, one of Charles I's judges. His sentence was commuted to imprisonment for life.

<sup>3</sup> Coke was solicitor to the people of England.

<sup>4</sup> Hugh Peters, the fanatical preacher.

In Sir Orlando Bridgeman's charge,<sup>1</sup> he did wholly rip up the unjustness of the war against the King from the beginning, and so it much reflects upon all the Long Parliament, though the King had pardoned them, yet they must hereby confess that the King do look upon them as traitors. Tomorrow they are to plead what they have to say.

11th. Mr. Creed and I to the Leg in King Street, where he and I and my Will had a good udder to dinner, and from thence to walk in St. James's Park, where we observed the several engines at work to draw up water, with which sight I was very much pleased. Above all the rest I liked that which Mr. Greateorex<sup>2</sup> brought, which is one round thing going within all with a pair of stairs round; round which being laid at an angle of 45° do carry up the water with a great deal of ease. Here in the Park we met with Mr. Salisbury, who took Mr. Creed and me to the Cockpit to see 'The Moor of Venice,' which was well done. Burt acted the Moor;<sup>3</sup> by the same token a very pretty lady that sat by me called out to see Desdemona smothered. With Mr. Creed to Hercules' Pillars,<sup>4</sup> where we drank.

12th. Office day all the morning. After dinner I went home, where I found Mr. Cooke, who told me that my Lady Sandwich is come to town today, whereupon I went to Westminster to see her and found her at supper; so she made me sit down all alone with her, and after supper stayed and talked with her, she showing me most extraordinary love and kindness.

13th. I went out to Charing Cross to see Major-General Harrison<sup>5</sup> hanged, drawn, and quartered; which was done there, he looking as cheerful as any man could do in that condition. He was presently cut down, and his head and heart shown to the people, at which there was great shouts of joy. It is said, that he said that he was sure to come shortly at the right hand of Christ to judge them that now had judged him and that his wife do expect

<sup>1</sup> Eldest son of John Bridgeman, Bishop of Chester, became, after the Restoration, successively Chief Baron of the Exchequer, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, and was created a baronet.

<sup>2</sup> A mathematical instrument maker.

<sup>3</sup> Nicholas Burt ranked in the list of good actors after the Restoration, though he resigned the part of Othello to Hart (Davis's *Dramatic Miscellany*).

<sup>4</sup> In Fleet Street.

<sup>5</sup> Thomas Harrison, son of a butcher at Newcastle-under-Line, appointed by Cromwell to convey Charles I from Windsor to Whitehall, in order to his trial, and afterwards sat as one of his judges.

his coming again. Thus it was my chance to see the King beheaded at White Hall, and to see the first blood shed in revenge for the King at Charing Cross. I went by water home, where I was angry with my wife for her things lying about, and in my passion kicked the little fine basket which I bought her in Holland, and broke it, which troubled me after I had done it.

14th. (Lord's day.) To White Hall chapel, where one Dr. Crofts made an indifferent sermon, and after it an anthem, ill sung, which made the King laugh. Here I first did see the Princess Royal since she came into England. Here I also observed how the Duke of York and Mrs. Palmer did talk to one another very wantonly through the hangings that parts the King's closet and the closet where the ladies sit.

15th. Office all the morning. This morning Mr. Carew<sup>1</sup> was hanged and quartered at Charing Cross, but his quarters, by a great favour, are not to be hanged up. Home, where I fell to read 'The Fruitless Precaution,' a book formerly recommended by Dr. Clerke at sea to me, which I read in bed till I had made an end of it, and do find it the best writ tale that ever I read in my life.

16th. Being come home, Will [Hewer] told me that my Lord had a mind to speak with me tonight; so I returned by water, and, coming there, it was only to enquire how the ships were provided with victuals that are to go with him to fetch over the Queen, which I gave him a good account of. He seemed to be in a melancholy humour, which, I was told by W. Howe, was for that he had lately lost a great deal of money at cards, which he fears he do too much addict himself to nowadays.

18th. This morning, it being expected that Colonel Hacker<sup>2</sup> and Axtell<sup>3</sup> should die, I went to Newgate, but found they were reprieved till tomorrow. So to my father's, and did orders for a pair of black baize linings to be made me for my breeches. The Turner sent for a pair of doves that my wife had promised her; and because she did not send them in the best cage she sent them back again with a scornful letter, with which I was angry but yet pretty well pleased that she was crossed.

19th. This morning my dining-room was finished with green serge hanging and gilt leather, which is very handsome. This morning Hacker and Axtell were hanged and quartered as the rest

<sup>1</sup> John Carew, one of the regicides.

<sup>2</sup> Colonel Francis Hacker commanded the guards at the king's execution.

<sup>3</sup> Axtell had guarded the High Court of Justice.



are. This night I sat up late to make up my accounts ready against tomorrow for my Lord.

20th. I dined with my Lord and Lady; he was very merry, and did talk very high how he would have a French cook and a master of his horse, and his lady and child to wear black patches; which methought was strange, but he is become a perfect courtier; and, among other things, my Lady saying that she could get a good merchant for her daughter Jem, he answered that he would rather see her with a pedlar's pack at her back, so she married a gentleman, than she should marry a citizen. This afternoon, going through London and calling at Crowe's, the upholsterer's, in Saint Bartholomew's, I saw the limbs of some of our new traitors set upon Aldersgate, which was a sad sight to see; and a bloody week this and the last have been, there being ten hanged, drawn, and quartered.

21st (Lord's day.) George Vines carried me up to the top of his turret, where there is Cooke's head set up for a traitor, and Harrison's set up on the other side of Westminster Hall. Here I could see them plainly, as also a very fair prospect about London. Today at noon (God forgive me) I strung my lute, which I had not touched a great while before.

22d. After dinner to my Lord's, where I found all preparing for my Lord's going to sea to fetch the Queen tomorrow. At night my Lord came home, with whom I stayed long and talked of many things. I got leave to have his picture, that was done by Lely, copied.

23d. We rose early in the morning to get things ready for my Lord, and Mr. Shepley going to put up his pistols, which were charged with bullets, into the holsters, one of them flew off, and it pleased God that the mouth of the gun being downwards, it did us no hurt; but I think I never was in more danger in my life, which put me into a great fright. About eight o'clock my Lord went; and going through the garden, my Lord met with Mr. William Montagu, who told him of an estate of land lately come into the King's hands, that he had a mind my Lord should beg. To which end my Lord writ a letter presently to my Lord Chancellor to do it for him, which (after leave taken of my Lord at White Hall bridge) I did carry to Warwick House to him; and had a fair promise of him that he would do it this day for my Lord. In my way thither I met the Lord Chancellor and all the Judges riding on horseback and going to Westminster Hall, it being the

first day of the term. I took my Lord's picture and carried it to Mr. de Cretz to be copied. I met Mr. Spong and went home with him, and played and sang and eat with him and his mother. After supper we looked over many books and instruments of his, especially his wooden jack in his chimney, which goes with the smoke, which indeed is very pretty.

24th. I took occasion to be angry with my wife before I rose about her putting up of half-a-crown of mine in a paper box, which she forgot where she had lain it. But we were friends again as we always are. To the office, so home to dinner, where I found Captain Murford, who did put £3 into my hands for a friendship I had done him, but I would not take it, but bade him keep it till he has enough to buy my wife a necklace. Met with Mr. Moore. He tells me, among other things, that the Duke of York is now sorry for his amour with my Lord Chancellor's daughter, who is now brought to bed of a boy.<sup>1</sup> To Mr. Lilly's,<sup>2</sup> where not finding Mr. Spong, I went to Mr. Greatorex's, where I met him, and so to an alehouse, where I bought of him a drawing pen; and he did show me the manner of the lamp-glasses, which carry the light a great way, good to read in bed by, and I intend to have one of them. So to Mr. Lilly's with Mr. Spong, where well received, there being a club tonight among his friends. Among the rest Esquire Ashmole,<sup>3</sup> who I found was a very ingenious gentleman. With him we two sang afterward in Mr. Lilly's study. That done we all parted; and I home by coach, taking Mr. Booker<sup>4</sup> with me, who did tell me a great many fooleries which may be done by nativities, and blaming Mr. Lilly for writing to please his friends and to keep in with the times (as he did formerly to his own dishonour), and not according to the rules of art, by which he could not well err, as he had done. Home, where I found a box of carpenter's tools sent by my cousin Thomas Pepys, which I had bespoke of him for to employ myself with sometimes. To bed.

25th. All day at home, doing something in order to the fitting of my house.

26th. Office. My father and Dr. Thomas Pepys dined at my house, the last of whom I did almost fox with Margate ale. My

<sup>1</sup> Born the 22nd.

<sup>2</sup> William Lilly, the astrologer and almanack-maker. He lived in the Strand.

<sup>3</sup> Elias Ashmole, the antiquary.

<sup>4</sup> James Booker, of Manchester, the astrologer, mentioned in *Hudibras*, in connection with Lilly, canto iii, 1093.

father is mightily pleased with my ordering of my house. After that I to Westminster to White Hall, where I saw the Duke de Soissons<sup>1</sup> go from his audience with a very great deal of state: his own coach all red velvet covered with gold lace and drawn by six barbs, and attended by twenty pages very rich in clothes. To Westminster Hall and bought, among other books, one of the *Life of our Queen*, which I read at home to my wife; but it was so sillily writ, that we did nothing but laugh at it: among other things, it is dedicated to that paragon of virtue and beauty, the Duchess of Albemarle. Great talk as if the Duke of York do now own the marriage between him and the Chancellor's daughter.

27th. I went by chance by my new Lord Mayor's house (Sir Richard Browne), by Goldsmith's Hall, which is now fitting, and indeed is a very pretty house. In coming back, I called at Paul's Church-yard, and bought Alstead's *Encyclopædia*, which cost me 38s.

28th (Lord's day.) To Westminster Abbey, where, with much difficulty, going round by the cloisters, I got in; this day being a great day for the consecrating of five Bishops,<sup>2</sup> which was done after sermon; but I could not get into Henry the Seventh's chapel. After dinner to White Hall chapel; my Lady and my Lady Jemimah and I up to the King's closet (who is now gone to meet the Queen). So meeting with one Mr. Hill, that did know my Lady, he did take us into the King's closet, and there we did stay all service-time, which I did think a great honour.

29th. I up early, it being my Lord Mayor's day<sup>3</sup> (Sir Richard Browne), and, neglecting my office, I went to the Wardrobe, where I met my Lady Sandwich and all the children; and after drinking of some strange and incomparable good claret of Mr. Rumball's,<sup>4</sup> he and Mr. Townsend<sup>5</sup> did take us, and set the young Lords at one Mr. Nevill's, a draper in Paul's Church-yard; and my Lady and

<sup>1</sup> Eugene Maurice of Savoy, youngest son of Thomas of Savoy, by Marie de Bourbon, Countess of Soissons, whose title he inherited. He married Olympia Mancini, one of the nieces of Cardinal Mazarin, more than suspected of poisoning practices (like the Brinvilliers). His youngest son was the celebrated general, Prince Eugene of Savoy.

<sup>2</sup> On the 28th five bishops were consecrated: viz. (1) George Griffith, St Asaph; (2) Robert Sanderson, Lincoln; (3) Gilbert Sheldon, London; (4) Humphrey Hinchman, Salisbury; (5) George Morley, Worcester.

<sup>3</sup> Now, by alterations of the style, 9th November.

<sup>4</sup> Or Rumbell. See 8th December 1661.

<sup>5</sup> Officers of the Wardrobe.

my Lady Pickering<sup>1</sup> and I to one Mr. Isaacson's, a linen-draper at the Key in Cheapside; where there was a company of fine ladies, and we were very civilly treated, and had a very good place to see the pageants, which were many, and I believe good for such kind of things, but in themselves but poor and absurd. The show being done, we got as far as Paul's with much ado, where I left my Lady in the coach and went on foot with my Lady Pickering to her lodging, which was a poor one in Blackfriars, where she never invited me to go in at all, which methought was very strange. My Lady Davis<sup>2</sup> is now come to our next lodgings, and has locked up the leads door from me, which puts me in great disquiet, that I went to bed and could not sleep till morning at it.

30th. I went to the Cockpit all alone, and there saw a very fine play called 'The Tamer Tamed';<sup>3</sup> very well acted. I hear nothing yet of my Lord, whether he be gone for the Queen from the Downs or no; but I believe he is, and that he is now upon coming back again.

31st. Office day. Much troubled about my walk on the leads, but the Comptroller and the rest of the principal officers are all unwilling to meddle in anything that may anger my Lady Davis. Home, and there I had news that Sir W. Pen is resolved to ride to Sir W. Batten's country house<sup>4</sup> tomorrow, and would have me go with him; so I sat up late, and was fain to cut an old pair of boots to make leathers for those I was to wear. This month I conclude with my mind very heavy for the loss of the leads, as also for the greatness of my late expenses, insomuch that I do not think that I have above £150 clear money in the world.

November 1st. This morning Sir W. Pen and I were mounted early and had very merry discourse all the way, he being very good company. We came to Sir W. Batten's, where he lives like a prince, and we were made very welcome. Among other things he showed us my Lady's closet, where was great store of rarities; as also a chair which he calls King Harry's chair, where he that sits down is caught with two irons that come round about him, which makes good sport. Here dined with us two or three more

<sup>1</sup> Elizabeth Montagu, sister to the Earl of Sandwich, who had married Sir Gilbert Pickering, Bart. of Nova Scotia, and of Titchmarsh, co. Northampton.

<sup>2</sup> Wife of Mr. Davis belonging to the Navy Office. The appellation of my lady is used in the same sense as the French word *madame*.

<sup>3</sup> *The Woman's Prize, or The Tamer Tamed*, a comedy, by John Fletcher.

<sup>4</sup> At Walthamstow.

country gentlemen; among the rest Mr. Christmas, my old school-fellow, with whom I had much talk. He did remember that I was a great Roundhead when I was a boy, and I was much afraid that he would have remembered the words that I said the day the King was beheaded (that, were I to preach upon him, my text should be — 'The memory of the wicked shall rot'); but I found afterwards that he did go away from school before that time. He did make us good sport in imitating Mr. Case,<sup>1</sup> Ash, and Nye, the ministers; but a deadly drinker he is, and grown exceeding fat. Home by moonlight.

2d. Office. In the afternoon I went forth and saw some silver bosses put upon my new Bible, which cost me 6s. 6d. the making, and 7s. 6d. the silver, which with 9s. 6d. the book, comes in all to £1 3s. 6d. To White Hall, where I saw the boats going very thick to Lambeth, and all the stairs to be full of people. I was told the Queen was a-coming; so I got a sculler for sixpence to carry me thither and back again, but I could not get to see the Queen; so come back, and to my Lord's, where he was come; and I supped with him, he being very merry, telling merry stories of the country mayors, how they entertained the King all the way as he come along; and how the country gentlewomen did hold up their heads to be kissed by the King, not taking his hand to kiss, as they should do. I took leave of my Lord and Lady, and so took coach at White Hall and carried Mr. Child<sup>2</sup> as far as the Strand, and myself got as far as Ludgate by all the bonfires, but with a great deal of trouble; and there the coachman desired that I would release him, for he durst not go further for the fires. So he would have had a shilling or 6d., but I had but 3d. about me and did give him it. In Paul's Church-yard I called at Kirton's,<sup>3</sup> and there they had got a mass book for me, which I bought, and cost me twelve shillings; and, when I came home, sat up late and read in it with great pleasure to my wife, to hear that she was long ago acquainted with that. I observed this night very few bonfires in the City, not above three in all London, for the Queen's coming; whereby I guess that (as I believed before) her coming do please but very few.

<sup>1</sup> Thoma Casse, one of the Assembly of Divines, and sometime rector of St. Giles's in the Fields: *ob.* 1682, aged eighty-four. Simeon Ash, one of the leading Presbyterian ministers. Philip Nye, who had been minister of Kimbolton, and rector of Acton, Middlesex, retired after his nonconformity, and died in 1672.

<sup>2</sup> Afterwards Sir Josiah Child.

<sup>3</sup> A bookseller.

3d. Saturday. In the afternoon to White Hall, where my Lord and Lady were gone to kiss the Queen's hand.

4th. (Lord's day.) In the morn to our own church,<sup>1</sup> where Mr. Mills did begin to nibble at the Common Prayer by saying 'Glory be to the Father,' &c., after he had read the two psalms: but the people had been so little used to it, that they could not tell what to answer. This declaration of the King's do give the Presbyterians some satisfaction, and a pretence to read the Common Prayer, which they would not do before because of their former preaching against it. After dinner to Westminster, where I went to my Lord's, and, having spoke with him, I went to the Abbey, where the first time that ever I heard the organs in a cathedral. Thence to my Lord's, where I found Mr. Pierce, the surgeon, and with him Mr. Shepley to see the seven Flanders mares that my Lord has bought lately, in our way calling at the Bell, where we drank several bottles of Hull ale. My wife seemed very pretty today, it being the first time I had given her leave to wear a black patch.

5th. (Office day.) At the office at night to make up an account of what the debts of nineteen of the twenty-five ships that should have been paid off is increased since the adjournment of the Parliament, they being to sit again tomorrow. This 5th of November is observed exceeding well in the City; and at night great bonfires and fireworks.

6th. Mr. Chetwind told me that he did fear that this late business of the Duke of York's would prove fatal to my Lord Chancellor. To our office, where we met all for the sale of two ships by an inch of candle (the first time that ever I saw any of this kind), where I observed how they do invite one another, and at last how they all do cry,<sup>2</sup> and we have much to do to tell who did cry last. The ships were the Indian, sold for £1300, and the Half-moon, sold for £830. Home, and fell a-reading of the trials of the late men that were hanged<sup>3</sup> for the King's death, and found good satisfaction in reading thereof. At night to bed, and my wife and I did fall out about the dog's being put down into the cellar, which I had a mind to have done because of his fouling the house, and I would have my will, and so we went to bed and lay all night in a

<sup>1</sup> St. Olave's, Hart Street.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. bid.

<sup>3</sup> Thomas Harrison suffered on the 13th; John Carew on the 15th; John Cook and Hugh Peters on the 16th; Thomas, Scott, Gregory Clement, Adrian Scroop, and John Jones, on the 17th; Daniel Axtel and Francis Hacker on the 19th October.

quarrel. This night I was troubled all night with a dream that my wife was dead, which made me that I slept ill all night.

7th. (Office day.) Went by water to my Lord, where I dined with him, and he in a very merry humour (present Mr. Borkett and Child) at dinner: he, in discourse of the great opinion of the virtue—gratitude (which he did account the greatest thing in the world to him, and had, therefore, in his mind been often troubled in the late times how to answer his gratitude to the King, who raised his father),—did say it was that did bring him to his obedience to the King; and did also bless himself with his good fortune in comparison to what it was when I was with him in the Sound, when he durst not own his correspondence with the King; which is a thing that I never did hear of to this day before; and I do from this raise an opinion of him to be one of the most secret men in the world, which I was not so convinced of before. After dinner he bid all go out of the room, and did tell me how the King had promised him £4000 per annum for ever and had already given him a bill under his hand (which he showed me) for £4000 that Mr. Fox is to pay him. My Lord did advise with me how to get this received, and to put out £3000 into safe hands at use, and the other he will make use of for his present occasion. This he did advise with me about with great secrecy. After all this he called for the fiddles and books, and we two and W. Howe and Mr. Child did sing and play some psalms of Will Lawes's,<sup>1</sup> and some songs; and so I went away. To Mr. Fox, who did use me very civilly, but I did not see his lady, whom I had so long known when she was a maid, Mrs. Whittle.<sup>2</sup> Notwithstanding this was the first day of the King's proclamation against hackney coaches<sup>3</sup> coming into the streets to stand to be hired, yet I got one to carry me home.

8th. This morning Sir William and the Treasurer and I went by barge with Sir W. Doyley and Mr. Prin to Deptford to pay off the Henrietta, and had a good dinner. In the afternoon

<sup>1</sup> Brother to Henry Lawes, the celebrated composer, and himself a chamber musician to Charles I, in whose service he took up arms, and was killed at the siege of Chester, 1645. The king regretted his loss severely, and used to call him the father of music.

<sup>2</sup> Elizabeth, daughter of William Whittle, of Lancashire, wife of Stephen Fox, who was knighted in 1665.

<sup>3</sup> 'In April 1663 the poor widows of hackney coachmen petitioned for some relief, as the parliament had reduced the number of coaches to 400; there were before in and about London, more than 2000.'—Rugge's *Diurnal*.

Commissioner Pett and I went on board the yacht, which indeed is one of the finest things that ever I saw, for neatness and room in so small a vessel. So went with some men that were going that way a great pace, and in our way we met with many merry seamen that had got their money paid to them today. We got to London before two in the morning. So home, where I found my wife up, she showed me her head which was very well dressed.

9th. To the office, and from thence to dinner at the Hoop tavern, our dinner given us by Mr. Ady and Mr. Wine, the King's fishmonger. Good sport with Mr. Talbot, who eats no sort of fish, and there was nothing else till we sent for a neat's tongue. From thence to White Hall where I found my Lord, who had an organ set up today in his dining-room, but it seems an ugly one in the form of Bridewell. I went to my father's, and stayed late talking with my father about my sister Pall's coming to live with me if she would come and be as a servant.

10th. The Comptroller<sup>1</sup> and I to the coffee-house, where he showed me the state of his case, how the King did owe him above £6000. But I do not see great likelihood for them to be paid, since they begin already in Parliament to dispute the paying of the just sea-debts, which were already promised to be paid, and will be the undoing of thousands if they be not paid. So to Paul's Church-yard, and there bought Montelion,<sup>2</sup> which this year do not prove so good as the last was; so after reading it I burned it. After reading of that and the comedy of the Rump,<sup>3</sup> which is also very silly, I went to bed. This night, going home, Will and I bought a goose.

11th. (Lord's day.) To church into our new gallery, the first time it was used. There being no woman this day, we sat in the foremost pew and behind our servants, and I hope it will not always be so, it not being handsome for our servants to sit so equal with us. I went to Mr. Fox's at White Hall, when I first saw his lady, formerly Mrs. Elizabeth Whittle, whom I had formerly a great opinion of, and did make an anagram or two upon her name when I was a boy. She proves a very fine lady and mother to

<sup>1</sup> Sir Robert Slingsby, whose father, Sir Gylford Slingsby, had held the same office.

<sup>2</sup> 'Montelion, the Prophetical Almanac for the year 1660, 8vo, with a frontispiece by John Phillips.' The *Montelions* for 1661 and 1662 were written by Thomas Flatman. It would appear that Pepys bought the *Montelion* for 1661, as there had not been one for 1659 (see Watt's *Bibliotheca*).

<sup>3</sup> *The Rump, or The Mirror of the late Times*, a comedy by John Tatham.



fine children. Today I agreed with Mr. Fox about my taking of the £4000 of him that the King had given my Lord.

12th. Mr. Comptroller and I sat a while at the office, and thence I went with him to his house in Lime Street, a fine house, and where I never was before. I met with Jack Spicer and agreed with him to help me to tell money this afternoon. My father and I discoursed seriously about my sister's coming to live with me, which I have much mind for her good to have, and yet I am much afraid of her ill nature. He and I and my wife, my mother, and Pall went all together into the little room, and there I told her plainly what my mind was, to have her come not as a sister in any respect but as a servant, which she promised me that she would, and with many thanks did weep for joy.

13th. Early going to my Lord's I met with Mr. Moore, and took him by water to the Wardrobe, and showed him all the house; and indeed there is a great deal of room in it, but very ugly till my Lord hath bestowed great cost upon it. So home to dinner, where I found my wife making of pies and tarts to try her oven with, but not knowing the nature of it, did heat it too hot and so a little overbake her things, but knows how to do better another time.

14th. (Office day.) But this day was the first that we do begin to sit in the afternoon and not in the forenoon. Into Cheapside to Mr. Beachamp's, the goldsmith, to look out a piece of plate to give Mr. Fox from my Lord, for his favour about the £4000, and did choose a gilt tankard.

15th. My Lord did this day show me the King's picture which was done in Flanders, that the King did promise my Lord before he ever saw him, and that we did expect to have had at sea before the King came to us; but it came but today, and indeed it is the most pleasant and the most like him that ever I saw picture in my life. As dinner was coming on table my wife came to my Lord's, and I got her carried in to my Lady, who was just now hiring of a French maid that was with her, and they could not understand one another till my wife came to interpret. Here I did leave my wife to dine with my Lord, the first time he ever did take notice of her as my wife, and did seem to have a just esteem for her. To Sir W. Batten's to dinner, he having a couple of servants married today; and so there was a great number of merchants and others of good quality, on purpose after dinner to make an offering, which, when dinner was done, we did, and I did give ten shillings and no more,

though I believe most of the rest did give more and did believe that I did so too. From thence to Mr. Fox, and by two porters carried away the other £1000. He was not within himself, but I had it of his kinsman, and did give him £4, and other servants something; but whereas I did intend to have given Mr. Fox himself a piece of plate of £50, I was demanded £100 for the fee of the office at 6*d.* a pound, at which I was surprised, but, however, I did leave it there till I speak with my Lord. My wife I found much satisfied with my Lord's discourse and respect to her.

16th. Mr. Moore and I to Westminster Hall to speak with Mr. Wm. Montagu upon the title of those lands which I do take as security for £3000 of my Lord's money. Home by water, where my father, Mr. Snow, and Moore did dine with me. After dinner Mr. Snow and I went up together to discourse about the putting out of £80 to a man who lacks the money and would give me £15 per annum for eight years for it, which I did not think profit enough, and so he seemed to be disappointed by my refusal of it, but I would not now part with my money easily.

17th. I dined with my Lord and my Lady Pickering, where her son John dined with us, who do continue a fool as he ever was since I knew him. Thence with Mr. Moore to the Devil tavern. So home. Then to my lyra viol and to bed.

18th. (Lord's day.) In the morning to our own church, where Mr. Powell (a crook-legged man that went formerly with me to Paul's School) preached a good sermon. In the afternoon to our own church (the first time that she and my Lady Batten came to sit in our new pew), and after sermon my Lady took us home and there we supped with her and Sir W. Batten, and Pen and I were much made of.

19th. (Office day.) I went with the Treasurer<sup>1</sup> in his coach to White Hall, and in our way, in discourse, do find him a very good-natured man; and, talking of those men who now stand condemned for murdering the King, he says that he believes that if the law would give leave, the King is a man of so great compassion that he would wholly acquit them.

20th. Mr. Shepley and I to the new playhouse<sup>2</sup> near Lincoln's Inn Fields (which was formerly Gibbon's tennis-court), where the

<sup>1</sup> Sir George Carteret.

<sup>2</sup> Killigrew's, or the King's House, opened for the first time 8th November 1660.

play of 'Beggars Bush'<sup>1</sup> was newly begun: and so we went in, and saw it. It was well acted: and here I saw the first time one Moone,<sup>2</sup> who is said to be the best actor in the world, lately come over with the King, and indeed it is the finest playhouse, I believe, that ever was in England. This morning I found my Lord in bed late, he having been with the King, Queen, and Princess at the Cockpit all night, where General Monk treated them; and after supper a play,<sup>3</sup> where the King did put a great affront upon Singleton's music,<sup>4</sup> he bidding them stop, and bade the French music play, which, my Lord says, do much outdo all ours. While my Lord was rising I went to Mr. Fox's, and there did leave the gilt tankard for Mrs. Fox, and then to the counting-house to him, who hath invited me and my wife to dine with him on Thursday next, and so to see the Queen and Princess.

21st. This morning my cousin Thos. Pepys, the turner, sent me a cup of lignum vitæ for a token. My wife and I went to Pater-noster Row, and there we bought some green-watered moire for a morning waistcoat. And after that we went to Mr. Cade's to choose some pictures for our house. I to Pope's Head<sup>5</sup> [Alley], and bought me an agate-hafted knife, which cost me 5s. At night to my violin (the first time that I have played on it since I came to this house) in my dining-room, and afterwards to my lute there, and I took much pleasure to have the neighbours come forth into the yard to hear me.

22d. This morning came the carpenters to make me a door at the other side of my house, going into the entry. At noon my wife and I walked to the Old Exchange, and there she bought her a white whisk,<sup>6</sup> and put it on, and I a pair of gloves. To Mr. Fox's, where we found Mrs. Fox within, and an alderman of London paying £1000 or £1400 in gold upon the table for the King, which was the most gold that ever I saw together in my life.

<sup>1</sup> *The Beggars Bush*, a comedy by Beaumont and Fletcher.

<sup>2</sup> Mohun, or Moone, the celebrated actor, who had borne a major's commission in the king's army.

<sup>3</sup> Sir John Denham wrote the prologue, of which there is a contemporary copy in the British Museum.

<sup>4</sup> John Singleton, appointed, 1660, one of the musicians of the sackbuts in place of William Lanier. From the sackbut he advanced to the violin, and lastly to the flute. He is mentioned by Dryden in *Mac Flecknoe*, and by Shadwell in *Bury Fair*. He died 1686, and was buried (7th April) in the churchyard of St. Paul's, Covent Garden.

<sup>5</sup> Pope's Head Alley was at this time famous for its cutlers.

<sup>6</sup> A sort of tippet formerly worn by women.

Mr. Fox came in presently, and did receive us with a great deal of respect; and then did take my wife and I to the Queen's presence-chamber, where we got my wife placed behind the Queen's chair, and the two Princesses came to dinner. The Queen, a very little, plain old woman, and nothing more in her presence in any respect nor garb than any ordinary woman. The Princess of Orange I had often seen before. The Princess Henrietta is very pretty, but much below my expectation; and her dressing of herself with her hair frizzed short up to her ears did make her seem so much the less to me. But my wife, standing near her with two or three black patches on and well dressed, did seem to me much handsomer than she. Dinner being done, we went to Mr. Fox's again, where many gentlemen dined with us, and most princely dinner—all provided for me and my friends, but I bringing none but myself and wife, he did call the company to help to eat up so much good victuals. At the end of the dinner my Lord Sandwich's health, in the gilt tankard that I did give to Mrs. Fox the other day. To White Hall at about nine at night, and there, with Laud, the page that went with me, we could not get out of Henry the Eighth's gallery into the further part of the boarded gallery, where my Lord was walking with my Lord Ormond; and we had a key of Sir S. Morland's, but all would not do; till at last, by knocking, Mr. Harrison, the door-keeper, did open us the door, and, after some talk with my Lord about getting a ketch to carry my Lord St. Albans's<sup>1</sup> goods to France, I parted and went home on foot.

24th. Creed and Shepley and I to the Rhenish wine-house, and there I did give them two quarts of wormwood wine.<sup>2</sup> To my Lord's, where I dined with my lady, there being Mr. Childe and Mrs. Borkett, who are never absent at dinner there, under pretence of a wooing. From thence I to Mr. de Cretz, and did take away my Lord's picture, which is now finished for me, and I paid £3 10s. for it and the frame. So carried it home, and there had a fire in my closet, and fell to entering these two good songs of Mr. Lawes: 'Help, help, O help,' and 'O God of Heaven and Hell' in my song book.

25th. (Lord's day.) In the forenoon I alone to our church, and after dinner I went and ranged about to many churches, among the

<sup>1</sup> Henry Jermyn, created Lord Jermyn 1643, advanced to the earldom of St. Albans 1660, K.G.: *ob.* 1684, *s.p.* He was supposed to be married to the queen dowager.

<sup>2</sup> A cordial prepared (like absinthe or vermouth) from wormwood.

rest to the Temple, where I heard Dr. Wilkins<sup>1</sup> a little (late Master of Trinity in Cambridge). I had a letter brought me from my Lord to get a ship ready to carry the Queen's things over to France, she being to go within five or six days.

26th. (Office day.) My father come and dined with me, who seems to take much pleasure to have a son that is neat in his house. I heard that my Lady Batten<sup>2</sup> had given my wife a visit (the first that ever she made her), which pleased me exceedingly.

27th. To White Hall, where I found my Lord gone abroad to the Wardrobe, whither he do now go every other morning, and do seem to resolve to understand and look after the business himself. To Westminster Hall, and in King Street there being a great stop of coaches, there was a falling out between a drayman and my Lord Chesterfield's coachman, and one of his footmen killed. To my Lord's again, where I found my wife, and she and I dined with him and my Lady and great company of my Lord's friends, and my Lord did show us great respect. To a play—'The Scornful Lady'<sup>3</sup>—and that being done, I went homewards, and met Mr. Moore, who told me how the House had this day voted the King to have all the Excise for ever. This day I do also hear that the Queen's going to France is stopped, which do like me well, because then the King will be in town the next month, which is my month again at the Privy Seal.

28th. To White Hall to my Lord's, where Major Hart did pay me £23 14s. 9d., due to me upon my pay in my Lord's troop at the time of our disbanding.<sup>4</sup> Home, where I found that Mr. Creed had sent me the £11 5s. 0d. that is due to me upon the remains of account for my sea business, and my bill of impress for £30 is also cleared, so that I am wholly clear as to the sea in all respects.

29th. In the afternoon Sir W. Batten and I met and did sell the ship Church for £440, and we asked £391.

<sup>1</sup> John Wilkins, D.D. (1614–72), Warden of Wadham College, 1648, Bishop of Chester, 1668. Married Robina, widow of Canon Peter French and youngest sister of Oliver Cromwell.

<sup>2</sup> Elizabeth Woodcock, evidently his second wife, as his daughter Martha is often mentioned, married 3rd February 1659, to Sir W. Batten; and secondly, in 1671, to a foreigner called, in the register of Battersea parish, Lord Leyenburg. Lady Leighenberg was buried at Walthamstow, 16th September 1681 (Lysons's *Environs*). Sir James Barkman Leyenberg, the envoy from Sweden, was resident in England till 1682, or later.

<sup>3</sup> A comedy by Beaumont and Fletcher.

<sup>4</sup> As trained bands.

30th. (Office day.) Sir G. Carteret did give us an account how Mr. Holland<sup>1</sup> do intend to prevail with the Parliament to try his project of discharging the seamen all at present by ticket, and so promise interest to all men that will lend money upon them at eight per cent for so long as they are unpaid; whereby he do think to take away the growing debt which do now lie upon the kingdom for lack of present money to discharge the seamen. At home I sent for Mr. Hater and with him did sit down discoursing of sea terms to learn of him.

December 1st. This morning, observing some things to be laid up not as they should be by the girl, I took a broom and basted her till she cried extremely, which made me vexed; but before I went out I left her appeased. I went to my Lord St. Albans's lodgings, and found him in bed talking to a priest (he looked like one) that leaned along over the side of the bed; and there I desired to know his mind about making the ketch stay longer, which I got ready for him the other day. He seems to be a fine, civil gentleman. Mr. Shepley and I went into London, and calling upon Mr. Pinkney, the goldsmith, he took us to a tavern and gave us a pint of wine, and there fell into our company old Mr. Flower and another gentleman, who did tell us how a Scotch knight was killed basely the other day at the Fleece in Covent Garden, where there had been a great many formerly killed.

2d. (Lord's day.) To church, and Mr. Mills made a good sermon: so home to dinner. My wife and I all alone to a leg of mutton, the sauce of which being made sweet, I was angry at it, and eat none, but only dined upon the marrow-bone that we had beside.

3d. I rose by candle, and spent my morning in fiddling till time to go to the office. After office home to dinner, where come in my cousin Snow by chance, and I had a very good capon to dinner. So to the office till night, and so home, and then come Mr. Davis of Deptford (the first time that ever he was at my house), and after him Monsieur l'Impertinent, who is to go to Ireland tomorrow, and so came to take his leave of me. They both found me under the barber's hand; but I had a bottle of good sack in the house, and so made them very welcome.

4th. To the Duke of York, and he took us into his closet, and we did open to him our project of stopping the growing charge of

<sup>1</sup> John Holland was secretary to Sir G. Carteret, the treasurer of the Navy, and was author of the *Discourse on the Navy*.

the Fleet, by paying them in hand one moiety, and the other four months hence. This he do like. This day the Parliament voted that the bodies of Oliver, Ireton, Bradshaw, and Thomas Pride should be taken up out of their graves in the Abbey, and drawn to the gallows, and there hanged and buried under it: which (methinks) do trouble me that a man of so great courage as he was should have that dishonour, though otherwise he might deserve it enough.

5th. After dinner I went to the New Theatre, and there I saw 'The Merry Wives of Windsor' acted—the humours of the country gentleman and the French doctor very well done, but the rest but very poorly, and Sir J. Falstaffe<sup>1</sup> as bad as any.

6th. To my Lord, who told me of his going out of town to-morrow to settle the militia in Huntingdonshire, and did desire me to lay up a box of some rich jewels and things that there are in it, which I promised to do. After much free discourse with my Lord, who tells me his mind as to his enlarging his family, &c., and desiring me to look him out a Master of the Horse, and other servants, we parted. Home and found my girl knocking at the door (it being eleven o'clock at night), her mistress having sent her out for some trivial business, which did vex me when I came in, and so I took occasion to go up to bed in a pet.

7th. To the Privy Seal, where I signed a deadly number of pardons, which do trouble me to get nothing by. I fell a-reading Fuller's History of Abbeys,<sup>2</sup> and my wife in Great Cyrus<sup>3</sup> till twelve at night, and so to bed.

8th. To dinner with my wife to Mr. Pierce, the purser, who does live very plentifully and finely. We had a lovely chine of beef and other good things very complete and drank a great deal of wine, and her daughter played after dinner upon the virginals; and at night by lanthorn home, and I went to bed, having drunk so much wine that my head was troubled.

9th. (Lord's day.) Being called up early by Sir W. Batten, I rose and went to his house, and he told me the ill news that he had this morning from Woolwich—that the Assurance (formerly Captain Holland's ship, and now Captain Stoakes's,<sup>4</sup> designed for Guinea,

<sup>1</sup> Played by Cartwright.

<sup>2</sup> Which formed part of his *Church History*, book vi.

<sup>3</sup> *Artamène ou Le Grand Cyrus*, par Madeleine de Scudéry, the second of her works.

<sup>4</sup> John Stoakes, late captain of the *Royal Henry*.

and manned and victualled) was by a gust of wind sunk down to the bottom. Twenty men drowned. Sir Williams both went by barge thither to see how things are, and I am sent to the Duke of York to tell him. I went to the Duke, and first calling upon Mr. Coventry at his chamber, I went to the Duke's bed-side, who had sat up late last night and lay long this morning. This being done, I went to chapel and sat in Mr. Blagrave's pew, and there did sing my part along with another before the King, and with much ease. From thence going to my Lady. Dined with my Lady, and had infinite of talk of all kind of things, especially of beauty of men and women, with which she seems to be much pleased to talk of. Home, I hear that the Comptroller had some business with me, and he showed me a design of his, by the King's making an Order of Knights of the Sea to give encouragement for persons of honour to undertake the service of the sea, and he had done it with great pains, and very ingeniously.

10th. Up exceedingly early to go to the Comptroller, but he not being up, and it being a very fine, bright, moonshine morning, I went and walked all alone twenty turns in Cornhill, from Gracechurch Street corner to the Stocks, and back again. It is expected that the Duke will marry the Lord Chancellor's daughter at last;<sup>1</sup> which is likely to be the ruin of Mr. Davis and my Lord Berkeley [of Stratton], who have carried themselves so high against the Chancellor; Sir Charles Berkeley swearing that he and others had intrigued with her often, which all believe to be a lie. I do find as near as I can that I am in money clear £240, for which God be praised.

11th. My wife and I up very early this day, and though the weather was very bad, and the wind high, yet my Lady Batten and her maid and we two did go by our barge to Woolwich (my Lady being very fearful), where we found both Sir Williams and much other company, expecting the weather to be better, that they might go about weighing up the Assurance, which lies there (poor ship, that I have been twice merry in, in Captain Holland's time) under water, only the upper deck may be seen, and the masts. Captain Stoakes is very melancholy, and being in search for some clothes and money of his, which he says he hath lost out of his cabin. I did the first office of a Justice of Peace to examine a seaman thereupon, but could find no reason to commit him. This last tide the Kinsale was also run aboard, and lost her main-mast, by another

<sup>1</sup> He had married her on the 3rd September previous.



ship, which makes us think it ominous to the Guinea voyage, to have two spoilt before they go out. After dinner, my Lady being very fearful, she stayed and kept my wife there, and I and another gentleman, a friend of Sir W. Pen's, went back in the barge, very merry by the way, as far as White Hall in her. Mr. Moore hath persuaded me to put out £250 for £50 per annum for 8 years, and I think I shall do it.

12th. To the Exchequer, and did give my mother Bowyer a visit, and her daughters, the first time that I did see them since I went last to sea. My father did offer me six pieces of gold in lieu of six pounds that he borrowed of me the other day, but it went against me to take it of him, and therefore did not, though I was afterwards a little troubled that I did not. Home and to bed, reading myself asleep while the wench sat mending my breeches by my bed-side.

13th. All the day long looking upon my workmen who this day began to paint my parlour. I stepped to my Lady's, where Sir John Lawson and Captain Holmes were, and there we dined and had very good red wine of my Lady's own making in England.

14th. With the Comptroller to the coffee-house, where we had very good discourse concerning insects and their having a generative faculty. The Comptroller told me among other persons that were heretofore the principal officers of the Navy, there was one Sir Peter Buck,<sup>1</sup> a Clerk of the Acts, of which to myself I was not a little proud.

15th. Mr. Moore dined with me. We had three eels that my wife and I bought this morning of a man that cried them about.

16th. In the afternoon I to White Hall, where I was surprised with the news of a plot against the King's person and my Lord Monk's; and that since last night there are about forty taken up on suspicion; and, amongst others, it was my lot to meet with Simon Beale, the trumpeter, who took me and Tom Doling into the Guard in Scotland Yard, and showed us Major-General Overton. Here I heard him deny that he is guilty of any such things; but that whereas it is said that he is found to have brought many arms to town, he says it is only to sell them, as he will prove by oath. To my Lady's, and stayed with her an hour or two, talking of the Duke of York and his lady, the Chancellor's daughter,

<sup>1</sup> Peter Buck, secretary to Algernon Percy, Earl of Northumberland, the Lord High Admiral, and afterwards knighted.

between whom, she tells me, that all is agreed, and he will marry her. But I know not how true yet.

17th. To the office, where both Sir Williams were come from Woolwich, and tell us that, contrary to their expectations, the Assurance is got up, without much damage to her body, only to the goods that she hath within her, which argues her to be a strong, good ship. This day my parlour is gilded, which do please me well.

18th. All day at home, without stirring at all, looking after my workmen.

19th. This night Mr. Gauden<sup>1</sup> sent me a great chine of beef, and half a dozen of tongues.

20th. All day at home with my workmen, that I may get all done before Christmas. This day I hear that the Princess Royal has the small-pox.

21st. W. Haley and W. Bowyer told me that this is St. Thomas's, and that, by an old custom, this day the Exchequer men had formerly, and do intend this night to have, a supper; which, if I could, I promised to come to, but did not. To my Lady's, and dined with her: she told me how dangerously ill the Princess Royal is, and that this morning she was said to be dead. But she hears that she hath married herself to young Jermyn,<sup>2</sup> which is worse than the Duke of York's marrying the Chancellor's daughter, which is now publicly owned.

22d. Went to the Sun tavern, on Fish Street hill, to a dinner of Captain Teddiman's,<sup>3</sup> where was my Lord Inchiquin<sup>4</sup> (who seems to be a very fine person), Sir W. Pen, Captain Cuttance, and one Mr. Lawrence<sup>5</sup> (a fine gentleman, now going to Algiers), and other good company, where we had a very fine dinner, good music, and a great deal of wine. I very merry went to bed, my head aching all night.

23d. (Lord's day.) In the morning to church, where our pew all covered with rosemary and bays. A stranger made a dull sermon. Home, and found my wife and maid with much ado had made shift to spit a great turkey sent me this week from Charles

<sup>1</sup> Dennis Gauden, victualler to the Navy, subsequently knighted, while Sheriff of London.

<sup>2</sup> Henry Jermyn, Master of the Horse to the Duke of York.

<sup>3</sup> Afterwards Admiral Sir Thomas Teddiman.

<sup>4</sup> Murrough O'Brien, sixth baron of Inchiquin, in Ireland, advanced to the dignity of an earl, 1654.

<sup>5</sup> Afterwards Sir John Lawrence.

Carter, my old colleague, now minister in Huntingdonshire, but not at all roasted, and so I was fain to stay till two o'clock, and after that to church with my wife, and a good sermon there was, and so home.

24th. Commissioner Pett told me that he had lately presented a piece of plate (being a couple of flagons) to Mr. Coventry, but he did not receive them, which also put me upon doing the same, too; and so after dinner I went and chose a pair of candlesticks to be made ready for me at Alderman Backwell's. This day the Princess Royal died at White Hall.

25th. (Christmas day.) In the morning to church, where Mr. Mills made a very good sermon. Home to dinner, where my brother Tom (who this morning came to see my wife's new mantle put on, which do please me very well) to a good shoulder of mutton and a chicken. After dinner to church again, my wife and I, where we had a dull sermon of a stranger, which made me sleep.

26th. To my Lord's, where I found Sir Thomas Bond<sup>1</sup> (whom I never saw before) with a message from the Queen about vessels for the carrying over of her goods. To White Hall by water, and dined with my Lady Sandwich, who at table did tell me how much fault was laid upon Dr. Frazer and the rest of the doctors, for the death of the Princess. My Lord did dine this day with Sir Henry Wright in order to his going to sea with the Queen.

27th. To Alderman Backwell's again, where I found the candlesticks done, and went along with him in his coach to my Lord's and left the candlesticks with Mr. Shepley. This afternoon there came in a strange lord to Sir William Batten's by a mistake, and enters discourse with him, so that we could not be rid of him till Sir Arn[old] Breames<sup>2</sup> and Mr. Bens and Sir W. Pen fell a-drinking to him till he was drunk, and so sent him away. About the middle of the night I was very ill—I think with eating and drinking too much—and so I was forced to call the maid, who pleased my wife and I in her running up and down so innocently in her smock.

28th. Stayed within all the afternoon and evening at my lute, with great pleasure.

<sup>1</sup> Sir Thomas Bond was a Roman Catholic; Comptroller of the Household to the Queen Dowager; created a baronet in 1658 by Charles II, to whom in exile he had advanced large sums. He died in 1685, and lies buried at Camberwell.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Arnold Breames, or Brahams, of Bridge Court, Kent, was son of Charles Breames, of Dover, and was knighted at Canterbury, 27th May 1660.

29th. Several people to speak with me: Mr. Shepley for £100; Mr. Kennard and Warren,<sup>1</sup> the merchant, about deals for my Lord; Captain Robert Blake lately come from the Straits about some Florence wine for my Lord. To Alderman Backwell's, and took a brave state-plate and cup in lieu of the candlesticks that I had the other day, and carried them by coach to my Lord's and left them there. Home with my father, he telling me what bad wives both my cousin Joyces make to their husbands, which I much wondered at. After talking of my sister's coming to me next week I went home and to bed.

30th. (Lord's day.) Being up, I went with Will to my Lord's, calling in at many churches in my way. There I found Mr. Shepley in his Venetian cap taking physic in his chamber. Mr. Childe and I spent some time at the lute. I to the Abbey and walked there, seeing the great confusion of people that come there to hear the organs.

31st. In Paul's Church-yard I bought the play of 'Henry the Fourth,' and so went to the new Theatre and saw it acted; but, my expectation being too great, it did not please me, as otherwise I believe it would; and my having a book, I believe, did spoil it a little. That being done, I went to my Lord's, where I found him private at cards with my Lord Lauderdale and some persons of honour, my boy taking a cat home with him from my Lord's, which Sarah had given him for my wife, we being much troubled with mice. At White Hall enquiring for a coach, there was a Frenchman with one eye that was going my way, so he and I hired the coach between us, and he set me down in Fenchurch Street. Strange, how the fellow, without asking, did tell me all what he was, and how he had run away from his father and come into England to serve the King, and now going back again.

<sup>1</sup> Charles II, 12th April 1662, knighted a rich tradesman of Wapping, named William Warren. Le Neve says he was 'a great builder of ships for King Charles II.'

At the end of the last and the beginning of this year I do live in one of the houses belonging to the Navy Office, as one of the principal officers, and have done now about half a year; my family being myself, my wife, Jane, Will. Hewer, and Wayneman,<sup>1</sup> my girl's brother. Myself in constant good health and in a most handsome and thriving condition. Blessed be Almighty God for it! As to things of State—the King settled, and loved of all. The Duke of York matched to my Lord Chancellor's daughter, which do not please many. The Queen upon her return to France with the Princess Henrietta.<sup>2</sup> The Princess of Orange<sup>3</sup> lately dead, and we into new mourning for her. We have been lately frightened with a great plot, and many taken up on it, and the fright not quite over. The Parliament, which had done all this great good to the King, beginning to grow factious, the King did dissolve it December 29th last, and another likely to be chosen speedily. I take myself now to be worth £300 clear in money, and all my goods, and all manner of debts paid, which are none at all.

January 1st. Mr. Moore, to my great comfort, tells me that my fees will come to £80 clear to myself, and about £25 for him, which he hath got out of the pardons, though there be no fee due to me at all out of them. Then comes in my brother Thomas, and after him my father, Dr. Thomas Pepys, my uncle Fenner and his two sons (Anthony's only child dying this morning, yet he was so civil to come, and was pretty merry) to breakfast; and I had for them a barrel of oysters, a dish of neat's tongues, and a dish of anchovies, wine of all sorts, and Northdown ale. We were very merry till about eleven o'clock, and then they went away. At noon I carried my wife by coach to my cousin Thomas Pepys's, where we, with my father, Dr. Thomas, cousin Stradwick, Scott, and their wives, dined. Here I saw first his second wife, which is a very respectful woman; but his dinner a sorry, poor

<sup>1</sup> It would appear from this notice of the boy Wayneman that he was forgiven, and continued in Pepys's service.

<sup>2</sup> Youngest daughter of Charles I, married soon after to Philip Duke of Orleans, only brother of Louis XIV. She died suddenly in 1670, not without suspicion of having been poisoned.

<sup>3</sup> Or Princess Royal.

dinner for a man of his estate, there being nothing but ordinary meat in it. To-day the King dined at a lord's two doors from us. Mr. Moore and I went to Mr. Pierce's; in our way seeing the Duke of York bring his Lady to-day to wait upon the Queen, the first time that ever she did since that great business; and the Queen is said to receive her now with much respect and love; and there he cast up the fees, and I told the money, by the same token one £100 bag, after I had told it, fell all about the room, and I fear I have lost some of it. Supped with them and Mr. Pierce, the purser, and his wife and mine, where we had a calf's head carboned, but it was raw—we could not eat it—and a good hen. But she is such a slut that I do not love her victuals.

2d. My Lord did give me many commands in his business: as about taking care to write to my uncle that Mr. Barnewell's papers should be locked up, in case he should die, he being now suspected to be very ill. Also about consulting with Mr. W. Montagu for the settling of the £4000 a year that the King had promised my Lord: as also about getting Mr. George Montagu to be chosen at Huntingdon this next Parliament, &c. That done, he to White Hall stairs with much company, and I with him; where we took water for Lambeth, and there coach for Portsmouth. The Queen's things were all in White Hall Court, ready to be sent away, and her Majesty ready to be gone an hour after to Hampton Court tonight, and so to be at Portsmouth on Saturday next. Home to dinner, where I found Pall (my sister) was come; but I do not let her sit down at table with me, which I do at first that she may not expect it hereafter from me. To Mr. George Montagu about the business of election, and he did give me a piece of gold; so to my Lord's, and got the chest of plate brought to the Exchequer, and my brother Spicer put into his treasury. I took a turn in the Hall, and bought the King and Chancellor's speeches at the dissolving the Parliament last Saturday. This day I lent Sir W. Batten and Captain Rider my chine of beef for to serve to-morrow at Trinity House, the Duke of Albemarle being to be there, and all the rest of the Brethren, it being a great day for the reading over of their new charter, which the King hath newly given them.

3d. To the Theatre, where was acted 'Beggar's Bush,' it being very well done; and here the first time that ever I saw women come upon the stage.

4th. Office all the morning, my wife and Pall being gone to my father's to dress dinner for Mr. Honiwood, my mother being gone

out of town. I had been early this morning at White Hall, at the Jewel Office, to choose a piece of gilt plate for my Lord, in return of his offering to the King (which it seems is usual at this time of year, and an Earl gives twenty pieces in gold in a purse to the King). I chose a gilt tankard, weighing 31 ounces and a half, and he is allowed 30; so I paid 12*s.* for the ounce and half over what he is to have: but strange it was for me to see what a company of small fees I was called upon by a great many to pay there, which, I perceive, is the manner that courtiers do get their estates. After dinner, Mr. Moore and I to the theatre, where was 'The Scornful Lady' acted very well, it being the first play that ever he saw.

5th. The great Tom Fuller came to desire a kindness for a friend of his,<sup>1</sup> who hath a mind to go to Jamaica with these two ships that are going, which I promised to do. Staying in Paul's Churchyard, to bespeak Ogilby's Æsop's fables and Tully's Offices to be bound for me.

6th. (Lord's day.) My wife and I to church this morning. To church again, where, before sermon, a long psalm was set that lasted an hour, while the sexton gathered his year's contribution through the whole church. After sermon home, and there I went to my chamber, and wrote a letter to send to Mr. Coventry with a piece of plate along with it, which I do preserve among my other letters.

7th. This morning news was brought to me to my bed-side, that there had been a great stir in the City this night by the Fanatics,<sup>2</sup> who had been up and killed six or seven men, but all are fled. My Lord Mayor and the whole City had been in arms, above 40,000. Tom and I and my wife to the Theatre, and there saw 'The Silent Woman.' Among other things here, Kynaston, the boy, had the good turn to appear in three shapes: first, as a poor woman in ordinary clothes, to please Morose; then in fine clothes, as a gallant; and in them was clearly the prettiest woman in the whole house; and lastly, as a man; and then likewise did appear the handsomest man in the house. From thence by link to my cousin Stradwick's, where my father and we and Dr. Pepys, Scott and his wife, and one Mr. Ward and his; and after a good supper, we had an excellent cake, where the mark for the Queen was cut, and so there was two queens, my wife and Mrs. Ward; and the

<sup>1</sup> Peter Beckford, who resided in Dr. Fuller's neighbourhood.

<sup>2</sup> Headed by the notorious Thomas Venner, the Fifth-Monarchy man, a cooper, and preacher to a conventicle in Coleman Street.

King being lost, they chose the Doctor to be king: so we made him send for some wine, and then home. In our way home we were in many places strictly examined, more than in the worst of times, there being great fears of these Fanatics rising again: for the present, I do not hear that any of them are taken.

8th. To Westminster, where I dined with my Lady. After dinner I took my Lord Hinchinbroke and Mr. Sidney to the Theatre, and showed them 'The Widow,'<sup>1</sup> an indifferent good play, but wronged by the women being to seek in their parts. That being done, my Lord's coach waited for us, and so back to my Lady's, where she made me drink of some Florence wine, and did give me two bottles for my wife. Some talk today of a head of Fanatics that do appear about Barnet, but I do not believe it. However, my Lord Mayor, Sir Richard Browne, hath carried himself very honourably, and hath caused one of their meeting-houses in London to be pulled down.

9th. Waked in the morning about six o'clock by people running up and down in Mr. Davis's house, talking that the Fanatics were up in arms in the City. And so I rose and went forth: where in the street I found everybody in arms at the doors. So I returned (though with no good courage at all, but that I might not seem to be afraid) and got my sword and pistol, which, however, I had no powder to charge; and went to the door, where I found Sir R. Ford, and with him I walked up and down as far as the Exchange, and there I left him. In our way, the streets full of train-bands, and great stories, what mischief these rogues have done; and I think near a dozen have been killed this morning on both sides. The shops shut, and all things in trouble. Home to my lute till late, and then to bed, there being strict guards all night in the City, though most of the enemies, they say, are killed or taken.

10th. There comes Mr. Hawley to me, and brings me my money for the quarter of a year's salary of my place under Downing that I was at sea: so I did give him half, whereof he did in his nobleness give the odd 5s. to my Jane. Talking of his wooing afresh to Mrs. Lane, and of his going to serve the Bishop of London. After dinner Will comes to tell me that he had presented my piece of plate to Mr. Coventry, who takes it very kindly, and sends me a very kind letter, and the plate back again; of which my heart is very glad. So to Mrs. Hunt, where I found a Frenchman, a

<sup>1</sup> *The Widow*, a comedy, by B. Jonson, Fletcher, and Middleton.



lodger of hers, at dinner, and just as I came in was kissing my wife, which I did not like, though there could not be any hurt in it. Mr. Davis told us the particular examinations of these Fanatics that are taken: and in short it is this, these Fanatics that have routed all the train-bands that they met with, put the King's Life-guards to the run, killed about twenty men, broke through the City gates twice; and all this in the day-time, when all the City was in arms; —are not in all above 31. Whereas we did believe them (because they were seen up and down in every place almost in the City, and had been in Highgate two or three days, and in several other places) to be at least 500. A thing that never was heard of, that so few men should dare and do so much mischief. Their word was, 'The King Jesus, and the heads upon the gates.' Few of them would receive any quarter, but such as were taken by force and kept alive; expecting Jesus to come here and reign in the world presently, and will not believe yet but their work will be carried on though they die. The King this day came to town.

11th. (Office day.) This day comes news, by letters from Portsmouth, that the Princess Henrietta is fallen sick of the measles on board the London, after the Queen and she was under sail. And so was forced to come back into Portsmouth harbour; and in their way, by negligence of the pilot, run upon the Horse sand. The Queen and she continue aboard, and do not intend to come on shore till she sees what will become of the young Princess. This news do make people think something indeed, that three of the Royal Family should fall sick of the same disease, one after another. This morning, likewise, we had order to see guards set in all the King's yards; and so Sir William Batten goes to Chatham, Colonel Slingsby and I to Deptford and Woolwich. Portsmouth, being a garrison, needs none. To the coffee-house, where I met Captain Morrice, the upholsterer, who would fain have lent me a horse to-night, to have rid with him upon the City-guards, with the Lord Mayor, there being some new expectations of these rogues: but I refused, by reason of my going out of town tomorrow. So home to bed.

12th. With Colonel Slingsby and a friend of his, Major Waters, (a deaf and most amorous melancholy gentleman, who is under a despair in love, as the Colonel told me, which makes him bad company, though a most good-natured man) by water to Redriffe, and so on foot to Deptford, where we fell to choosing four captains to command the guards, and choosing the place where to keep them,

and other things in order thereunto. Never till now did I see the great authority of my place, all the captains of the fleet coming cap in hand to us. I went home with Mr. Davis, storekeeper (whose wife is ill, and so I could not see her), and was there most princelike lodged, with so much respect and honour, that I was at a loss how to behave myself.

13th. To the Globe to dinner, and then with Commissioner Pett to his lodgings there (which he hath for the present, while he is building the King's yacht, which will be a pretty thing, and much beyond the Dutchman's), and from thence by coach to Greenwich church, where a good sermon, a fine church, and a great company of handsome women. And so I to Mr. Davis's to bed again. But no sooner in bed, but we had an alarm, and so we rose: and the Comptroller comes into the yard to us; and seamen of all the ships present repair to us, and there we armed with every one a handspike, with which they were as fierce as could be. At last we hear that it was only five or six men that did ride through the guard in the town, without stopping to the guard that was there; and some say shot at them. But all being quiet there, we caused the seamen to go on board again.

14th. The arms being come this morning from the Tower, we caused them to be distributed. I spent much time with Lieutenant Lambert, walking up and down the yards, and he dined with us. After dinner, Mrs. Pett lent us her coach, and carried us to Woolwich, where we did also dispose of the arms there, and settle the guards.

15th. Up and down the yard all the morning, and seeing the seamen exercise, which they do already very handsomely. Then to dinner at Mr. Ackworth's, where there also dined with us one Captain Bethell,<sup>1</sup> a friend of the Comptroller's. A good dinner, and very handsome. After that, and taking our leaves of the officers of the yard, we walked to the waterside, and in our way walked into the rope-yard, where I do look into the tar-houses and other places, and took great notice of all the several works belonging to the making of a cable. So after a cup of burnt wine at the tavern there, we took barge and went to Blackwall, and viewed

<sup>1</sup> Mary Slingsby (daughter of Sir Henry Slingsby), first cousin to the comptroller, Colonel Robert Slingsby (afterwards, on the 18th March, created a baronet), married Sir Walter Bethell, of Alne, in Yorkshire, knight, father of Sir Hugh Bethell, Knight, of Slingsby Bethell, Sheriff of London in 1680, and of William Bethell, D.D. The Captain Bethell here named is probably Sir Walter Bethell.

the dock, and the new Wet Dock, which is newly made there, and a brave new merchantman which is to be launched shortly, and they say to be called the Royal Oak. Hence we walked to Dick-Shore,<sup>1</sup> and thence to the Tower, and so home. I perceive none of our officers care much for one another, but I do keep in with them all as much as I can. This day I hear the Princess is recovered again. The King hath been this afternoon at Deptford, to see the yacht that Commissioner Pett is building, which will be very pretty; as also that his brother<sup>2</sup> at Woolwich is making.

16th. This morning I went early to the Comptroller's, and so with him by coach to White Hall, to wait upon Mr. Coventry, to give him an account of what we have done, which having done I went away to wait upon my Lady; but coming to her lodgings I find that she is gone this morning to Chatham by coach, thinking to meet me there, which did trouble me exceedingly, and I did not know what to do, being loth to follow her, and yet could not imagine what she would do when she found me not there. In this trouble, I went to take a walk in Westminster Hall, and by chance met with Mr. Child, who went forth with my Lady to-day, but his horse being bad, he come back again, which then did trouble me more, so that I did resolve to go to her; and so by boat home, and put on my boots, and so over to Southwark to the post-house, and there took horse and guide to Dartford, and thence to Rochester (I having good horses and good way, come thither about half an hour after daylight, which was before six o'clock, and I set forth after two), where I found my Lady and her daughter Jem, and Mrs. Browne<sup>3</sup> and five servants, all at a great loss, not finding me here, but at my coming she was overjoyed. The sport was, how she had intended to have kept herself unknown, and how the Captain<sup>4</sup> (whom she had sent for) of the Charles had forsooth<sup>5</sup> her, though he knew her well and she him. In fine, we supped merry, and so to bed, there coming several of the Charles's men to see me before I got to bed. The page lay with me.

17th. Up, and breakfast with my Lady. Then come Captains Cuttance and Blake<sup>6</sup> to carry her in the barge on board, and so we

<sup>1</sup> Limehouse.

<sup>2</sup> Christopher Pett.

<sup>3</sup> Wife of Captain Arthur Browne, Sir William Batten's brother-in-law.

<sup>4</sup> Afterwards Sir Robert Cuttance.

<sup>5</sup> To forsooth is to treat a person ceremoniously.

<sup>6</sup> Captain Robert Blake.

went through Ham Creek to the Sovereign (a goodly sight all the way to see the brave ships that lie here) first, which is a most noble ship. I never saw her before. My Lady Sandwich, my Lady Jemimah, Mrs. Browne, Mrs. Grace, and Mary and the page, my Lady's servants, and myself, all went into the lanthorn together. From thence to the Charles, where my Lady took great pleasure to see all the rooms, and to hear me tell her how things are when my Lord is there. After we had seen all, then the officers of the ship had prepared a handsome breakfast for her, and while she was pledging my Lord's health they give her five guns. That done, we went off, and then they give us thirteen guns more. I confess it was great pleasure to myself to see the ship that I begun my good fortune in. From thence on board the Newcastle, to show my Lady the difference between a great and a small ship. Among these ships I did give away £7. So back again, and went on shore at Chatham, where I had ordered the coach to wait for us. So I rode with my Lady in the coach, and the page on the horse that I should have rid on—he desiring it. It begun to be dark before we could come to Dartford, and to rain hard, and the horses to fail, which was our great care to prevent for fear of my Lord's displeasure: so here we sat up for to-night, as also Captains Cuttance and Blake, who come along with us. We set and talked till supper. My Lady and I entered into a great dispute concerning what were best for a man to do with his estate—whether to make his elder son heir, which my Lady is for, and I against, but rather to make all equal. This discourse took us much time, till it was time to go to bed; but we being merry, we bade my Lady good night, and intended to have gone to the Post-house to drink, and hear a pretty girl play of the cittern (and indeed we should have lain there, but by a mistake we did not), but it was late, and we could not hear her, and the guard came to examine what we were: so we returned to our inn and to bed, the page and I in one bed, and the two captains in another, all in one chamber, where we had very good mirth with our most abominable lodging.

18th. The Captains went with me to the post-house about nine o'clock, and after a morning draught I took horse and guide for London; and though some rain, and a great wind in my face, I got to London at eleven o'clock. At home found all well, but the monkey loose, which did anger me, and so I did strike her till she was almost dead, that they might make her fast again, which did

still trouble me more. Took Mr. Hollyard<sup>1</sup> to the Greyhound, where he did advise me above all things, both as to the stone and the decay of my memory (of which I now complain to him), to avoid drinking often, which I am resolved, if I can, to leave off. Took home with me from the bookseller's Ogilby's *Æsop*, which he had bound for me, and indeed I am very much pleased with the book.

19th. To the Comptroller's, and with him by coach to White Hall; in our way meeting Venner<sup>2</sup> and Pritchard upon a sledge, who with two more Fifth Monarchy men were hanged to-day, and the two first drawn and quartered. Went to the theatre, where I saw 'The Lost Lady,'<sup>3</sup> which do not please me much. Here I was troubled to be seen by four of our office clerks, which sat in the half-crown box, and I in the 1s. 6d. From hence by link, and bought two mouse-traps of Thomas Pepys, the turner.

21st. Sir W. Batten, the Comptroller, and I to Westminster, to the Commissioners for paying off the Army and Navy, where the Duke of Albemarle was; and we sat with our hats on, and did discourse about paying off the ships, and do find that they do intend to undertake it without our help; and we are glad of it, for it is a work that will much displease the poor seamen, and so we are glad to have no hand in it. It is strange what weather we have had all this winter; no cold at all; but the ways are dusty, and the flies fly up and down, and the rose-bushes are full of leaves, such a time of the year as was never known in this world before here. This day many more of the Fifth Monarchy men were hanged.

22d. To the Comptroller's house, where I read over his proposals<sup>4</sup> to the Lord Admiral for the regulating of the officers of the Navy, in which he hath taken much pains, only he do seem to have too good an opinion of them himself. From thence in his coach to Mercers' Chapel, and so up to the great hall, where we met with the King's Council for trade, upon some proposals of theirs for settling convoys for the whole English trade, and that

<sup>1</sup> This surgeon, of whom we read so often in the *Diary*, was probably the person who operated successfully upon Pepys.

<sup>2</sup> Venner and Hodgkins were executed in Coleman Street; Pritchard and Oxman at the end of Wood Street.

<sup>3</sup> A tragi-comedy by Sir William Barclay.

<sup>4</sup> This document is in the British Museum, Add. MSS., 11,602, and consists of twenty-two closely written pages. It is entitled, '*A Discourse touching the Past and Present State of the Navy*. Composed by that Ingenious Gentleman, Sir Robert Slingsby, Knt. and Baronet, Comptroller thereof.'

by having 33 ships (four fourth rates, nineteen fifths, ten sixths) settled by the King for that purpose, which indeed was argued very finely by many persons of honour, and merchants that were there. It pleased me much now to come in this condition to this place, where I was once a petitioner for my exhibition in Paul's School; and also where Sir G. Downing (my late master) was chairman, and so but equally concerned with me. I met with Dr. Thomas Fuller: he tells me of his last and great book that is coming out: that is, the History of all the Families in England; and could tell me more of my own than I knew myself. And also to what perfection he hath now brought the art of memory; that he did lately to four eminently great scholars dictate together in Latin, upon different subjects of their proposing, faster than they were able to write, till they were tired; and that the best way of beginning a sentence, if a man should be out and forget his last sentence (which he never was), that then his last refuge is to begin with an *Utcunque*.

23d. To Gresham College (where I never was before), and saw the manner of the house, and found great company of persons of honour there: thence to my bookseller's, and for books, and to Stevens, the silversmith, to make clean some plate against tomorrow, and so home, by the way paying many little debts for wines and pictures, etc., which is my great pleasure.

24th. There dined with me Sir William Batten and his lady and daughter, Sir W. Pen, Mr. Fox (his lady being ill could not come), and Captain Cuttance: the first dinner I have made since I came hither. This cost me above £5, and merry we were—only my chimney smokes. To bed, being glad that the trouble is over.

25th. Interrupted by Mr. Salisbury's coming in, who came to see me, and to show me my Lord's picture in little, of his doing. Truly it is strange to what a perfection he is come in a year's time. This night comes two cages, which I bought this evening for my canary birds, which Captain Rooth<sup>1</sup> this day sent me.

26th. There dined with me this day both the Pierces<sup>2</sup> and their wives, and Captain Cuttance and Lieutenant Lambert, with whom we made ourselves very merry by taking away his ribbons<sup>3</sup> and garters, having made him to confess that he is lately married.

27th. (Lord's day.) Before I rose, letters come to me from Portsmouth, telling me that the Princess is now well, and my Lord

<sup>1</sup> Richard Rooth, captain of the *Dartmouth*.

<sup>2</sup> The surgeon and the purser of the same name.

<sup>3</sup> See *ante*, 24th January 1660.

Sandwich set sail with the Queen and her yesterday from thence to France. To church: a poor dull sermon of a stranger. Home, and at dinner was very angry at my people's eating a fine pudding (made me by Slater, the cook, last Thursday) without my wife's leave. Mr. and Mrs. Turner supped with us, and after supper we fell to oysters, and then Mr. Turner went and fetched some strong waters, and so, being very merry, we parted. This day the parson read a proclamation at church for the keeping of Wednesday next, the 30th of January, a fast for the murder of the late King.

28th. Dined at home, and after dinner to Fleet Street with my sword to Mr. Brigden (lately made Captain of the Auxiliaries) to be refreshed, and with him to an ale-house, where I met Mr. Davenport, and after some talk of Cromwell, Ireton, and Bradshaw's bodies being taken out of their graves to-day, I went to Mr. Crewe's, and thence to the Theatre, where I saw again 'The Lost Lady,' which do now please me better than before; and here I sitting behind in a dark place, a lady spit backward upon me by a mistake, not seeing me; but after seeing her to be a very pretty lady I was not troubled at it at all. At Mr. Holden's I bought a hat, cost me 35s.

29th. To Southwark, and so over the fields to Lambeth, and there drank, it being a most glorious and warm day, even to amazement, for this time of the year. My Lady gone with some company to see Hampton Court: so we went to Blackfriars (the first time I ever was there since plays begun), and there, after great patience, and little expectations from so poor beginnings, I saw three acts of 'The Maid in the Mill'<sup>1</sup> acted to my great content. But it being late, I left the play, and by water through bridge home, and so to Mr. Turner's house, where the Comptroller, Sir William Batten, and Mr. Davis, and their ladies; and here we had a most neat, little, but costly and genteel supper, and after that, a great deal of impertinent mirth by Mr. Davis, and some catches, and so broke up, and going away, Mr. Davis's eldest son took up my old Lady Slingsby<sup>2</sup> in his arms, and carried her to the coach, and is said to be able to carry three of the biggest men that were in the company, which I wonder at.

30th. (Fast day.) The first time that this day hath been yet observed: and Mr. Mills made a most excellent sermon upon

<sup>1</sup> *The Maid of the Mill*, a play by J. Fletcher and Rowley.

<sup>2</sup> Margaret, daughter of Sir William Water, an alderman of York. She was mother of the comptroller, widow of Sir Gylford Slingsby.

'Lord forgive us our former iniquities,' speaking excellently of the justice of God in punishing men for the sins of their ancestors. Had a letter from my brother John, a very ingenious one, and he therein begs to have leave to come to town at the Coronation. To my Lady Batten's; where my wife and she are lately come back again from being abroad, and seeing of Cromwell, Ireton,<sup>1</sup> and Bradshaw, hanged and buried at Tyburn.

31st. This morning with Mr. Coventry at White Hall about getting a ship to carry my Lord's deals to Lynn, and we have chosen the Gift. To the Theatre, and there sat in the pit among the company of fine ladies, &c.; and the house was exceeding full, to see '*Argalus and Parthenia*,'<sup>2</sup> the first time that it hath been acted: and indeed it is good, though wronged by my over great expectations, as all things else are.

February 1st. A full office all this morning; and busy about answering the Commissioners of Parliament to their letter, wherein they desire to borrow two clerks of ours, which we will not grant them. After dinner into London and bought some books and a belt, and had my sword new furbished.

2d. Early to Mr. Moore, thence home, where all things in a hurry for dinner—a strange cook being come in the room of Slater, who could not come. There dined here my uncle Wight and my aunt, my father and mother, and my brother Tom, Dr. Fairbrother, and Mr. Mills, the parson, and his wife, who is a neighbour's daughter of my uncle Robert's, and knows my aunt Wight and all her and my friends there; and so we had excellent company today. After dinner I was sent for to Sir G. Carteret's. Then home; where I found the parson and his wife gone. And by and by the rest of the company, very well pleased, and I too; it being the last dinner I intend to make a great while, it having now cost me almost £15 in three dinners within this fortnight.

3d. (Lord's day.) This day I first begun to go forth in my coat and sword, as the manner now among gentlemen is. To White Hall. In my way heard Mr. Thomas Fuller preach at the Savoy upon our forgiving of other men's trespasses, showing among other things that we are to go to law never to revenge, but only to

<sup>1</sup> Henry Ireton married Bridget, daughter to Oliver Cromwell, and was afterwards one of Charles I's judges, and of the committee who superintended his execution. He died at the siege of Limerick, 1651.

<sup>2</sup> *Argalus and Parthenia*, a pastoral, by Henry Glapthorne, taken from Sidney's *Arcadia*.



repair, which I think a good distinction. So to White Hall; where I stayed to hear the trumpets and kettle-drums, and then the other drums, which are much cried up, though I think it dull, vulgar music. So to Mr. Fox's, unbid; where I had a good dinner and special company. Among other discourse, I observed one story, how my Lord Norwich,<sup>1</sup> at a public audience before the King of France, made the Duke of Anjou cry, by making ugly faces as he was stepping to the King, but undiscovered. And how Sir Philip Warwick's<sup>2</sup> lady did wonder to have Mr. Darcy send for several dozen bottles of Rhenish wine to her house, not knowing that the wine was his. Thence to my Lord's; where I am told how Sir Thomas Crewe's Pedro,<sup>3</sup> with two of his countrymen more, did last night kill one soldier of four that quarrelled with them in the street, about ten o'clock. The other two are taken, but he is now hid at my Lord's till night, that he do intend to make his escape away.

4th. Early up to Court with Sir W. Pen, where, at Mr. Coventry's chamber, we met with all our fellow officers, and there a hot debate about the business of paying off the fleet, and how far we should join with the Commissioners of Parliament therein. So I to the tavern, where Sir William Pen, and the Comptroller, and several others were, men and women; and we had a very great and merry dinner; and after dinner the Comptroller begun some sports, among others, the naming of people round, and afterwards demanding questions of them that they are forced to answer their names to, which do make very good sport. And here I took pleasure to take forfeits of the ladies who would not do their duty by kissing of them: among others a pretty lady, who I found afterwards to be wife to Sir William Batten's son.<sup>4</sup> We sat late, talking with my Lady and others, and Dr. Whistler,<sup>5</sup> who I

<sup>1</sup> George Lord Goring, created Earl of Norwich 1644, in which year the circumstances of this story took place.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Philip Warwick, employed as secretary to Charles I in the Isle of Wight, and Clerk of the Signet, to which place he was restored in 1660; knighted and elected M.P. for Westminster. He was also Secretary to the Treasury under Lord Southampton till 1667. *Ob.* 1683. His second wife here mentioned was Joan, daughter to Sir Henry Fanshawe, and widow of Sir William Boteler, Bart. He left memoirs (pub. 1701).

<sup>3</sup> Eldest son of Mr., afterwards Lord Crewe, whom he succeeded in that title.

<sup>4</sup> Benjamin Batten.

<sup>5</sup> Daniel Whistler, Fellow of Merton College, took the degree of M.D. at Leyden, 1645; and, after practising in London, went as physician to the embassy, with Bulstrode Whitelocke, into Sweden. On his return he became fellow, and at length president, of the College of Physicians. *Ob.* 1684.

found good company and a very ingenious man. So home and to bed.

5th. Washing-day. My wife and I by water to Westminster. She to her mother's, and I to Westminster Hall, where I found a full term, and there saw my Lord Treasurer<sup>1</sup> (who was sworn to-day at the Exchequer, with a great company of Lords and persons of honour to attend him) go up to the Treasury Offices, and take possession thereof; and also saw the heads of Cromwell, Bradshaw, and Ireton, set up upon the further end of the Hall. I went by coach to the playhouse at the Theatre, our coach in King Street breaking, and so took another. Here we saw 'Argalus and Parthenia,' which I lately saw, but though pleasant for the dancing and singing, I do not find good for any wit or design therein.

6th. To the office, where comes Mr. Jessop, one whom I could not formerly have looked upon, and now he comes cap in hand to us from the Commissioners of the Navy, though indeed he is a man of great estate and of good report.

7th. To Westminster Hall. And after a walk to my Lord's; where, while I and my Lady were in her chamber in talk, in comes my Lord from sea, to our great wonder. He had dined at Havre de Grâce on Monday last, and come to the Downs the next day, and lay at Canterbury that night; and so to Dartford, and thence this morning to White Hall. Among others, Mr. Creed and Captain Ferrers tell me the stories of my Lord Duke of Buckingham's and my Lord's falling out at Havre de Grâce, at cards; they two and my Lord St. Albans playing. The Duke did, to my Lord's dishonour, often say that he did in his conscience know the contrary to what he then said, about the difference at cards; and so did take up the money that he should have lost to my Lord, which my Lord resenting, said nothing then, but that he doubted not but there were ways enough to get his money of him. So they parted that night; and my Lord sent Sir R. Stayner the next morning to the Duke, to know whether he did remember what he said last night, and whether he would own it with his sword and a second; which he said he would, and so both sides agreed. But my Lord St. Albans, and the Queen, and Ambassador Montagu, did waylay them at their lodgings, till the difference was made up, to my Lord's honour; who hath got great reputation thereby.

8th. Captain John Cuttle and Curtis and Mootham,<sup>2</sup> and I went

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, last of his name.

<sup>2</sup> Peter Mootham, captain of the *Foresight*; afterwards slain in action.

to the Fleece tavern<sup>1</sup> to drink; and there we spent till four o'clock, telling stories of Algiers, and the manner of life of slaves there. And truly Captain Mootham and Mr. Dawes<sup>2</sup> (who have been both slaves there) did make me fully acquainted with their condition there: as, how they eat nothing but bread and water. At their redemption they pay so much for the water they drink at the public fountains during their being slaves. How they are beat upon the soles of their feet and bellies at the liberty of their padron. How they are all, at night, called into their master's Bagnard; and there they lie. How the poorest men do use their slaves best. How some rogues do live well, if they do invent to bring their masters in so much a week by their industry or theft; and then they are put to no other work at all. And theft there is counted no great crime at all.

9th. Creed and I to Whitefriars to the playhouse, and saw 'The Mad Lover,'<sup>3</sup> the first time I ever saw it acted, which I like pretty well.

10th. (Lord's day.) Took physic all day, and, God forgive me, did spend it in reading of some little French romances. At night my wife and I did please ourselves talking of our going into France, which I hope to effect this summer.

11th. With young Mr. Reeve to his house, who did there show me many pretty pleasures in perspectives that I had not seen before, and I did buy a little glass of him cost me 5s.

12th. By water to Salisbury Court playhouse, where not liking to sit, we went out again, and by coach to the Theatre, and there saw 'The Scornful Lady,'<sup>4</sup> now done by a woman,<sup>5</sup> which makes the play appear much better than ever it did to me.

13th. To Sir W. Batten's, whither I sent for my wife, and we chose Valentines against to-morrow. My wife chose me, which did much please me; my Lady Batten, Sir W. Pen, &c.

14th. (Valentine's day.) Up early, and to Sir W. Batten's, but would not go in till I asked whether they that opened the door was a man or a woman, and Mingo, who was there, answered a woman, which, with his tone, made me laugh: so up I went, and took Mrs. Martha<sup>6</sup> for my Valentine (which I do only for complacency),

<sup>1</sup> In Covent Garden.

<sup>2</sup> John Dawes, created a baronet in 1663, father of Sir William Dawes, Archbishop of York.

<sup>3</sup> By Fletcher.

<sup>4</sup> A comedy by Beaumont and Fletcher.

<sup>5</sup> Mrs. Marshall.

<sup>6</sup> Sir William Batten's daughter.

and Sir W. Batten he go in the same manner to my wife, and so we were very merry. About ten o'clock, we with a great deal of company went down by our barge to Deptford, and there only went to see how forward Mr. Pett's yacht is; and so all into the barge again, and so to Woolwich, on board the *Rose-bush*, Captain Brown's<sup>1</sup> ship, that is brother-in-law to Sir W. Batten, where we had a very fine dinner, dressed on shore, and great mirth, and all things successful: the first time I ever carried my wife a-ship-board, as also my boy Wayneman, who hath all this day been called young Pepys, as Sir W. Pen's boy young Pen. The talk of the town now is, who the King is like to have for his Queen: and whether Lent shall be kept with the strictness of the King's proclamation; which is thought cannot be, because of the poor, who cannot buy fish. And also the great preparation for the King's crowning is now much thought upon and talked of.

15th. Making up my accounts for my Lord to-morrow; and that being done, I found myself to be clear (as I think) £350 in the world, besides my goods in my house, and all things paid for.

16th. To my Lord in the morning, who looked over my accounts, and agreed to them. I did also get him to sign a bill (which do make my heart merry) for £60 to me, in consideration of my work extraordinary at sea this last voyage, which I hope to get paid. To the Theatre, where I saw the '*Virgin Martyr*,'<sup>2</sup> a good, but too sober a play for the company.

17th. (Lord's day.) A most tedious, unreasonable, and impertinent sermon, by an Irish doctor. His text was, 'Scatter them, O Lord, that delight in war.' Sir W. Batten and I very much angry with the parson.

18th. In the afternoon my wife and I and Mrs. Martha Batten, my Valentine, to the Exchange, and there, upon a pair of embroidered and six pair of plain white gloves, I laid out 40s. upon her. Then we went to a mercer's, at the end of Lombard Street, and there she bought a suit of lutestring for herself; and so home. It is much talked that the King is already married to the niece of the Prince de Ligne,<sup>3</sup> and that he hath two sons already by her: which I am sorry to hear; but yet am gladder that it should be so,

<sup>1</sup> Arthur Browne.

<sup>2</sup> *The Virgin Martyr* by Massinger and T. Dekker.

<sup>3</sup> Can this be meant for Mazarin, as the Prince de Ligne had no niece? but Charles had recently made an offer to Hortense Mancini, to whom Cardinal Mazarin was uncle.

than that the Duke of York and his family should come to the crown, he being a professed friend to the Catholics.

19th. Met with Sir G. Carteret: who afterwards, with the Duke of York, my Lord Sandwich, and others, went into a private room to consult: and we were a little troubled that we were not called in with the rest. But I do believe it was upon something very private. We stayed walking in the gallery; where we met with Mr. Slingsby,<sup>1</sup> who showed me the stamps of the King's new coin; which is strange to see, how good they are in the stamp, and bad in the money, for lack of skill to make them. But he says Blondeau<sup>2</sup> will shortly come over, and then we shall have it better, and the best in the world. He tells me, he is sure that the King is not yet married, as it is said; nor that it is known who he will have. Spent the evening in reading of a Latin play, the '*Naufragium Jocularé*.'<sup>3</sup>

21st. To Westminster by coach with Sir W. Pen, and in our way saw the city begin to build scaffolds against the Coronation.

22d. My wife to Sir W. Batten's, and there sat awhile; he having yesterday sent my wife half-a-dozen pair of gloves and a pair of silk stockings and garters, for her Valentine's gift.

23d. This my birthday, 28 years. Mr. Hartlib told me how my Lord Chancellor had lately got the Duke of York and Duchess, and her woman, my Lord Ossory,<sup>4</sup> and a Doctor, to make oath before most of the Judges of the kingdom, concerning all the circumstances of their marriage. And, in fine, it is confessed that they were not fully married till about a month or two before she was brought to bed; but that they were contracted long before, and time enough for the child to be legitimate. But I do not hear that it was put to the Judges to determine whether it was so or no. To my Lord, and there spoke to him about his opinion of the Light, the sea-mark that Captain Murford is about, and do offer me an eighth part to concern myself with it; and my Lord do give me some encouragement in it, and I shall go on. To the playhouse, and there saw '*The Changeling*,'<sup>5</sup> the first time it hath been acted

<sup>1</sup> Henry Slingsby, Master of the Mint of Kilpare, near Leeds.

<sup>2</sup> Peter Blondeau had been employed by the Commonwealth to coin their money, and after the Restoration was made engineer of the mint.

<sup>3</sup> A comedy by Abraham Cowley.

<sup>4</sup> Thomas Earl of Ossory, the accomplished son of the first Duke of Ormond: *ob.* 1680, aged forty-six, *v.p.*

<sup>5</sup> *The Changeling*, a tragedy, by Thomas Middleton and William Rowley, 4to 1653 and 4to 1668. The plot is taken from a story in Reynolds's *God's Revenge against Murder*. Sheppey played Antonio in *The Changeling*.

these twenty years, and it takes exceedingly. Besides, I see the gallants do begin to be tired with the vanity and pride of the theatre actors, who are indeed grown very proud and rich. I also met with the Comptroller, who told me how it was easy for us all, the principal officers, and proper for us, to labour to get into the next Parliament; and would have me to ask the Duke's letter,<sup>1</sup> but I shall not endeavour it. This is now 28 years that I am born. And blessed be God, in a state of full content, and a great hope to be a happy man in all respects, both to myself and friends.

24th. (Sunday.) Mr. Mills made an excellent sermon in the morning against drunkenness, that ever I heard in my life: another good one of his in the afternoon. My Valentine had her fine gloves on at church to-day that I did give her.

25th. To W. Symons's, where I found him abroad, but she, like a good lady, within; and there we did eat some nettle porridge, which was made on purpose today for some of their coming, and was very good.

26th. (Shrove Tuesday.) To Mr. Crewe's, and there delivered Cotgrave's dictionary<sup>2</sup> to my Lady Jemimah. To Mrs. Turner's, where several friends, all strangers to me but Mr. Armiger, dined. Very merry, and the best fritters that ever I eat in my life. After that, looked out at window: saw the flinging at cocks.

27th. At the office all the morning, that done I walked in the garden with little Captain Murford, where he and I had some discourse concerning the Lighthouse again, and I think I shall appear in the business, he promising me that if I can bring it about, it will be worth £100 per annum. I called for a dish of fish, which we had for dinner, this being the first day of Lent; and I do intend to try whether I can keep it or no. My father dined with me and did show me a letter from my brother John, wherein he tells us that he is chosen scholar of the house,<sup>3</sup> which do please me much, because I do perceive now it must chiefly come from his merit, and not the power of his tutor, Dr. Widdrington, who is now quite out of interest there, and hath put over his pupils to Mr. Pepper, a young Fellow of the College. This day the Commissioners of Parliament begin to pay off the fleet, beginning with the Hampshire, and do it at Guildhall, for fear of going out of the town, into the power of the seamen, who are highly incensed against them.

28th. Notwithstanding my resolution, yet, for want of other

<sup>1</sup> Probably a letter of recommendation to some constituency.

<sup>2</sup> Of the French tongue.

<sup>3</sup> Christ's College, Cambridge.

virtuals, I did eat flesh this Lent, but am resolved to eat as little as I can. This month ends with two great secrets under dispute, but yet known to very few: first, Who the King will marry; and What the meaning of this fleet is which we are now sheathing to set out for the southward. Most think against Algiers against the Turk, or to the East Indies against the Dutch, who, we hear, are setting out a great fleet thither.

March 1st. After dinner, Mr. Shepley and I in private talking about my Lord's intentions to go speedily into the country, but to what end we know not. We fear he is to go to sea with this fleet now preparing. But we wish that he could get his £4000 per annum settled before he do go. To Whitefriars, and saw 'The Bondman'<sup>1</sup> acted; an excellent play, and well done. But above all that I ever saw, Betterton do the Bondman the best. Sat up late, spending my thoughts how to get money to bear me out in my great expense at the Coronation, against which all provide, and scaffolds setting up in every street. I had many designs in my head to get some, but know not which will take.

2d. After dinner I went to the theatre, where I found so few people (which is strange, and the reason I did not know) that I went out again, and so to Salisbury Court, where the house as full as could be; and it seems it was a new play, 'The Queen's Masque,'<sup>2</sup> wherein there are some good humours; among others, a good jeer to the old story of the Siege of Troy, making it to be a common country tale. But above all it was strange to see so little a boy as that was to act Cupid, which is one of the greatest parts in it.

3d. (Lord's day.) Mr. Woodcock<sup>3</sup> preached at our church a very good sermon upon the imaginations of the thoughts of man's heart being only evil. To my Lord's, who comes in late, and tells us how news is come to-day of Mazarin's being dead,<sup>4</sup> which is very great news, and of great consequence. I lay to-night with Mr. Shepley here, because of my Lord's going to-morrow.

4th. My Lord went this morning on his journey to Hinchinbroke, Mr. Parker with him; the chief business being to look over and determine how and in what manner his great work of building shall be done. Before his going he did give me some jewels to keep for him, viz. that that the King of Sweden did give him, with

<sup>1</sup> By Massinger.

<sup>2</sup> *Love's Mistress, or The Queen's Masque*, by T. Heywood.

<sup>3</sup> Thomas Woodcock, afterwards ejected from St. Andrew's Undershaft.

<sup>4</sup> Cardinal Mazarin, died 27th February 1661.

the King's own picture in it, most excellently done; and a brave George, all of diamonds, and this with the greatest expressions of love and confidence that I could imagine or hope for, which is a very great joy to me.

5th. I to the office, where Sir Williams both and I set about making an estimate of all the officers' salaries in ordinary in the Navy till ten o'clock at night.

6th. At dinner Sir W. Batten came and took me and my wife to his house to dinner, my Lady being in the country. Home, thinking to have had Sir W. Batten, &c., to have eat a wigg<sup>1</sup> at my house at night. But my Lady being come home out of the country ill by reason of much rain that has fallen lately, we could not.

7th. Met Spicer and a company more of my old acquaintance, and went into a place to drink some ale, and there we stayed playing the fool till late, and so I home.

8th. All the morning at the office. At noon Sir William Batten, Colonel Slingsby, and I by coach to the Tower, to Sir John Robinson's, to dinner; where great good cheer. High company; among others the Duchess of Albemarle, who is ever a plain homely dowdy. After dinner, to drink all the afternoon. Towards night the Duchess and ladies went away. Then we set to it again till it was very late; and at last come in Sir William Wale,<sup>2</sup> almost fuddled; and because I was set between him and another, only to keep them from talking and spoiling the company (as we did to others), he fell out with the Lieutenant of the Tower; but with much ado we made him understand his error, and then all quiet. I was much contented to ride in such state into the Tower, and he received among such high company, while Mr. Mount, my Lady Duchess's gentleman usher, stood waiting at table, whom I ever thought a man so much above me in all respects; also to hear the discourse of so many high Cavaliers of things past. It was a great content and joy to me.

9th. To my Lord's, where we found him lately come from Hinchinbroke. I stayed and dined with him. He took me aside, and asked me what the world spoke of the King's marriage, which I answering as one that knew nothing, he enquired no further of me. But I do perceive by it that there is something in it that is ready to come out that the world knows not of yet.

<sup>1</sup> A north-country bun or tea-cake.

<sup>2</sup> Alderman and colonel of the red regiment of train-bands.



10th. (Lord's day.) Heard Mr. Mills in the morning, a good sermon. Dined at home on a poor Lenten dinner of coleworts and bacon. In the afternoon again to church, and there heard one Castle, whom I knew of my year at Cambridge. He made a dull sermon.

11th. After dinner I went to the Theatre, and there saw 'Love's Mistress' done by them, which I do not like in some things as well as their acting in Salisbury Court. My wife come home, and she hath got her teeth new done by La Roche, and are indeed now pretty handsome, and I was much pleased with it.

12th. To Guildhall, and there set my hand to the book before Colonel King for my sea-pay, and blessed be God! they have cast me at midshipman's pay, which do make my heart very glad.

13th. Early up in the morning to read 'The Seaman's Grammar and Dictionary' I lately have got, which do please me exceeding well.

14th. To the theatre, and there saw 'King and no King'<sup>1</sup> well acted.

15th. This day my wife and Pall went to see my Lady Kingston her brother's lady.

16th. To Whitefriars, and saw 'The Spanish Curate',<sup>2</sup> in which I had no great content.

17th. (Lord's day.) At church in the morning a stranger preached a good honest and painful sermon. My wife and I dined upon a chine of beef at Sir W. Batten's, so to church again. Then to supper at Sir W. Batten's again, where my wife by chance fell down and hurt her knees exceedingly.

18th. This morning early Sir William Batten went to Rochester, where he expects to be chosen Parliament-man. This day an ambassador from Florence was brought into the town in state. Yesterday was said to be the day that the Princess Henrietta was to marry the Duke d'Anjou<sup>3</sup> in France. This day I found in the news-book that Roger Pepys is chosen at Cambridge for the town, the first place that we hear of to have made their choice yet.

19th. Mr. Creed and I to Whitefriars, where we saw 'The Bondman' acted most excellently, and though I have seen it often, yet I am every time more and more pleased with Betterton's action.

<sup>1</sup> By Beaumont and Fletcher.

<sup>2</sup> A comedy by Fletcher and Massinger.

<sup>3</sup> Who soon afterwards took the title of Orleans.

20th. To White Hall to Mr. Coventry, where I did some business with him, and so with Sir W. Pen (who I found with Mr. Coventry teaching of him the map to understand Jamaica). The great talk of the town is the strange election that the City of London made yesterday for Parliament-men; viz. Fowke, Love, Jones, and . . . . .,<sup>1</sup> men that are so far from being episcopal, that they are thought to be Anabaptists; and chosen with a great deal of zeal, in spite of the other party that thought themselves very strong, calling out in the Hall, 'No Bishops! no Lord Bishops!' It do make people to fear it may come to worse, by being an example to the country to do the same. And indeed the Bishops are so high, that very few do love them.

21st. At noon dined with my Lord, who was very merry, and after dinner we sang and fiddled a great while. This day I saw the Florence Ambassador go to his audience, the weather very foul, and yet he and his company very gallant.

22d. About eight I got a-horseback, and my Lady and her two daughters and Sir W. Pen into coach, and so over London Bridge, and thence to Dartford. The day very pleasant, though the way bad. Here we met with Sir W. Batten and some company along with him, who had assisted him in his election at Rochester; and so we dined, and were very merry. At five o'clock we set out again in a coach home, and were very merry all the way. At Deptford we met with Mr. Newborne, and some other friends and their wives in a coach to meet us, and so they went home with us, and at Sir W. Batten's we supped, and thence to bed, my head aching mightily through the wine that I drank to-day.

23d. To the Red Bull <sup>2</sup> (where I had not been since plays come up again) up to the tiring-room, where strange the confusion and disorder there is among them in fighting themselves, especially here, where the clothes are very poor, and the actors but common fellows. At last into the pit, where I think there was not above ten more than myself, and not one hundred in the whole house. And the play, which is called 'All's Lost by Lust,' <sup>3</sup> poorly done; and with so much disorder, among others, that in the music-room, the boy that was to sing a song not singing it right, his master fell about his ears and beat him so, that it put the whole house into an uproar. Met my uncle Wight, and with him

<sup>1</sup> Sir W. Thompson was the fourth member.

<sup>2</sup> The Red Bull was in St. John Street, Clerkenwell.

<sup>3</sup> A tragedy by W. Rowley.

Lieutenant-Colonel Baron,<sup>1</sup> who told us how Crofton,<sup>2</sup> the great Presbyterian minister that had lately preached so highly against Bishops, is clapped up this day in the Tower, which do please some, and displease others exceedingly.

24th. (Lord's day.) My wife and I to church. With Sir W. Batten and my Lady to dinner, where very merry, and then to church again, where Mr. Mills made a good sermon.

25th. (Lady day.) This morning came workmen to begin the making of me a new pair of stairs up out of my parlour, which, with other work that I have to do, I doubt will keep me this two months, and so long I shall be all in dirt; but the work do please me very well. Comes Mr. Salisbury to see me, and showed me a face or two of his painting, and indeed I perceive that he will be a great master. I took him to White Hall with me by water, but he could not by any means be moved to go through bridge, and so we were fain to go round by the Old Swan. To my Lord's, and there I showed him the King's picture, which he intends to copy out in little. After that, I and Captain Ferrers to Salisbury Court by water, and saw part of the 'Queen's Masque.' Then I to Mrs. Turner, The. Turner being in a great chafe about being disappointed of a room to stand in at the Coronation. Homewards, and took up a boy that had a lanthorn, that was picking up of rags, and got him to light me home, and had great discourse with him how he could get sometimes three or four bushels of rags in a day, and got 3*d.* a bushel for them, and many other discourses, what and how many ways there are for poor children to get their livings honestly.

26th. This is my great day that three years ago I was cut of the stone, and, blessed be God, I do yet find myself very free from pain again. To my father's, where Mrs. Turner, The. Joyce, Mr. Morrice, Mr. Armiger, Mr. Pierce the surgeon and his wife, my father and mother, and myself and my wife. Very merry at dinner: among other things, because Mrs. Turner and her company eat no flesh at all this Lent, and I had a great deal of good flesh, which made their mouths water. I and my wife to Salisbury

<sup>1</sup> Probably Argal Baron, of Croydon, Lieutenant-Governor of Windsor Castle, and said to have been a distinguished Royalist.

<sup>2</sup> Zachary Crofton, ejected from the curacy of St. Botolph's, Aldgate, for nonconformity. He was a native of Ireland; and, according to Baxter, a quick and warm, but upright man. He was set at liberty after a long confinement, and again imprisoned in Cheshire; and, at length, returning to London, kept a school in Aldgate parish till his death.

Court, and sat in the pit, and saw 'The Bondman' done to admiration.

27th. Up early. My brother Tom comes to me, and I looked over my old clothes, and did give him a suit of black stuff clothes, and a hat and some shoes. At the office all the morning, where Sir G. Carteret comes, and there I did get him to promise me some money upon a bill of exchange, whereby I shall secure myself of £60. At noon I found my stairs quite broke down, that I could not get up but by a ladder. To the Dolphin to a dinner of Mr. Harris's, where Sir Williams both, and my Lady Batten and her two daughters, and other company, where a great deal of mirth, and there stayed till eleven o'clock at night; and in our mirth I sang and sometimes fiddled (there being a noise of fiddlers there), and at last we fell to dancing, the first time that ever I did in my life, which I did wonder to see myself to do. At last, we made Mingo, Sir W. Batten's black, and Jack, Sir W. Pen's, dance, and it was strange how the first did dance with a great deal of seeming skill.

28th. I went to Sir Robert Slingsby (he being newly master of that title by being a Baronet) to discourse about Mr. Creed's accounts to be made up; and from thence by coach to my cousin, Thomas Pepys, to borrow £1000 for my Lord. Then with Mr. Shepley to the Theatre, and saw 'Rollo'<sup>1</sup> ill acted.

29th. To the office, where I found Sir W. Pen sent down yesterday to Chatham to get two great ships in readiness presently to go to the East Indies upon some design against the Dutch, we think, at Goa, but it is a great secret yet.

30th. At the office we and Sir W. Rider to advise what sort of provisions to get ready for these ships going to the Indies.

31st. (Sunday.) At church, where a stranger preached like a fool. Dined with my wife, she staying at home, being unwilling to dress herself, the house being all dirty.

April 1st. To Whitefriars, and there saw part of 'Rule a Wife, and have a Wife,'<sup>2</sup> which I never saw before, but do not like it. So to my father, and finding there a discontent between my father and mother about the maid (which my father likes and my mother dislikes), I stayed till ten at night, persuading my mother to understand herself, and that in some high words, which I was sorry for, but she is grown, poor woman, very froward. So leaving them in the same discontent, I went away home, it being a brave moon-shine, and so to bed.

<sup>1</sup> *Rollo, Duke of Normandy*, by John Fletcher and others. <sup>2</sup> By John Fletcher.

2d. To St. James's Park, where I saw the Duke of York playing at Pelemele,<sup>1</sup> the first time that ever I saw the sport. Then to my Lord's, where I dined with my Lady, and after we had dined, in comes my Lord and Ned Pickering hungry, and there was not a bit of meat left in the house, the servants having eat up all, at which my Lord was very angry, and at last got something dressed. To Whitefriars, and saw 'The Little Thief,'<sup>2</sup> which is a very merry and pretty play, and the little boy do very well. Then to the Dolphin to Sir W. Batten, and Pen, and other company; among others Mr. Delabar; where strange how these men, who at other times are all wise men, do now, in their drink, betwitt<sup>3</sup> and reproach one another with their former conditions, and their actions as in public concernments, till I was ashamed to see it.

3d. Up among my workmen, my head aching all day from last night's debauch. At noon dined with Sir W. Batten and Pen, who would needs have me drink two draughts of sack to-day, to cure me of my last night's disease, which I thought strange, but I think find it true. I hear that the Dutch have sent the King a great present of money, which we think will stop the match with Portugal; and judge this to be the reason that our so great haste in sending the two ships to the East Indies is also stayed.

4th. To my Lord, and there we had a great deal of music, and then came my cousin Tom Pepys, and there did accept of the security which we gave him for his £1000 that we borrow of him, and so the money to be paid next week.

5th. Up among my workmen and so to the office, and then to Sir William Pen's, with the other Sir William, and Sir John Lawson to dinner, and after that, with them to Mr. Lucy's, a merchant, where much good company, and there drank a great deal of wine, and in discourse fell to talk of the weight of people, which did occasion some wagers, and where among others I won half a piece to be spent. Then home, and at night to Sir W. Batten's, and

<sup>1</sup> 'A Pele Mele was made at the further end of St. James's Park, which was made of His Majesty to play, being a very princely play.'—Rugge. It is derived from *paille maille*, French; at which word Cotgrave thus describes the game: 'A game, wherein a round box is, with a mallet struck through a high arch or iron (standing, at either end of an alley, one), which he that can do at the fewest blows, or at the number agreed on, wins.' In France it was the common appellation of those places where the game was practised.

<sup>2</sup> *The Night Walker, or The Little Thief*, by John Fletcher and James Shirley.

<sup>3</sup> To upbraid.

there very merry with a good barrel of oysters, and this is the present life I lead. Home and to bed.

6th. Among other things met with Mr. Townsend, who told of his mistake the other day, to put both his legs through one of his knees of his breeches, and went so all day. Creed and I to Salisbury Court, and there saw 'Love's Quarrel' acted the first time, but I do not like the design nor words.

7th. (Lord's day.) All the morning at home making up my accounts (God forgive me!) to give up to my Lord this afternoon. Then put in at Paul's, where I saw our minister, Mr. Mills, preaching before my Lord Mayor. To White Hall, and there I met with Dr. Fuller<sup>1</sup> of Twickenham, newly come from Ireland; and took him to my Lord's, where he and I dined; and he did give my Lord and me a good account of the condition of Ireland, and how it come to pass, through the joining of the Fanatics and the Presbyterians, that the latter and the former are in their declaration put together under the names of Fanatics. After dinner my Lord and I and Mr. Shepley did look over our accounts, and settle matters of money between us; and my Lord did tell me much of his mind about getting money, and other things of his family, &c.

8th. About eight o'clock, we took barge at the Tower, Sir William Batten and his lady, Mrs. Turner, Mr. Fowler, and I. A very pleasant passage, and so to Gravesend, where we dined, and from thence a coach took them and me, and Mr. Fowler with some others came from Rochester to meet us, on horseback. At Rochester, where alight at Mr. Alcock's, and there drank, and had good sport, with his bringing out so many sorts of cheese. Then to the Hill-house at Chatham, where I never was before, and I found a pretty pleasant house, and am pleased with the arms that hang up there. Here we supped very merry, and late to bed; Sir William telling me that old Edgeborough, his predecessor, did die and walk in my chamber, did make me somewhat afeard, but not so much as, for mirth sake, I did seem. So to bed in the Treasurer's chamber.

9th. Lay and slept well till three in the morning, and then waking, and by the light of the moon I saw my pillow (which overnight

<sup>1</sup> William Fuller, of Magdalene Hall, Oxford, was a schoolmaster at Twickenham during the Rebellion; and at the Restoration became Dean of St. Patrick's; and, in 1663, Bishop of Limerick; from which see, in 1667, he was translated to Lincoln. *Ob.* 1675.

I flung from me) stand upright, but, not bethinking myself what it might be, I was a little afeard, but sleep overcame all, and so lay till nigh morning, at which time I had a candle brought me, and a good fire made, and in general it was a great pleasure all the time I stayed here to see how I am respected and honoured by all people; and I find that I begin to know now how to receive so much reverence, which, at the beginning, I could not tell how to do. Sir William and I by coach to the dock, and there viewed all the store-houses, and the old goods that are this day to be sold, which was great pleasure to me, and so back again by coach home, where we had a good dinner, and, among other strangers that come, there was Mr. Hempson and his wife, a pretty woman, and speaks Latin; Mr. Allen, and two daughters of his, both very tall, and the youngest<sup>1</sup> very handsome, so much as I could not forbear to love her exceedingly, having, among other things, the best hand that ever I saw. After dinner, we went to fit books and things (Tom Hater being this morning come to us) for the sale by an inch of candle, and very good sport we and the ladies that stood by had, to see the people bid. Among other things sold there was all the State's arms,<sup>2</sup> which Sir W. Batten bought; intending to set up some of the images in his garden, and the rest to burn on the Coronation night. The sale being done, the ladies and I and Captain Pett and Mr. Castle took barge, and down we went to see the Sovereign which we did, taking great pleasure therein, singing all the way, and, among other pleasures, I put my Lady, Mrs. Turner, Mrs. Hempson, and the two Mrs. Allens, into the lanthorn, and I went in and kissed them, demanding it as a fee due to a principal officer, with all which we were exceeding merry, and drunk some bottles of wine, and neat's tongue, &c. Then back again home, and so supped, and, after much mirth, to bed.

10th. In the morning to see the Dock-houses. First, Mr. Pett's, the builder, and there was very kindly received, and among other things he did offer my Lady Batten a parrot, the best I ever saw, that knew Mingo so soon as it saw him, having been bred formerly in the house with them; but for talking and singing I never heard the like. My Lady did accept of it. Then to see Commissioner Pett's house, he and his family being absent, and here I wondered how my Lady Batten walked up and down with envious looks to see how neat and rich everything is (and indeed both the

<sup>1</sup> Rebecca, who afterwards married Lieutenant Jewkes.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. coats of arms.

house and garden is most handsome), saying that she would get it, for it belonged formerly to the Surveyor of the Navy. Then on board the Prince, now in the dock, and indeed it has one and no more rich cabins for carved work, but no gold in her. After that, back home, and there eat a little dinner. Then to Rochester, and there saw the Cathedral, which is now fitting for use, and the organ then a-tuning. Then away thence, observing the great doors of the church, which, they say, was covered with the skins of the Danes.<sup>1</sup> So to the Salutation tavern, where Mr. Alcock and

<sup>1</sup> Traditions similar to that at Rochester, here alluded to, are to be found in other places in England. Sir Harry Englefield, in a communication made to the Society of Antiquaries, 2nd July 1789, called their attention to the curious popular tale preserved in the village of Hadstock, Essex, that the door of the church had been covered with the skin of a Danish pirate, who had plundered the church. At Copford, in the same county, Sir Harry remarked that an exactly similar tradition existed. At Worcester, likewise, it was asserted that the north doors of the cathedral had been covered with the skin of a person who had sacrilegiously robbed the high altar. The doors have been renewed, but the original woodwork remains in the crypt, and portions of skin may still be seen under the ironwork, with which the doors are clamped. The date of these doors appears to be the latter part of the fourteenth century, the north porch having been built about 1385. Portions of this supposed human skin, from each of the three places above mentioned, have recently been obtained and submitted to one of our most skilful comparative anatomists, Mr. John Quekett, Curator of the Museum of the College of Surgeons, who, by aid of a powerful microscope, has ascertained, beyond question, that in each of the three cases the skin is human, and that, in the instance of Hadstock, it was the skin of a fair-haired person—a fact consistent with the tale of its Danish origin. A portion of the Worcester skin is to be found in the collection of Worcestershire curiosities, bequeathed by Dr. Prattinton to the Society of Antiquaries. Another instance of the marvellous barbaric punishment of coating a door with human skin, possibly as a vindictive monition against sacrilege, has lately been brought under my notice, in connection with one of our most noted ecclesiastical monuments—namely, Westminster Abbey.

Dart, in his *History of the Abbey* (vol. i, book ii, p. 64), relates the tradition then preserved in reference to a door, one of three which closed off a chamber from the south transept—namely, a certain building once known as the Chapel of Henry VIII, and used as a 'Revestry.' This chamber, he states, 'is inclosed with three doors, the inner cancellated, the middle which is very thick, lined with skins like parchment, and driven full of nails. These skins, they by tradition tell us, were some skins of the Danes, tann'd and given here as a memorial of our delivery from them. The doors are very strong, but here were, notwithstanding, broken open lately, and the place robb'd.' Such was Dart's account in 1723. I was in pursuit of some existing vestige of these tanned relics of the Northman, of which, as yet, I can obtain no intelligence, when my attention was casually drawn by Mr. E. W. Cooke to the strange fact, that not far from the south transept a door still exists on which human skin is to be found. Mr. Quekett, of the College of Surgeons, to whose skill



many of the town came and entertained us with wine and oysters and other things, and hither come Sir John Minnes to us, who is come to-day from London to see 'the Henry,' in which he intends to ride as Vice-Admiral in the narrow seas all this summer. Here much mirth, but I was a little troubled to stay too long, because of going to Hempson's, which afterwards we did, and found it in all things a most pretty house, and rarely furnished, only it had a most ill access on all sides to it, which is a greatest fault that I think can be in a house. Here we had, for my sake, two fiddles, the one a bass viol, on which he that played played well some lyra lessons, but both together made the worst music that ever I heard. We had a fine collation, but I took little pleasure in that, for the illness of the music, and for the intentness of my mind upon Mrs. Rebecca Allen. After we had done eating the ladies went to dance, and among the men we had I was forced to dance, too;

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in such questions we were indebted for proof of the tradition at Hadstock and other places, submitted this skin to his microscope, and it proved to be human. I inspected the door in question last week, and found the skin had been on both sides, the existing remains being found under the massive ironwork. It is a small door leading to a chamber, intended, apparently, for a treasury, situated on the south side of the passage, originally the approach from the cloisters to the chapter-house. Within this chamber there is a small depository, or cell, doubtless for safe custody, with a smaller strong closet within, all of good masonry, and constructed in a remarkable part of the buildings of the ancient monastery, being probably a portion of the structure raised in the times of the Confessor. The doorway, however, in which the stout oaken door which bore the skin is hung, and the strong chamber within, are of later date, possibly not older than the time of Abbot Litlington (about 1375). The oak door, however, has been certainly removed to its present position from some other place, since it appears to have been partly cut to fit the door-case. This, however, is not of recent adaptation, and I do not think it possible that it can have been the same door which Dart described, the position of which was not many yards distant. I imagine that when Litlington, who was a great builder, constructed the west side of the cloisters, and various works adjacent were carried out, this ancient door was removed from some other part of the buildings, and cut to fit the new door-case, the approach to a treasury where the relics of the supposed Dane were preserved *in memoriam et terrorem*; I say Dane, but without evidence it must be admitted of any tradition as regards this particular oaken production of very primitive carpentry, still, taken in conjunction with the tradition preserved in regard to another door close by, that, namely, which led from the Abbey Church to the 'Revestry,' the fact which we owe to Mr. Cooke's keen observation, may well claim attention in reference to the repeated traditions of savage punishment of the sacrilegious Northmen. I have recently understood that the doors at Rochester have been so entirely removed, that it is hopeless to seek for proof of the tradition recorded by Pepys.—Communicated by ALBERT WAY, F.S.A.

and did make an ugly shift. Mrs. R. Allen danced very well, and seems the best-humoured woman that I ever saw. About nine o'clock Sir William and my Lady went home, and we continued dancing an hour or two, and so broke up very pleasant and merry, and so walked home, I leading Mrs. Rebecca, who seemed, I know not why, in that and other things, to be desirous of my favours, and would in all things show me respects. Going home, she would needs have me sing, and I did pretty well, and was highly esteemed by them. So to Captain Allen's (where we were last night, and heard him play on the harpsichon, and I find him to be a perfect good musician), and there, having no mind to leave Mrs. Rebecca, what with talk and singing (her father and I), Mrs. Turner and I stayed there till two o'clock in the morning, and was most exceeding merry, and I had the opportunity of kissing Mrs. Rebecca very often.

11th. At two o'clock, with very great mirth, we went to our lodging and to bed, and lay till seven, and then called up by Sir W. Batten; so I arose, and we did some business, and then came Captain Allen, and he and I withdrew, and sang a song or two, and among others, took great pleasure in 'Go and be hanged, that's twice good-bye.' The young ladies come too, and so I did again please myself with Mrs. Rebecca; and about nine o'clock, after we had breakfasted, we set forth for London, and indeed I was a little troubled to part with Mrs. Rebecca, for which God forgive me. Thus we went away through Rochester. We baited at Dartford, and thence to London, but of all the journeys that ever I made, this was the merriest, and I was in a strange mood for mirth. Among other things, I got my Lady to let her maid, Mrs. Anne, to ride all the way on horseback, and she rides exceeding well; and so I called [her] my clerk, that she went to wait upon me. I met two little schoolboys going with pitchers of ale to their schoolmaster to break up against Easter, and I did drink of some of one of them, and give him twopence. By and by, we come to two little girls keeping cows, and I saw one of them very pretty, so I had a mind to make her ask my blessing; and telling her that I was her godfather, she asked me innocently whether I was not Ned Wooding, and I said that I was, so she kneeled down, and very simply called, 'Pray, godfather, pray to God to bless me,' which made us very merry, and I gave her twopence. In several places, I asked women whether they would sell me their children, but they denied me all, but said they would give me one to keep for them, if I would.

Mrs. Anne and I rode under the man that hangs upon Shooter's Hill, and a filthy sight it was to see how his flesh is shrunk to his bones. So home, and I found all well, and a good deal of work done since I went. So to bed very sleepy for last night's work, concluding that it is the pleasantest journey in all respects that ever I had in my life.

12th. Up among my workmen. Dined with Sir W. Batten, all fish dinner, it being Good Friday. Then into the City, and saw in what forwardness all things are for the Coronation, which will be very magnificent. Home, and to my chamber, to set down in my diary all my late journey, which I do with great pleasure; and while I am now writing comes one with a ticket to invite me to Captain Robert Blake's burial, for whose death I am very sorry, and do much wonder at it, he being a little while since a very likely man to live as any I knew. Since my going out of town there is one Alexander Rosse taken and sent to the Counter by Sir Thomas Allen, for counterfeiting my hand to a ticket, and we this day, at the office, have given order to Mr. Smith to prosecute him.

13th. To White Hall by water from Tower-wharf, where we could not pass the ordinary way, because they were mending of the great stone steps against the Coronation. Met my Lord with the Duke; and after a little talk with him, I went to the Banquet-house, and there saw the King heal, the first time that ever I saw him do it; which he did with great gravity, and it seemed to me to be an ugly office and a simple one. To the burial of Captain Robert Blake, at Wapping, and there had each of us a ring, but it being dirty, we could not go to church with them.

14th. (Easter. Lord's day.) In the morning heard Mr. Jacomb,<sup>1</sup> at Ludgate, upon these words, 'Christ loved you, and therefore let us love one another,' and made a gracy sermon, like a Presbyterian. After dinner, I went to the Temple, and there heard Dr.

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Jacomb, of Burton Lazars, Leicestershire, entered at Magdalen Hall, Oxford, in 1640; but, removing to Cambridge on the breaking out of the Rebellion, he obtained a fellowship at Trinity College, in the place of a loyalist ejected, and had the degree of M.A. conferred on him. He afterwards became rector of St. Martin's-infra-Ludgate, in London; and was put out for nonconformity in 1662, being then D.D. He subsequently followed the trade of conventicling, which brought him into trouble; and he died 27th March 1687, in the house of the Countess of Exeter, to whom he was domestic chaplain (abridged from Kennett's *Register*).

Griffith,<sup>1</sup> a good sermon for the day; so with Mr. Moore (whom I met there) to my Lord's, and there he showed me a copy of my Lord Chancellor's patent for Earl, and I read the preamble, which is very short, modest, and good. Here my Lord saw us, and spoke to me about getting Mr. Moore to come and govern his house while he goes to sea, which I promised him to do, and did afterwards speak to Mr. Moore, and he is willing. Hearing that Mr. Barnwell was come, with some of my Lord's little children, yesterday to town, to see the Coronation, I went and found them at the Goat, at Charing Cross, and there I went and drank with them a good while, whom I found in very good health, and very merry.

15th. A very foul morning for the King and Lords to go to Windsor. Home with Sir R. Slingsby, and dined with him and had a very good dinner. His lady<sup>2</sup> seems a good woman, and very desirous they were to hear this noon by the post how the election has gone at Newcastle, wherein he is concerned; but the letters are not come yet.

16th. So soon as word was brought me that Mr. Coventry was come with the barge to the Tower, I went to him, and found him reading of the Psalms in shorthand (which he is now busy about), and had good sport about the long marks that are made there for sentences in divinity, which he is never like to make use of. Then we put off for Deptford, where we went on board the King's pleasure-boat that Commissioner Pett is making, and indeed it will be a most pretty thing. From thence to Commissioner Pett's lodging, and in came the two Sir Williams, and so we sat down and did a great deal of public business about the fitting of the fleet that is now going out. By and by took barge again and so home. By the way, they would have me sing, which I did to Mr. Coventry.

17th. By land, and saw the arches,<sup>3</sup> which are now almost done, and are very fine, and I saw the picture of the ships and other things this morning, set up before the East India House, which are well done. Comes Mr. Allen, of Chatham, and I took him to the

<sup>1</sup> Matthew Griffith, D.D., rector of St. Mary Magdalene, Old Fish Street, and preacher at the Temple. He was an episcopalian, and author of several printed sermons. He died in 1665.

<sup>2</sup> Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Edward Radclyffe, of Dilston, Northumberland, and widow of Sir William Fenwick, Bart., of Meldon. Sir R. Slingsby's first wife was Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Robert Brooke, of Newcells.

<sup>3</sup> Erecting in honour of the coronation.

Mitre, and there did drink with him, and did get of him the song that pleased me as well there the other day, 'Of Shitten come Shites the beginning of love.' His daughters are to come to town to-morrow, but I know not whether I shall see them. Talk of Mr. Warren's being knighted by the King, and Sir W. B. seemed to be very much incensed against him.

18th. Up with my workmen, and then, about nine o'clock, took horse with both the Sir Williams for Walthamstow, and there we found my Lady and her daughters all; and a pleasant day it was, and all things else, but that my Lady was in a bad mood, which we were troubled at, and had she been noble, she would not have been so with her servants, when we came thither, and this Sir W. Pen took notice of, as well as I. After dinner, we all went to the Church-stile,<sup>1</sup> and there eat and drank, and I was as merry as I could counterfeit myself to be. Then, it raining hard, homewards again, and in our way met with two country fellows upon one horse, which I did, without much ado, give the way to, but Sir W. Pen would not, but struck them, and they him, and so passed away, but they giving him some high words, he went back again, and struck them off their horse, in a simple fury, and without much honour, in my mind, and so came away.

19th. So foul that I could not go to White Hall to see the Knights of the Bath made to-day, which do trouble me mightily.

20th. Comes my boy to tell me that the Duke of York had sent for all the principal officers, &c., to come to him to-day. So I went by water to Mr. Coventry's, and there stayed and talked a good while with him till all the rest come. We went up and saw the Duke dress himself, and in his night habit he is a very plain man. Then he sent us to his closet, where we saw among other things two very fine chests, covered with gold and Indian varnish, given him by the East India Company of Holland. The Duke comes; and after he had told us that the fleet was designed for Algiers (which was kept from us till now), we did advise about many things as to the fitting of the fleet, and so went away. After that to my Lord's, where Sir W. Pen came to me, and dined with my Lord. After dinner he and others that dined there went away; and then my Lord looked upon his pages' and footmen's liveries which are come home today, and will be handsome, though not gaudy. Then with my Lady and my Lady Wright to White Hall; and in the

<sup>1</sup> Thus the original reading, in long-hand; but it has been suggested that this should be 'Church Ale.'

Banqueting-house saw the King create my Lord Chancellor and several others Earls,<sup>1</sup> and Mr. Crewe and several others Barons;<sup>2</sup> the first being led up by Heralds and five old Earls to the King, and there the patent is read, and the King puts on his vest and sword and coronet, and gives him the patent. And then he kisseth the King's hand, and rises and stands covered before the King. And the same for each Barons, only he is led up by three of the old Barons, and they are girt with swords before they go to the King. That being done (which was very pleasant to see their habits), I carried my Lady back, and I found my Lord angry, for that his page had let my Lord's new beaver be changed for an old hat: then I went away, and with Mr. Creed to the Exchange, and bought some things, as gloves and bandstrings, &c. So back to the Cockpit; and there, by the favour of one Mr. Bowman, he and I got in, and there saw the King, and Duke of York and his Duchess (which is a plain woman and like her mother, my Lady Chancellor). And so saw 'The Humersome Lieutenant'<sup>3</sup> acted before the King, but not very well done. But my pleasure was great to see the manner of it, and so many great beauties, but, above all, Mrs. Palmer, with whom the King do discover a great deal of familiarity. So Mr. Creed and I (the play being done) went to Mrs. Harper's, and there sat and drank, it being about twelve at night. The ways being now so dirty and stopped up with the rails which are this day set up in the streets, I would not go home, but went with him to his lodging at Mr. Ware's, and there lay all night.

21st. (Lord's day.) In the morning we were troubled to hear it rain as it did, because of the great show tomorrow. Dined with Dr. Thomas Pepys<sup>4</sup> and Dr. Fairbrother; and all our talk about

<sup>1</sup> Edward Hyde, Viscount Cornbury, and Earl of Clarendon (extinct); Arthur (Lord Capell), Viscount Malden and Earl of Essex; Thomas (Lord Brudenell), Earl of Cardigan; Charles Howard, Lord Dacre, Viscount Howard of Morpeth, and Earl of Carlisle; Sir Arthur Annesley (Viscount Valentia), Lord Annesley, and Earl of Anglesea; Sir John Granville, Viscount Lansdowne, and Earl of Bath (extinct).

<sup>2</sup> John Crewe, Baron Crewe of Stene (extinct); Denzil Holles, Baron Holles of Ifield (extinct); Sir Frederic Cornwallis, Bart., Baron Cornwallis of Eye (now merged in the earldom); Sir Horace Townshend, Bart., Baron Townshend, of King's Lynn (merged in the marquessate); Sir A. A. Cooper, Bart., Baron Ashley of Wimborne St. Giles (merged in the earldom of Shaftesbury); Sir George Booth, Bart., Baron Delamere, of Dunham Massey (extinct).

<sup>3</sup> *The Humorous Lieutenant*, a tragi-comedy by John Fletcher.

<sup>4</sup> Doctor in Civil Law.

tomorrow's show, and our trouble that it is like to be a wet day. All the way is so thronged with people to see the triumphal arches, that I could hardly pass for them. Home, people being at church, and I got home unseen, and so up to my chamber, and set down these last five or six days' diaries.

### KING'S GOING FROM THE TOWER TO WHITE HALL

22d. Up early, and made myself as fine as I could, and put on my velvet coat, the first day that I put it on, though made half a year ago. And being ready, Sir W. Batten, my Lady, and his two daughters, and his son and wife, and Sir W. Pen and his son and I, went to Mr. Young's, the flag-maker, in Cornhill; and there we had a good room to ourselves, with wine and good cake, and saw the show very well. In which it is impossible to relate the glory of this day, expressed in the clothes of them that rid, and their horses and horse-clothes. Among others, my Lord Sandwich's embroidery and diamonds were ordinary among them. The Knights of the Bath was a brave sight of itself; and their Esquires, among which Mr. Armiger was an Esquire to one of the Knights. Remarkable were the two men that represent the two Dukes of Normandy and Aquitaine. The Bishops come next after Barons, which is the higher place; which makes me think that the next Parliament they will be called to the House of Lords. My Lord Monk rode bare after the King, and led in his hand a spare horse, as being Master of the Horse. The King, in a most rich embroidered suit and cloak, looked most noble. Wadlow, the vintner at the Devil in Fleet Street, did lead a fine company of soldiers, all young, comely men, in white doublets. There followed the Vice-Chamberlain, Sir G. Carteret, a company of men all like Turks; but I know not yet what they are for. The streets all gravelled, and the houses hung with carpets before them, made brave show, and the ladies out of the windows, one of which over against us I took much notice of, and spoke of her, which made sport among us. So glorious was the show with gold and silver, that we were not able to look at it, our eyes at last being so much overcome with it. Both the King and the Duke of York took notice of us, as they saw us at the window. The show being ended Mr. Young did give us a dinner, at which we very merry, and pleased above imagination at what we had seen. Sir W.

Batten going home, he and I called, and drunk some mum,<sup>1</sup> and laid our wager about my Lady Falconbridge's name, which he says not to be Mary,<sup>2</sup> and so I won above 20s. So home, where Will and the boy stayed, and saw the show upon Tower-hill, and Jane at T. Pepys's the turner, and my wife at Charles Glasscock's in Fleet Street. In the evening, by water to White Hall to my Lord's, and there I spoke with my Lord. He talked with me about his suit, which was made in France, and cost him £200, and very rich it is with embroidery.

### CORONATION DAY

23d. About four I rose and got to the Abbey, where I followed Sir J. Denham, the surveyor, with some company he was leading in. And with much ado, by the favour of Mr. Cooper his man, did get up into a great scaffold across the North end of the Abbey, where with a great deal of patience I sat from past four till eleven before the King came in. And a great pleasure it was to see the Abbey raised in the middle, all covered with red, and a throne (that is, a chair) and footstool on the top of it; and all the officers of all kinds, so much as the very fiddlers, in red vests. At last comes in the Dean<sup>3</sup> and Prebends of Westminster, with the Bishops (many of them in cloth of gold copes), and after them the Nobility, all in their Parliament robes, which was a most magnificent sight. Then the Duke, and the King with a sceptre<sup>4</sup> (carried by my Lord Sandwich) and sword and mond<sup>5</sup> before him, and the crown too. The king in his robes, bare-headed, which was very fine. And after all had placed themselves, there was a sermon and the service; and then in the choir at the high altar, the King passed through all the ceremonies of the Coronation, which to my great grief I and most in the Abbey could not see. The crown being put upon his head, a great shout begun, and he come forth to the throne, and there passed through more ceremonies: as taking the oath, and having things read to him by the

<sup>1</sup> Ale brewed with wheat.

<sup>2</sup> Mary, daughter of Oliver Cromwell, second wife of Thomas, second Viscount Falconberg, afterwards Earl of Falconberg.

<sup>3</sup> John Earle, S.T.P., in 1662 made Bishop of Worcester, and translated to Salisbury the following year; and dying in 1665, was buried in the chapel of Merton College, of which he had been a fellow.

<sup>4</sup> A sceptre. It was St. Edward's staff.

<sup>5</sup> Mond, i.e. the orb.



Bishop;<sup>1</sup> and his lords (who put on their caps<sup>2</sup> as soon as the King put on his crown) and bishops come, and kneeled before him. And three times the King at Arms,<sup>3</sup> went to the three open places<sup>4</sup> on the scaffold, and proclaimed, that if anyone could show any reason why Charles Stuart should not be King of England, that now he should come and speak. And a General Pardon also was read by the Lord Chancellor, and medals flung up and down by my Lord Cornwallis,<sup>5</sup> of silver, but I could not come by any. But so great a noise that I could make but little of the music; and indeed, it was lost to everybody. I went out a little while before the King had done all his ceremonies, and went round the Abbey to Westminster Hall, all the way within rails, and 10,000 people with the ground covered with blue cloth; and scaffolds all the way. Into the Hall I got, where it was very fine with hangings and scaffolds one upon another full of brave ladies; and my wife in one little one, on the right hand. Here I stayed walking up and down, and at last upon one of the side stalls I stood and saw the King come in with all the persons (but the soldiers) that were yesterday in the cavalcade; and a most pleasant sight it was to see them in their several robes. And the King came in with his crown on, and his sceptre in his hand, under a canopy borne up by six silver staves, carried by Barons of the Cinque Ports, and little bells at every end. And after a long time, he got up to the farther end, and all set themselves down at their several tables; and that was also a brave sight: and the King's first course carried up by the Knights of the Bath. And many fine ceremonies there was of the Heralds leading up people before him, and bowing; and my Lord of Albemarle's going to the kitchen and eating a bit of the first dish

<sup>1</sup> Gilbert Sheldon, Bishop of London, acting for Juxon, Archbishop of Canterbury, whose age and infirmities prevented him from attending.

<sup>2</sup> As yet barons had no coronet. A grant of that outward mark of dignity was made to them by Charles soon after his coronation. Elizabeth had assigned coronets to viscounts.

<sup>3</sup> Sir Edward Walker, Garter King-of-Arms.

<sup>4</sup> The south, west, and north sides.

<sup>5</sup> Sir Frederick Cornwallis, baronet, had been created a baron three days before the coronation. He was Treasurer of His Majesty's Household, and a privy councillor. He had married Elizabeth, daughter of John Ashburnham. His wife, therefore, and her brother, John Ashburnham, were first cousins to Villiers, Duke of Buckingham. He died in January 1662, and was buried with his ancestors at Brome, on the 18th. The medals which he received as his fee (nearly 100 in number) were carefully preserved in the family, and were later arranged so as to form the setting of a large silver cup, at Audley End.

that was to go to the King's table. But, above all, was these three Lords, Northumberland,<sup>1</sup> and Suffolk,<sup>2</sup> and the Duke of Ormond,<sup>3</sup> coming before the courses on horseback, and staying so all dinner-time, and at last bringing up the King's Champion,<sup>4</sup> all in armour on horseback, with his spear and target carried before him. And a Herald<sup>5</sup> proclaims 'That if any dare deny Charles Stuart to be lawful King of England, here was a Champion that would fight with him'; and with these words the Champion flings down his gauntlet, and all this he do three times in his going up towards the King's table. At last, when he is come, the King drinks to him, and then sends him the cup which is of gold, and he drinks it off, and then rides back again with the cup in his hand. I went from table to table to see the Bishops and all others at their dinner, and was infinitely pleased with it. And at the Lords' table, I met with William Howe, and he spoke to my Lord for me, and he did give me four rabbits and a pullet, and so I got it, and Mr. Creed and I got Mr. Minshell to give us some bread, and so we at a stall eat it, as everybody else did what they could get. I took a great deal of pleasure to go up and down, and look upon the ladies, and to hear the music of all sorts, but above all, the 24 violins. About six at night they had dined, and I went up to my wife and thus met with a pretty lady, Mrs. Frankleyn, and kissed them both. And strange it is to think that these two days have held up fair till now that all is done, and the King gone out of the Hall; and then it fell a-raining and thundering and lightening as I have not seen it do for some years: which people did take great notice of; God's blessing of the work of these two days, which is a foolery to take too much notice of such things. I observed little disorder in all this, only the King's footmen had got hold of the canopy, and would keep it from the Barons of the Cinque Ports,<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Algernon Percy, tenth Earl of Northumberland, acting as Lord High Constable of England on this occasion.

<sup>2</sup> James Howard, third Earl of Suffolk, acting as Earl Marshal of England.

<sup>3</sup> James Butler, first Duke of Ormond, Lord High Steward of England *pro hac vice*.

<sup>4</sup> Sir Edward Dymock, as Lord of the Manor of Scrivelsby, county Lincoln. This service was last performed by one of that family at the coronation of George IV, and with the coronation dinner has since been dispensed with.

<sup>5</sup> York Herald, George Owen who, it will be seen, rescued the canopy from the *valetaille*.

<sup>6</sup> Bishop Kennett gives a somewhat fuller account of this unseemly broil: 'No sooner had the aforesaid Barons brought up the King to the foot of the stairs in Westminster Hall, ascending to his throne, and turned on the left

which they endeavoured to force from them again, but could not do it till my Lord Duke of Albemarle caused it to be put into Sir R. Pye's hand till to-morrow to be decided. At Mr. Bowyer's; a great deal of company, some I knew, others I did not. Here we stayed upon the leads and below till it was late, expecting to see the fireworks, but they were not performed tonight: only the City had a light like a glory round about it, with bonfires. At last, I went to King Street, and there sent Crockford to my father's and my house, to tell them I could not come home tonight, because of the dirt, and a coach could not be had. And so I took my wife and Mrs. Frankleyn (who I proffered the civility of lying with my wife at Mrs. Hunt's to-night) to Axe Yard, in which, at the further end, there were three great bonfires, and a great many gallants, men and women; and they laid hold of us, and would have us drink the King's health upon our knees, kneeling upon a faggot, which we all did, they drinking to us one after another, which we thought a strange frolic; but these gallants continued there a great while, and I wondered to see how the ladies did tipple. At last I sent my wife and her bedfellow to bed, and Mr. Hunt and I went in with Mr. Thornbury (who did give the company all their wine, he being yeoman of the wine-cellar to the King); and there, with his wife and two of his sisters, and some gallant sparks that were there, we drank the King's health, and nothing else, till one of the gentlemen fell down stark drunk, and there lay; and I went to my Lord's pretty well. But no sooner abed with Mr. Shepley but my head

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hand (towards their own table) out of the way, but the King's footmen most insolently and violently seized upon the canopy, which the Barons endeavouring to keep, and defend, were by their number and strength dragged down to the lower end of the Hall, nevertheless still keeping their hold; and had not Mr. Owen, York Herald, being accidentally near the Hall door and seeing the contest, caused the same to be shut, the footmen had certainly carried it away by force. But in the interim also (speedy notice hereof having been given the King), one of the Querries were sent from him, with command to imprison the footmen, and dismiss them out of his service, which put an end to the present disturbance. These footmen were also commanded to make their submission to the Court of Claims, which was accordingly done by them the 30th April following, and the canopy then delivered back to the said Barons.' Whilst this disturbance happened, the upper end of the first table, which had been appointed for the barons of the Cinque Ports, was taken up by the bishops, judges, etc., probably nothing loth to take precedence of them; and the poor barons, naturally unwilling to lose their dinner, were necessitated to eat it at the bottom of the second table, below the masters in chancery and others of the long robe.

began to turn, and I to vomit, and if ever I was foxed it was now, which I cannot say yet, because I fell asleep, and slept till morning. Thus did the day end with joy everywhere; and blessed be God, I have not heard of any mischance to anybody through it all, but only to Serjeant Glynne,<sup>1</sup> whose horse fell upon him yesterday, and is like to kill him, which people do please themselves to see how just God is to punish the rogue at such a time as this; he being now one of the King's Serjeants, and rode in the cavalcade with Maynard,<sup>2</sup> to whom people wish the same fortune. There was also this night, in King Street, a woman had her eye put out by a boy's flinging a firebrand into the coach. Now, after all this, I can say, that, besides the pleasure of the sight of these glorious things, I may now shut my eyes against any other objects, nor for the future trouble myself to see things of state and show, as being sure never to see the like again in this world.

24th. Waked in the morning with my head in a sad taking through the last night's drink, which I am very sorry for: so rose, and went out with Mr. Creed to drink our morning draught, which he did give me in chocolate to settle my stomach. At night, set myself to write down these three days' diary, and, while I am about it, I hear the noise of the chambers,<sup>3</sup> and other things of the fireworks, which are now playing upon the Thames before the King; and I wish myself with them, being sorry not to see them.

25th. At noon Mr. Moore and I went to an ordinary at the King's Head in Tower Street, and there had a dirty dinner.

26th. At the office, having some thoughts to order my business so as to go to Portsmouth the next week with Sir Robert Slingsby.

27th. Dined with my Lady, and after dinner with Mr. Creed and Captain Ferrers to the Theatre to see 'The Chances.'<sup>4</sup>

28th. (Lord's day.) In the afternoon to church, where come Mrs. Turner and Mrs. Edward Pepys, and several other ladies, and so I

<sup>1</sup> John Glynne had been Recorder of London; and during the Protectorate Chief Justice of the Upper Bench; nevertheless, he did Charles II great service and was in consequence knighted and appointed King's Serjeant, and his son created a baronet. *Ob.* 1666.

<sup>2</sup> John Maynard, the eminent lawyer; made Serjeant to Cromwell in 1653, and afterwards King's Serjeant by Charles II, who knighted him. In 1661 he was chosen burgess for Bere Alston, and sat in every Parliament till the revolution, for that borough, or Plymouth. In March 1689 he was appointed one of the commissioners of the Great Seal; and, soon resigning from infirmity, died 9th October 1690, aged eighty-eight.

<sup>3</sup> Chamber, a small gun used to fire salutes.

<sup>4</sup> By John Fletcher.

went out of the pew into another. Sent for to my father's, where my cousin Angier and his wife, of Cambridge, to whom I went, and was glad to see them, and sent for wine for them, and they supped with my father.

29th. To the office, where it is determined that I should go to Portsmouth to-morrow.

30th. This morning my wife and I and Mr. Creed took coach, and in Fish Street took up Mr. Hater and his wife, who, through her mask, seemed at first to be an old woman, but afterwards I found her to be a very pretty, modest, black woman. We got a small bait at Leatherhead, and so to Godlyman,<sup>1</sup> where we lay all night; and were very merry, having this day no other extraordinary rencontre but my hat falling off of my head at Newington into the water, by which it was spoiled and I ashamed of it. I am sorry that I am not at London, to be at Hyde Park to-morrow, among the great gallants and ladies, which will be very fine.

May 1st. Up early, and baited at Petersfield, in the room which the King lay in lately at his being there. Here very merry, and played with our wives at bowls. Then we set forth again, and so to Portsmouth, seeming to me to be a very pleasant and strong place; and we lay at the Red Lion, where Haselrigge and Scott and Walton did hold their council, when they were here, against Lambert and the Committee of Safety. Several officers of the Yard come to see us to-night, and merry we were, but troubled to have no better lodgings.

2d. Up, and Mr. Creed and I to walk round the town upon the walls. Then to our inn, and there all the officers of the Yard to see me with great respect, and I walked with them to the Dock, and saw all the stores, and much pleased with the sight of the place. Back, and brought them all to dinner with me, and treated them handsomely; and so after dinner by water to the Yard, and there we made the sale of the old provisions. Then we and our wives all to see the Montagu, which is a fine ship, and so to the town again by water, and then to see the room where the Duke of Buckingham was killed by Felton.

3d. Early to walk with Mr. Creed up and down the town, and it was in his and some others' thoughts to have got me made free of the town, but the Mayor, it seems, unwilling, and so they could not do it. Took coach to Petersfield, having nothing more of trouble in all my journey, but the exceeding unmannerly and most

<sup>1</sup> Godalming.

epicure-like palate of Mr. Creed. Here my wife and I lay in the room the Queen lately lay, at her going into France.

4th. Up in the morning, and took coach, and so to Guildford, where we lay at the Red Lion, the best inn, and lay in the room the King lately lay in, where we had time to see the hospital, built by Archbishop Abbott, and the free school, and were civilly treated by the Master. So to supper and to bed, being very merry about our discourse with the drawers concerning the minister of the town, with a red face and a girdle.

5th. (Lord's day.) Mr. Creed and I went to the red-faced Parson's church, and heard a good sermon of him, better than I looked for. Anon we walked into the garden, and there played the fool a great while, trying who of Mr. Creed or I could go best over the edge of an old fountain well, and I won a quart of sack of him. Then to supper in the Banquet-house, and there my wife and I did talk high, she against and I for Mrs. Pierce (that she was a beauty), till we were both angry. Then to walk in the fields, and so to our quarters, and to bed.

6th. Up by four o'clock, and took coach, and stayed by the way and eat some cakes, and so home. I hear to-night that the Duke of York's son <sup>1</sup> is this day dead, which, I believe, will please everybody; and I hear that the Duke and his Lady themselves are not much troubled at it.<sup>2</sup>

7th. My Lady, I find, is, since my going, gone to the Wardrobe. With Mr. Creed into London; stopped in our way by the City train-bands, who go in much solemnity and pomp this day to muster before the King and the Duke, and shops in the city are shut up everywhere all this day. He carried me to an ordinary by the old Exchange, where we come a little too late, but we had very good cheer for our 18*d.* apiece, and an excellent droll, too, my host, and his wife so fine a woman, and sung and play so well, that I stayed a great while, and drunk a great deal of wine. To bed, having sent my Lord a letter tonight, to excuse myself for not going with him tomorrow to the Hope, whither he is to go to see in what condition the fleet is in.

8th. Came my brother John to take his leave of me, he being to return to Cambridge to-morrow, and after I had chid him for going with my Will the other day to Deptford, I did give him some

<sup>1</sup> Charles, Duke of Cambridge, born 22nd October 1660: *ob.* 5th May 1661. He was the first of eight children by Anne Hyde.

<sup>2</sup> The legitimacy of the infant might have been questionable.

good counsel, and 20s. in money, and so he went away. At night comes my wife not well, from my father's, having had a foretooth drawn out to-day, which do trouble me. To-day I received a letter from my uncle, to beg an old fiddle of me for Perkin, the miller, whose mill the wind hath lately broke down, and now he hath nothing to live by but fiddling, and he must needs have it against Whitsuntide to play to the country-girls; but it vexed me to see how my uncle writes to me, as if he were not able to buy him one.

9th. With my Lord at his lodgings, and there being with him my Lord Chamberlain,<sup>1</sup> I spoke for my old waterman Payne, to get into White's place, who was waterman to my Lord Chamberlain, and is now to go master of the barge to my Lord at sea; and my Lord Chamberlain did promise that Payne should be entertained in White's place with him.

10th. Among my workmen with great pleasure, because being near the end of their work.

11th. To Gray's Inn, and there to a barber's, where I was trimmed and had my hair cut, in which I am lately become a little curious, finding that the length of it do become me very much.

12th. (Lord's day.) At the Savoy heard Dr. Fuller<sup>2</sup> preach upon David's words,<sup>3</sup> 'I will wait with patience all the days of my appointed time until my change comes'; but methought it was a poor, dry sermon. And I am afeard my former high esteem of his preaching was more out of opinion than judgment. Met with Mr. Creed, with whom I went and walked in Gray's Inn Walks, and from thence to Islington, and there eat and drank at the house<sup>4</sup> my father and we were wont of old to go to; and after that walked homeward, and parted in Smithfield: and so I home, much wondering to see how things are altered with Mr. Creed, who, twelve months ago, might have been got to hang himself almost as soon as go to a drinking-house on a Sunday.

14th. Finding my head grow weak nowadays, if I come to drink wine, and therefore hope that I shall leave it off of myself, which I pray God I could do.

15th. There came two men with an order from a Committee

<sup>1</sup> The Earl of Manchester.

<sup>2</sup> The celebrated Thomas Fuller, D.D., the church historian, and author of *The Worthies of England*, then lecturer at the Savoy.

<sup>3</sup> The text meant is Job xiv. 14: 'All the days of my appointed time will I wait till my change come.'

<sup>4</sup> The King's Head.

of Lords to demand some books of me out of the office in order to the examining of Mr. Hutchinson's accounts; but I gave them a surly answer, and they went away to complain, which put me into some trouble with myself, but I resolve to go to-morrow myself to these Lords, and answer them.

16th. About two o'clock went in my velvet coat by water to the Savoy, and there, having stayed a good while, I was called in to the Lords, and there, quite contrary to my expectations, they did treat me very civilly, telling me what they had done was out of zeal to the King's service, and that they would join with the governors of the chest with all their hearts since they knew that there was any, which they did not before. I give them very respectful answer, and so went away to the Theatre, and there saw the latter end of 'The Maid's Tragedy,'<sup>1</sup> which I never saw before, and methinks it is too sad and melancholy. To the Wardrobe, and there we found my Lord newly gone away with the Duke of Ormond and some others, whom he had had to a collation; and so we, with the rest of the servants in the hall, sat down, and eat of the best cold meats that ever I eat in all my life. Mr. Moore with me to the waterside, telling me how kindly he is used by my Lord and my Lady since his coming thither as a servant.

17th. Lieutenant Lambert and I to the Exchange, and thence to an ordinary over against it, where to our dinner we had a fellow play well upon the bagpipes, and whistle like a bird exceeding well; and I had a fancy to learn to whistle as he do, and did promise to come some other day, and give him an angel to teach me. To the office till nine at night. So home to my music, and my wife, and I sat singing in my chamber a good while together, and then to bed.

18th. Towards Westminster, from the Tower, by water, and was fain to stand upon one of the piers about the bridge before the men could drag their boat through the lock, and which they could not do till another was called to help them. Being through bridge, I found the Thames full of boats and galleys, and upon inquiry found that there was a wager to be run this morning. So, spying of Payne in a galley, I went in to him, and there stayed, thinking to have gone to Chelsea with them. But, upon the start, the wager boats fell foul of one another, till at last one of them gives over, pretending foul play, and so the other row away alone, and

<sup>1</sup> By Beaumont and Fletcher. Mohun played Melantius; Hart Amintor, and Mrs. Marshall Evadne.



all our sport lost. I went ashore at Westminster; where it was very pleasant to see the Hall in the condition it is now, with the Judges on the benches at the further end of it, which I had not seen all this term till now.

19th. (Lord's day.) I walked in the morning towards Westminster, and, seeing many people at York House, I went down and found them at mass, it being the Spanish ambassador's; and so I got into one of the galleries, and there heard two masses done, I think, not in so much state as I have seen them heretofore. After that, into the garden, and walked a turn or two, but found it not so fine a place as I always took it for by the outside. Captain Ferrers and Mr. Howe and myself to Mr. Wilkinson's at the Crown: then to my Lord's, where we went and sat talking and laughing in the drawing-room a great while. All our talk upon their going to sea this voyage, which Captain Ferrers is in some doubt whether he shall go or no, but swears that he would go, if he were sure never to come back again; and I giving him some hopes, he grew so mad with joy that he fell a-dancing and leaping like a madman. Now it fell out so that the balcony windows were open, and he went to the rail and made an offer to leap over, and asked what if he should leap over there. I told him I would give him £40 if he did not go to sea. With that thought, I shut the doors, and W. Howe hindered him all we could; yet he opened them again, and, with a vault, leaps down into the garden—the greatest and most desperate frolic that I ever saw in my life. I run to see what was become of him, and we found him crawled upon his knees, but could not rise; so we went down into the garden, and dragged him to a bench, where he looked like a dead man, but could not stir; and, though he had broke nothing, yet his pain in his back was such as he could not endure. With this my Lord (who was in the little new room) come to us in amaze, and bid us carry him up, which, by our strength, we did, and so laid him in East's bedroom, by the door; where he lay in great pain. We sent for a doctor and surgeon, but none to be found, till, by and by, by chance comes in Dr. Clerke, who is afeard of him. So we sent to get a lodging for him, and I went up to my Lord, where Captain Cooke, Mr. Gibbons, and others of the King's musicians were come to present my Lord with some songs and symphonies, which were performed very finely.

20th. Visited by Mr. Anderson, my former chamber-fellow at Cambridge, with whom I parted at the Hague.

21st. Up early, and with Sir R. Slingsby (and Major Waters the deaf gentleman, his friend, for company's sake) to the Victualling-office, (the first time that I ever knew where it was),<sup>1</sup> and there stayed while he read a commission for enquiry into some of the King's lands and houses thereabouts, that are given his brother. And then we took boat to Woolwich, where we stayed and gave order for the fitting out of some more ships presently. And then to Deptford, where we did the same; and so took barge again, and were overtaken by the King in his barge, he having been down the river with his yacht this day for pleasure to try it; and, as I hear, Commissioner Pett's do prove better than the Dutch one, and that that his brother built. While we were upon the water, one of the greatest showers of rain fell that ever I saw. The Comptroller and I landed with our barge at the Temple, and from thence I went to my father's, and there did give order about some clothes to be made and did buy a new hat, cost between twenty and thirty shillings.

22d. To the Wardrobe, where my Lord and all the officers of the Wardrobe dined, and several other friends of my Lord, at a venison pasty. Before dinner, my Lady Wright and my Lady Jem sang songs to the harpsichon. Very pleasant and merry at dinner. Before I went to bed, the barber came to trim me and wash me, and so to bed, in order to my being clean tomorrow.

23d. To the Rhenish wine-house, and there came Jonas Moore,<sup>2</sup> the mathematician, to us, and there he did by discourse make us fully believe that England and France were once the same continent, by very good arguments, and spoke very many things not so much to prove the Scripture false, as that the time therein is not well computed nor understood. Shifted myself into my black silk suit (the first day I have put it on this year) and so to my Lord Mayor's by coach, with a great deal of honourable company, and great entertainment. At table I had very good discourse with

<sup>1</sup> The Victualling Office at the end of East Smithfield, according to Stow, occupied the site of the Abbey of St. Mary of the Graces, which had been founded by Edward III, to commemorate his escape from shipwreck; and was granted at the dissolution to Sir Arthur Darcy, who pulled it down. The Cooperage, a portion of the Victualling Office, was burnt 18th May 1687. The disaster is described in Rawlinson MSS., A 171.

<sup>2</sup> Jonas Moore, a native of Lancashire, one of the most eminent mathematicians of his day. He was knighted by Charles II, and made Surveyor of the Ordnance, and died in 1679. At the funeral of Sir Jonas Moore, sixty pieces of artillery were discharged at the Tower.

Mr. Ashmole, wherein he did assure me that frogs and many insects do often fall from the sky, ready formed. Dr. Bates's<sup>1</sup> singularity in not rising up nor drinking the King's nor other healths at the table was very much observed. From thence we all took coach, and to our office, and there sat till it was late; and so I home and to bed by daylight. This day was kept a holiday through the town; and it pleased me to see the little boys walk up and down in procession with their broom-staffs in their hands, as I had myself long ago done.<sup>2</sup>

25th. To the Theatre, where I saw a piece of 'The Silent Woman,' which pleased me.

26th. (Lord's day.) This day the Parliament received the communion of Dr. Gunning at St. Margaret's, Westminster. To Sir W. Batten's, where I have on purpose made myself a great stranger, only to get a high opinion a little more of myself in them. Here I heard how Mrs. Browne, Sir W. Batten's sister, is brought to bed, and I to be one of the godfathers, which I could not nor did deny. Which, however, did trouble me very much to be at charge to no purpose, so that I could not sleep hardly all night. Sir W. Batten told me how Mr. Prin (among the two or three that did refuse today to receive the sacrament upon their knees) was offered by a mistake the drink afterwards, which he did receive, being denied the drink by Dr. Gunning unless he would take it on his knees; and after that, by another the bread was brought him, and he did take it sitting, which is thought very preposterous.

27th. With my Lords Sandwich and Hinchinbroke to the Lords' House by boat at Westminster, and there I left them. Then to the lobby, and after waiting for Sir G. Downing's coming out, to speak with him about the giving me up of my bond for my honesty, when I was his clerk, but to no purpose, I went to Clerke's at the Leg, and there we dined very merry, there coming to us Captain Ferrers, this being the first day of his going abroad since his leap a week ago, which I was greatly glad to see.

28th. With Mr. Shepley to the Exchange about business, and there, by Mr. Rawlinson's favour, got into a balcony over against the Exchange; and there saw the hangman burn, by vote of

<sup>1</sup> Dr. William Bates, one of the most eminent of the puritan divines, and who took part in the Savoy Conference.

<sup>2</sup> Pepys here refers to the perambulation of parishes on Holy Thursday, still observed. This ceremony was sometimes enlivened by whipping the boys, for the better impressing on their minds the remembrance of the day, and the boundaries of the parish, instead of beating houses or stones.

Parliament, two old Acts, the one for constituting us a Commonwealth, and the other I have forgot; <sup>1</sup> which still do make me think of the greatness of this late turn, and what people will do tomorrow against what they all, through profit or fear, did promise and practise this day. To Cheapside, about buying a piece of plate to give away tomorrow to Mrs. Browne's child.

29th. (King's birthday.) Rose early, and having made myself fine, put six spoons and a porringer of silver in my pocket, to give away today, Sir W. Pen and I took coach and (the weather and way being foul) went to Walthamstow; and, being come there, heard Mr. Radcliffe, <sup>2</sup> my former schoolfellow at St. Paul's (who is yet a mere boy), preach upon 'Nay, let him take all, since my Lord the King is returned,' &c. He read all, and his sermon very simple. Back to dinner at Sir William Batten's; and then, after a walk in the fine gardens, we went to Mrs. Browne's, where Sir W. Pen and I were godfathers, and Mrs. Jordan <sup>3</sup> and Shipman <sup>4</sup> godmothers to her boy. And there, before and after the christening, we were with the woman above in her chamber; but whether we carried ourselves well or ill I know not; but I was directed by young Mrs. Batten. One passage of a lady that eat wafers with her dog did a little displease me. I did give the midwife 10s., and the nurse 5s., and the maid of the house 2s. But forasmuch as I expected to give the name to the child, but did not, it being called John, I forbore then to give my plate till another time, after a little more advice. All being done, we went to Mrs. Shipman's, who is a great butter-woman, and I did see there the most of milk and cream, and the cleanest, that ever I saw in my life. After we had filled our bellies with cream, we took our leaves and away. In our way, we had great sport to try who should drive fastest, Sir W. Batten's coach, or Sir W. Pen's chariot, they having four, and we two horses, and we beat them. But it cost me the spoiling of my clothes and velvet coat with dirt. Being come home, I to bed, and give my breeches to be dried by the fire against tomorrow.

<sup>1</sup> It was an Act for subscribing the engagement. On the same day there had been burned by the hangman, in Westminster Hall, the Act for 'erecting an High Court of Justice for trying and judging Charles Stuart.' Two more Acts were similarly burned the next day.

<sup>2</sup> Jonathan Radcliffe, A.M., then vicar of Walthamstow.

<sup>3</sup> The wife of Captain, afterwards Sir Joseph, Jordan.

<sup>4</sup> Robert Shipman bought the great tithes of Walthamstow from the Argall family in 1663; and left them by will to his wife Dorothy, from whom they passed in 1667 to Robert Mascall, merchant.

30th. To the Wardrobe, and there, with my Lord, went into his new barge to try her, and found her a good boat, and like my Lord's contrivance of the door to come out round, and not square, as they used to do; and thence I to Greatorex, who took me to Arundel House, and there showed me some fine flowers in his garden, and all the fine statues in the gallery, which I formerly had seen, and is a brave sight, and thence to a blind, dark cellar, where we had two bottles of good ale. This day, I hear, the Parliament have ordered a bill to be brought in for the restoring the Bishops to the House of Lords; which they had not done so soon but to spite Mr. Prin, who is every day so bitter against them in his discourse in the House.

31st. To my father's, but to my great grief I found my father and mother in a great deal of discontent one with another, and indeed my mother is grown now so pettish that I know not how my father is able to bear with it. I did talk to her so as did not indeed become me, but I could not help it, she being so insufferably foolish and simple, so that my father, poor man, is become a very unhappy man.

June 1st. Sir W. Pen and I and Mr. Gauden by water to Woolwich, and there went from ship to ship to give order for and take notice of their forwardness to go forth, and then to Deptford and did the like. From Deptford we walked to Redriffe, calling at the Half-way house, and there came into a room where there was infinite of new cakes placed that are made against Whitsuntide, and there we were very merry.

2d. The barber having done with me, I went to church, and there heard a good sermon of Mr. Mills fit for the day. To church again, and going home I found Greatorex come see me, and so he and I in my chamber drinking of wine and eating of anchovies an hour or two, discoursing of many things in mathematics, and among others the strength that levers have. It rained very hard, as it hath done of late so much so that we begin to doubt a famine.

3d. To the Wardrobe, where, discoursing with my Lord, he did instruct me as to the business of the Wardrobe, in case in his absence Mr. Townsend should die; and told me that he did intend to join me and Mr. Moore with him as to the business, now he is going to sea; and spoke to me many other things, as to one that he do put the greatest confidence in, of which I am proud. My cousin Scott come to dine with me, and before he had done, in comes my father Bowyer, and my mother, and four daughters, and a young

gentleman and his sister, their friends, and there stayed all the afternoon, which cost me great store of wine, and were very merry. Mr. Creed and I to the Tower, to speak for some ammunition for ships for my Lord; and so he and I, with much pleasure, walked quite round the Tower, which I never did before. To the Bear, at the Bridge-foot, thinking to have met my Lord Hinchinbroke and his brother setting forth for France, but they being not come, we went over to the Wardrobe, and there found that my Lord Abbot Montagu<sup>1</sup> being not at Paris, my Lord hath a mind to have them stay a little longer before they go.

4th. To my Lord Crewe's to dinner, and had very good discourse about having of young noblemen and gentlemen to think of going to sea, as being as honourable service as the land war. And among other things he told us how, in Queen Elizabeth's time, one young nobleman would wait with a trencher at the back of another till he came to age himself; and witnessed in my young Lord of Kent that then was, who waited upon my Lord Bedford at table, when a letter came to my Lord Bedford that the Earldom of Kent was fallen to his servant the young Lord; and so he rose from table, and made him sit down in his place, and took a lower for himself, for so he was by place to sit.<sup>2</sup> From thence to the Theatre, and saw 'Harry the 4th,' a good play.

5th. This morning did give my wife £4, to lay out upon lace and other things for herself. Sir W. Pen and I went out with Sir R. Slingsby to bowls in his alley, and there had good sport. I took my flageolet, and played upon the leads in the garden, where Sir W. Pen came out in his shirt into his leads, and there we stayed talking and singing and drinking great draughts of claret, and eating botargo<sup>3</sup> and bread and butter till twelve at night, it being moonshine; and so to bed, very near fuddled.

6th. My head hath ached all night and all this morning with my last night's debauch. Called up this morning by Lieutenant Lambert, who is now made Captain of the Norwich, and he and I went down by water to Greenwich. There we eat and drank and heard music at the Globe, and saw the simple motion that is

<sup>1</sup> Walter, second son to the first Earl of Manchester, embracing the Catholic faith while on his travels, was made Abbot of Pontoise, through the influence of Mary de Medici. He afterwards became almoner to the Queen-Dowager of England, and died 1670.

<sup>2</sup> The earldom of Kent was erected for the Grey family in 1465; that of Bedford for the Russells in 1550.

<sup>3</sup> A relish made of the roe of a mullet.

there of a woman with a rod in her hand keeping time to the music while it plays, which is simple, methinks. Back again by water, calling at Captain Lambert's house, which is very handsome and neat, and a fine prospect at top. So to the office, where we sat a little, and then I to Bridewell to Mr. Holland's, where his wife also, a plain dowdy, and his mother was. Here came two young gentlewomen to see Mr. Holland, and one of them could play pretty well upon the violin, but, good God! how these ignorant people did cry her up for it! The weather very hot, this night I left off my waistcoat.

8th. To White Hall to my Lord, who did tell me that he would have me go to Mr. Townsend, whom he had ordered to discover to me the whole mystery of the Wardrobe, and none else but me, and that he will make me deputy with him, for fear that he should die in my Lord's absence, of which I was glad. I went to the Theatre, and there saw 'Bartholomew Fair,'<sup>1</sup> the first time it was acted nowadays. It is a most admirable play, and well acted, but too much profane and abusive.

9th. (Lord's day.) This day my wife put on her black silk gown, which is now laced all over with black gimp lace, as the fashion is, in which she is very pretty. She and I walked to my Lady's at the Wardrobe, and there dined, and was exceeding much made of. After dinner to Mr. Pierce's, and there he and I and Mr. Symons (dancing-master), that goes to sea with my Lord, to the Swan tavern, and there drank. To White Hall, and there met with Dean Fuller, and walked a great while with him; among other things discoursed of the liberty the Bishop (by name he of Galloway<sup>2</sup>) takes to admit into orders anybody that will; among others, Roundtree, a simple mechanic that was a parson formerly in the fleet. He told me he would complain of it. By and by we went and got a sculler, and, landing him at Worcester House, went to the Wardrobe. I went up to Jane Shore's tower, and there W. Howe and I sang, and so took my wife and walked home, and so to bed.

10th. Early to my Lord's, who privately told me how the King had made him ambassador in the bringing over the Queen. That

<sup>1</sup> A comedy by Ben Jonson; first acted in 1614.

<sup>2</sup> Murray and Heath, whose authority is generally good, assert that James Hamilton was at this time Bishop of Galloway; but the commission of his consecration bears date 12th December 1661. Kennett also mentions Thomas Sydserf, who had been deposed from the see of Galloway by the Presbyterians in 1640, as the only Scotch prelate alive at the Restoration. Lingard's testimony is in favour of Sydserf being the Bishop of Galloway here alluded to.

he is to go to Algiers, &c., settle the business, and to put the fleet in order there; and so to come back to Lisbon with three ships, and there to meet the fleet that is to follow him. He sent for me, to tell me that he do entrust me with the seeing of all things done in his absence as to this great preparation, as I shall receive orders from my Lord Chancellor and Mr. Edward Montagu. At all which my heart is above measure glad; for my Lord's honour, and some profit to myself, I hope. By and by, out with Mr. Shepley, Walden, Parliament man for Huntingdon, Rolt,<sup>1</sup> Mackworth, and Alderman Backwell, to a house hard by, to drink Lambeth ale. So I back to the Wardrobe, and there found my Lord going to Trinity House,<sup>2</sup> this being the solemn day of choosing Master, and my Lord is chosen. I stayed there and dined with my Lady; but after we were set, comes in some persons of condition, and so the children and I rose and dined by ourselves, all the children and I, and were very merry, and they mighty fond of me.

11th. At the office this morning, Sir G. Carteret with us; and we agreed upon a letter to the Duke of York, to tell him the sad condition of this office for want of money; how men are not able to serve us more without some money; and that now the credit of the office is brought so low, that none will sell us anything without our personal security given for the same.

12th. Wednesday, a day kept between a fast and a feast, the Bishops not being ready enough to keep the fast for foul weather, before fair weather came; and so they were forced to keep it between both. To White Hall, where I met my Lord, who told me he must have £300 laid out in cloth, to give in Barbary, as presents among the Turks.

13th. To Alderman Backwell's, but his servants not being up, I went home, and put on my grey cloth suit and faced white coat, made of one of my wife's petticoats, the first time I have had it on, and so in a riding garb back again. With my Lord to White Hall by water, and he having taken leave of the King, comes to us at his lodgings, and from thence goes to the Garden stairs, and there takes barge, and at the stairs was met by Sir R. Slingsby, who there took his leave of my Lord, and I heard my Lord thank him for his kindness to me, which Sir Robert answered much to my advantage.

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the same person who had been envoy from the Protector to the King of Sweden, and is described by Kennett, in September 1655, as kinsman to His Highness.

<sup>2</sup> In Water Lane, near the Tower.



I went down with my Lord in the barge to Deptford, and there went on board the Dutch yacht, and stayed there a good while, W. Howe not being come with my Lord's things, which made my Lord very angry. By and by he comes, and so we set sail, and anon went to dinner, my Lord and we very merry; and after dinner, I went down below, and there sang, and took leave of W. Howe, Captain Rolt, and the rest of my friends, then went up and took leave of my Lord, who give me his hand, and parted with great respect. So went, and Captain Ferrers with me, into our wherry, and my Lord did give five guns, all they had charged, which was the greatest respect my Lord could do me, and of which I was not a little proud. So with a sad and merry heart I left them sailing pleasantly from Erith, hoping to be in the Downs tomorrow early. We toward London in our boat. Pulled off our stockings, and bathed our legs a great while in the river, which I had not done some years before. By and by we come to Greenwich, and thinking to have gone on the King's yacht, the King was in her, so we passed by, and at Woolwich went on shore; and I home, and with wine enough in my head went to bed.

14th. To White Hall to my Lord's, where I found Mr. Edward Montagu and his family come to lie during my Lord's absence. I sent to my house, by my Lord's order, his ship<sup>1</sup> and triangle virginal. I got a great cold by my playing the fool in the water yesterday.

15th. Dined with my Lady, who, now my Lord is gone, is come to her poor housekeeping again.

16th. (Lord's day.) This day stayed at home. The afternoon I spent in reading 'The Spanish Gypsy,'<sup>2</sup> a play not very good, though commended much.

18th. All this morning at home vexing about the delay of my painters, and about four in the afternoon my wife and I by water to Captain Lambert's, where we took great pleasure in their turret-garden, and seeing the fine needleworks of his wife, the best I ever saw in my life, and afterwards had a very handsome treat and good music that she made upon the harpsichon. So home again, there being a little pretty witty little child that would not let us go without her, and so fell a-crying by the water-side.

19th. One thing I must observe here, while I think of it, that

<sup>1</sup> *Sic* original, probably the word glass was omitted.

<sup>2</sup> A comedy, by T. Middleton and W. Rowley, printed 1653, and again in 1661.

I am now become the most negligent man in the world as to matters of news, insomuch that, nowadays, I neither can tell any, nor ask any of others.

20th. At home the greatest part of the day, to see my workmen make an end, which this night they did to my great content.

21st. Mr. Norbury and I did discourse of his wife's house and land at Brampton, which I find too much for me to buy.

22d. At noon, went and dined with my Lord Crewe, where very much made of by him and his lady. Then to the Theatre, 'The Alchymist,'<sup>1</sup> which is a most incomparable play.

23d. (Lord's day.) In the morning to church, and my wife not being well, I went with Sir W. Batten home to dinner, my Lady being out of town, where there was Sir W. Pen, Captain Allen and his daughter Rebecca, and Mr. Hempson and his wife. After dinner to church all of us, and had a very good sermon of a stranger, and so I and the young company to walk first to Gray's Inn Walks, where great store of gallants, but above all the ladies I there saw, or ever did see, Mrs. Frances Butler (Monsieur l'Impertinent's sister) is the greatest beauty. Then we went to Islington, where at the great house I entertained them as well as I could, and so home with them, and so to my own home, and to bed. Pall, who went this day to a child's christening at Kate Joyce's, stayed out all night at my father's—she not being well.

24th. (Midsummer-day.) I and Dr. Williams to the ordinary over against the Exchange, where we dined, and had great wrangling with the master of the house when the reckoning was brought to us, he setting down exceeding high everything.

25th. This morning came Mr. Goodgroome to me, with whom I agreed presently to give him 20s. entrance, which I then did, and 20s. a month more to teach me to sing, and so we began, and I hope I have come to something in it. His first song is 'La cruda la bella.' To dine with my Lady at the Wardrobe, taking Dean Fuller along with me: then home, where I heard that my father had been to find me out about special business; so I took coach and went to him, and found by a letter to him from my aunt that my uncle Robert is taken with a dizziness in his head, by which we guess that he is very ill, and so my father do think to go tomorrow. And so God's will be done.

27th. To my father's. There I told him how I would have him speak to my uncle Robert, when he comes thither, concerning my

<sup>1</sup> A comedy by Ben Jonson.

buying of land—that I could pay ready money £600, and the rest by £150 per annum, to make up as much as will buy £50 per annum, which I do, though I am not worth above £500 ready money, that he may think me to be a greater saver than I am. Then with my Lady Batten, Mrs. Rebecca Allen, Mrs. Thompson, &c., two coaches of us, we went and saw 'Bartholomew Fair,' acted very well. So home and to bed. This day, Mr. Holden sent me a beaver, which cost me £4 5s.

28th. At home all the morning practising to sing, which is now my great trade. Went to Moorfields, and there walked, and stood and saw the wrestling, which I never saw so much of before, between the north and west countrymen. This night had our bed set up in our room that we called the Nursery, where we lay, and I am very much pleased with the room.

29th. By a letter from the Duke, complaining of the delay of the ships that are to be got ready, Sir Williams both and I went to Deptford, and there examined into the delays, and were satisfied. Mr. Chetwind by chewing of tobacco is become very fat and fallow, whereas he was consumptive. In our discourse he fell commending of Hooker's 'Ecclesiastical Polity,' as the best book, and the only one that made him a Christian, which puts me upon the buying of it, which I will do shortly.

30th. (Lord's day.) To church, where we observe the trade of briefs is come now up to so constant a course every Sunday, that we resolve to give no more to them.<sup>1</sup> Sir Williams both and I to White Hall, where we met the Duke of York, according to an order sent us yesterday from him, to give him an account where the fault lay in the not sending out of the ships, which we find to be only the wind hath been against them, and so they could not get out of the river. Hence I to Gray's Inn Walk all alone, and with great pleasure, seeing the fine ladies walk there. Myself humming to myself (which nowadays is my constant practice since I begun to learn to sing) the trillo, and found by use that it do come upon me. This day, the Portuguese Ambassador<sup>2</sup> came to White Hall to take leave of the King; he being now going to end all with the Queen, and to send her over. Myself in good health, but mighty apt to take cold, so that this hot weather I am fain to wear a cloth before my stomach.

<sup>1</sup> Church collections for parishioners who had suffered loss by fire. They were abolished in 1828.

<sup>2</sup> Don Francisco de Mello, Conde de Ponte.

July 1st. This morning I went up and down into the city to buy several things as I have lately done, for my house. Among other things, a fair chest of drawers for my own chamber, and an Indian gown for myself. The first cost me 33s., the other 34s. Home, and dined there, and Theodore Goodgroom, my singing-master, with me, and then to our singing.

2d. My father writes that my uncle is by fits stupid, and like a man that is drunk, and sometimes speechless. Went to Sir William Davenant's <sup>1</sup> Opera; this being the fourth day that it hath begun, and the first that I have seen it. Today was acted the second part of 'The Siege of Rhodes.' We stayed a very great while for the King and Queen of Bohemia; and by the breaking of a board over our heads, we had a great deal of dust fell into the ladies' necks and the men's hair, which made good sport. The King being come, the scene opened; which indeed is very fine and magnificent, and well acted, all but the Eunuch, who was so much out that he was hissed off the stage.

3d. Dined with my Lady, who is in some mourning for her brother, Mr. Samuel Crewe, who died yesterday of the spotted fever. This day my Lady Batten and my wife were at the burial of a daughter of Sir John Lawson's, and had rings for themselves and their husbands.

4th. I went to the Theatre, and there I saw 'Claracilla' <sup>2</sup> (the first time I ever saw it), well acted. But strange to see this house, that used to be so thronged, now empty since the Opera began; and so will continue for a while, I believe.

5th. In the afternoon to the office, and that being done all went to Sir W. Batten's and there had a venison pasty, and were very merry.

6th. Waked this morning with news, brought me by a messenger on purpose, that my uncle Robert is dead; so I rose sorry in some respect, glad in my expectations in another respect. So I bought me a pair of boots in St. Martin's, and got myself ready, and then to the post-house, and set out about eleven and twelve o'clock, taking the messenger with me that came to me, and so we rode, and got well by nine o'clock to Brampton, where I found my father well. My uncle's corpse in a coffin standing upon joint-stools in

<sup>1</sup> Sir William Davenant, the celebrated dramatic writer, and patentee of the Duke's Theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields: *ob.* 1668 aged sixty-two. He was the author of *The Siege of Rhodes*.

<sup>2</sup> A tragi-comedy by Thomas Killigrew.

the chimney in the hall; but it begun to smell, and so I caused it to be set forth in the yard all night, and watched by two men. My father and I lay together tonight, I greedy to see the will, but did not ask to see it till tomorrow.

7th. (Lord's day.) In the morning my father and I read the will; where, though he gives me nothing at present till my father's death, or at least very little, yet I am glad to see that he hath done so well for us all, and well to the rest of his kindred. After that done we went about getting things, as ribbons and gloves, ready for the burial, which in the afternoon was done; where, it being Sunday, all people far and near come in; and, in the greatest disorder that ever I saw, we made shift to serve them with what we had of wine and other things; and then to carry him to the church, where Mr. Taylor buried him, and Mr. Turner preached a funeral sermon, where he spoke not particularly of him anything, but that he was one so well known for his honesty, that it spoke for itself above all that he could say for it. And so made a very good sermon.

8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th. I fell to work, and my father, to look over my uncle's papers and clothes, and continued all this week upon that business, much troubled with my aunt's base, ugly humours. We had news of Tom Trice's putting in a caveat against us, in behalf of his mother, to whom my uncle had not given anything, and for good reason therein expressed, which troubled us also. But above all, our trouble is to find that his estate appears nothing as we expected and all the world believes; nor his papers so well sorted as I would have had them, but all in confusion, that break my brains to understand them. We missed also the surrenders of his copyhold land, without which the land would not come to us, but to the heir at law, so that what with this, and the badness of the drink, and the ill opinion I have of the meat, and the biting of the gnats by night, and my disappointment in getting home this week, and the trouble of sorting all the papers, I am almost out of my wits with trouble, only I appear the more contented, because I would not have my father troubled.

14th. (Lord's day.) At home, and Robert Barnwell with us, and dined, and in the evening my father and I walked round Portholme, and viewed all the fields, which was very pleasant. Then to Hinchinbroke, which is now all in dirt, because of my Lord's building, which will make it very magnificent. Back to Brampton.

15th. Up by three o'clock this morning, and rode to Cambridge,

and was there by seven o'clock, where, after I was trimmed, I went to Christ College, and found my brother John at eight o'clock in bed, which vexed me. Then to King's College chapel, where I found the scholars in their surplices at the service with the organs, which is a strange sight to what it used in my time to be here. Then with Dr. Fairbrother (whom I met there) to the Rose tavern, and called for some wine, and sent also for Mr. Sanchy of Magdalene, with whom and other gentlemen, friends of his, we were very merry, and I treated them as well as I could, and so at noon took horse again, having taken leave of my cousin Angier, and rode to Impington, where I found my old uncle <sup>1</sup> sitting all alone, like a man out of the world: he can hardly see; but all things else he do pretty lively.

16th, 17th, 18th, 19th. These four days we spent in putting things in order, letting of the crop upon the ground, agreeing with Stankes to have a care of our business in our absence, and we think ourselves in nothing happy but in lighting upon him to be our bailiff. My aunt continuing in her base hypocritical tricks, which both Jane Perkin (of whom we make great use) and the maid do tell us every day of.

20th. To Huntingdon, and dined with Sir Robert Bernard <sup>2</sup> and his lady, my Lady Digby, a very good woman.

21st. (Lord's day.) At home all the morning, putting my papers in order against my going tomorrow.

22d. Up by three, and going by four on my way to London; but the day proves very cold, so that, having put on no stockings but thread ones under my boots, I was fain at Bigglesworth <sup>3</sup> to buy a pair of coarse woollen ones, and put them on. So by degrees, till I come to Hatfield before twelve o'clock, and walked all alone to the Vineyard, which is now a very beautiful place again; and coming back I met with Mr. Looker, my Lord's <sup>4</sup> gardener (a friend of Mr. Eglin's), who showed me the house, the chapel with brave pictures, and, above all, the gardens, such as I never saw in all my life; nor so good flowers, nor so great gooseberries, as big as nutmegs. Back to the inn, and so to horse again, and with much ado got to London. Called at my uncle Fenner's, my mother's,

<sup>1</sup> Talbot Pepys.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Robert Bernard, sergeant-at-law, of Huntingdon, cr. bart., 1662, and *ob.* 1666. His second wife, here mentioned, was Elizabeth, relict of George Lord Digby, *ob.* January 1662.

<sup>3</sup> Biggleswade.

<sup>4</sup> William Cecil, second Earl of Salisbury.

my Lady's, and so home, in all which I found all things as well as I could expect.

23d. Put on my mourning. In the afternoon, finding myself unfit for business, I went to the Theatre, and saw 'Brenoralt,'<sup>1</sup> I never saw before. It seemed a good play, but ill acted; only I sat before Mrs. Palmer, the King's mistress, and filled my eyes with her, which much pleased me. Troubled to hear how proud and idle Pall is grown, that I am resolved not to keep her.

24th. This morning my wife in bed tells me of our being robbed of our silver tankard, which vexed me all day for the negligence of my people to leave the door open. To the Wardrobe, but come too late, so dined with the servants. And then to my Lady, who do show my wife and me the greatest favour in the world, in which I take great content. To the office all the afternoon, which is a great pleasure to me again, to talk with persons of quality, and to be in command, and I give it out among them that the estate left me is £200 a year in land, besides moneys, because I would put an esteem upon myself. I hear that my man Will hath lost his clock with my tankard, at which I am very glad.

25th. To my mother's, where I found my wife and aunt Bell and Mrs. Ramsey, and great store of tattle there was between the old women and my mother, who thinks that there is God knows what fallen to her, which makes me mad. Mr. Moore and I to the Theatre, and saw 'The Jovial Crew,'<sup>2</sup> the first time I saw it, and indeed it is as merry and the most innocent play that ever I saw, and well performed. Full of thoughts to think of the trouble that we shall go through before we come to see what will remain to us of all our expectations.

26th. Mr. Hill of Cambridge tells me that yesterday<sup>3</sup> put a change to the whole state of England as to the Church; for the King now would be forced to favour Presbytery, or that the City would leave him: but I heed not what he says, though upon inquiry I do find that things in the Parliament are in a great disorder.

27th. To Westminster, where, at Mr. Montagu's chamber, I heard a Frenchman play, a friend of Monsieur Eschar's, upon the guitar most extreme well, though at the best methinks it is but a

<sup>1</sup> *Brennoralt*, or *The Discontented Colonel*, a tragedy, by Sir John Suckling.

<sup>2</sup> Or *The Merry Beggars*, a comedy, by Richard Brome.

<sup>3</sup> When the Savoy Conference ended, the royal commission having expired on that day.

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bauble. From thence to Westminster Hall, where it was expected that the Parliament was to have been adjourned for two or three months, but something hinders it for a day or two. In the lobby I spoke with Mr. George Montagu, and advised about a ship to carry my Lord Hinchinbroke and the rest of the young gentlemen to France, and they have resolved of going in a hired vessel from Rye, and not in a man-o'-war. He told me in discourse that my Lord Chancellor is much envied, and that many great men, such as the Duke of Buckingham and my Lord of Bristol,<sup>1</sup> do endeavour to undermine him, and that he believes it will not be done; for that the King, though he loves him not in the way of a companion, as he do these young gallants that can answer him in his pleasures, yet cannot be without him, for his policy and service. From thence to the Wardrobe, where my wife met me, it being my Lord of Sandwich's birthday, and so we had many friends here—Mr. Townsend and his wife, and Captain Ferrers's lady and Captain Isham, and were very merry and had a good venison pasty. Mr. Pargiter, the merchant, was with us also. After dinner, Mr. Townsend was called upon by Captain Cooke: so we three went to a tavern hard by, and there he did give us a song or two; and without doubt he hath the best manner of singing in the world. Back to my wife, and with my Lady Jem and Pall by water through bridge, and showed them the ships with great pleasure, and then took them to my house to show it them (my Lady, their mother, having been lately all alone to see it and my wife, in my absence in the country), and we treated them well, and were very merry. Then back again through bridge, and set them safe at home, and so my wife and I by coach home again.

28th. To church, and again in the afternoon, and then come home with us Sir W. Pen, and drank with us, and then went away, and my wife after him, to see his daughter that is lately come out of Ireland. I stayed at home at my book; she came back again and tells me that whereas I expected she should have been a great beauty, she is a very plain girl. This evening my wife gives me all my linen, which I have put up, and intend to keep it now in my own custody.

29th. Word is brought that my aunt Fenner is exceeding ill, and that my mother is sent for presently to come to her: also that my cousin Charles Glasscock, though very ill himself, is this day gone to the country to his brother, John Glasscock, who is a-dying there.

<sup>1</sup> George Digby, second Earl of Bristol.



30th. After my singing-master had done with me this morning, I went to White Hall and Westminster Hall, where I found the King expected to come and adjourn the Parliament. I found the two Houses at a great difference, about the Lords challenging their privileges not to have their houses searched, which makes them deny to pass the House of Commons' Bill for searching for pamphlets and seditious books. Thence by water to the Wardrobe (meeting the King upon the water going in his barge to adjourn the House), where I dined with my Lady, and there met Dr. Thomas Pepys, who I found to be a silly, talking fellow, but very good-natured. In Fleet Street, I met with Mr. Salisbury, who is now grown in less than two years' time so great a limner that he is become excellent, and gets a great deal of money at it. I took him to Hercules' Pillars<sup>1</sup> to drink.

31st. Singing-master came to me this morning: then to the office all the morning. In the afternoon I went to the Theatre, and there I saw 'The Tamer Tamed' well done.

August 1st. This morning Sir Williams both, and my wife and I, and Mrs. Margaret Pen (this first time that I have seen her since she came from Ireland) went by coach to Walthamstow, a-gossiping to Mrs. Browne, where I did give her six silver spoons for her boy. Here we had a venison pasty, brought hot from London, and were very merry.

2d. I made myself ready to get a-horseback for Cambridge. So I set out and rode to Ware this night, in the way having much discourse with a fellmonger, a Quaker, who told me what a wicked man he had been all his lifetime till within this two years. Here I lay.

3d. Got up early, and got to Barkway, where I stayed and drank, and there met with a letter-carrier of Cambridge, with whom I rode all the way to Cambridge, my horse being tired, and myself very wet with rain. I went to the Castle Hill, where the Judges were at the Assizes; and I stayed till Roger Pepys rose, and went with him, and dined with his brother the Doctor, and Claxton at Trinity Hall. Then parted, and I went to the Rose, and there with Mr. Peachell,<sup>2</sup> Sanchy, and others, sat and drank till night, and were

<sup>1</sup> A tavern in Fleet Street.

<sup>2</sup> John Peachell, S.T.P., Vicar of Stanwick, and Prebendary of Carlisle, made Master of Magdalen College, 1679; from which office, as well as that of vice-chancellor, he was suspended by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, 7th May 1687, for disobeying the royal mandate. He was, however, restored by King James II's Letter to the Headship, 24th October 1688, and died 1690.

very merry, only they tell me how high the old doctors are in the University over those they found there, though a great deal better scholars than themselves; for which I am very sorry, and, above all, Dr. Gunning. At night I took horse, and rode with Roger Pepys and his two brothers to Impington, and there with great respect was led up by them to the best chamber in the house, and there slept.

4th. (Lord's day.) Walked in the orchard with my cousin Roger, and there discoursed about my uncle's will, in which he did give me good satisfaction, but tells me I shall meet with a great deal of trouble in it. However, in all things he told me what I am to expect and what to do. To church, and had a good plain sermon. At our coming in, the country-people all rose with so much reverence; and when the parson begins, he begins 'Right Worshipful and dearly beloved' to us. To church again, and, after supper, to talk about public matters, wherein Roger Pepys told me how basely things have been carried in Parliament by the young men, that did labour to oppose all things that were moved by serious men. That they are the most profane swearing fellows that ever he heard in his life, which makes him think that they will spoil all, and bring things into a war again, if they can.

5th. Early to Huntingdon, but was fain to stay a great while at Stanton because of the rain, and there borrowed a coat of a man for 6d., and so he rode all the way, poor man, without any. Stayed at Huntingdon for a little, but the judges are not yet come hither: so I went to Brampton, and there found my aunt gone from the house, which I am glad of, though it costs us a great deal of money, viz. £10. After dinner, took horse, and rode to Yelling, to my cousin Nightingale's, who hath a pretty house here, and did learn of her all she could tell me concerning my business.

6th. Up early and rode to Huntingdon, where I stayed drinking till noon. Home to my father, who could discern that I had been drinking, which he did never see or hear of before: so I eat a bit of dinner, and then took horse for London, and with much ado, the ways being very bad, got to Baldwick,<sup>1</sup> and there lay, and had a good supper by myself. The landlady being a pretty woman, but I durst not take notice of her, her husband being there. Before supper, I went to see the church, which is a very handsome church. I find that both here and everywhere else that I come the Quakers do still continue, and rather grow than lessen.

<sup>1</sup> Baldock.

7th. Called up at three o'clock, and was a-horseback by four; and, as I was eating my breakfast, I saw a man riding by that rode a little way upon the road with me last night; and he being going with venison in his panyards to London, I called him in, and did give him his breakfast with me; and so we went together all the way. At Hatfield, we baited and walked into the great house through all the courts; and I would fain have stolen a pretty dog that followed me, but I could not, which troubled me. To horse again, and by degrees with much ado got to London, where I found all well at home, and at my father's, and my Lady's, but no news yet from my Lord where he is.

8th. Early in the morning to White Hall, but my Lord Privy Seal<sup>1</sup> came not all the morning. To the Wardrobe to dinner, Back again to the Privy Seal; but my Lord comes not all the afternoon, which made me mad, and gives all the world reason to talk of his delaying of business, as well as his severity and ill using of the clerks of the Privy Seal.

9th. I to White Hall, where, after four o'clock, comes my Lord Privy Seal: and so we went up to his chamber over the gate at White Hall, where he asked me what deputation I had from my Lord. I told him none, but that I am sworn my Lord's deputy by both of the Secretaries, which did satisfy him. So he caused Mr. Moore to read over all the bills, and all ended very well. So that I see the Lion is not so fierce as he is painted.

10th. This morning came the maid that my wife hath lately hired for a chamber-maid. She is very ugly, so that I cannot care for her, but otherwise she seems very good. I went to my Lady's and dined with her, and after dinner took the two young gentlemen and the two ladies and carried them and Captain Ferrers to the Theatre and showed them 'The Merry Devil of Edmonton,'<sup>2</sup> which is a very merry play, the first time I ever saw it, which pleased me well. I took them all home by coach to my house and there gave them fruit to eat and wine.

11th. (Lord's day.) To our own church in the forenoon, and in the afternoon to Clerkenwell church, only to see the two fair Butlers; and I happened to be placed in the pew where they afterwards came to sit, but the pew by their coming being too full, I went out into the next, and there sat, and had my full view of them

<sup>1</sup> William, first viscount, and second Baron Saye and Sele, made Lord Privy Seal at the Restoration: *ob.* April 1662.

<sup>2</sup> Anonymous; printed in 1608.

both, but I am out of conceit now with them, Colonel Dillon being come back from Ireland again, and do still court them, and comes to church with them, which makes me think they are not honest. Hence to Gray's Inn Walks, and there stayed a good while; where I met with Ned Pickering, who told me what a great match of hunting of a stag the King had yesterday; and how the King tired all their horses, and come home with not above two or three able to keep pace with him.

12th. In the afternoon had notice that my Lord Hinchinbroke is fallen ill, which I fear is with the fruit that I did give them on Saturday last at my house; so in the evening I went thither, and there found him very ill, and in great fear of the small-pox. I supped with my Lady, and did consult about him, but we find it best to let him lie where he do; and so I went home with my heart full of trouble for my Lord Hinchinbroke's sickness, and more for my Lord Sandwich's himself, whom we are now confirmed is sick ashore at Alicante, who, if he should miscarry, God knows in what condition would his family be. I dined today with my Lord Crewe, who is now at Sir H. Wright's, while his new house is making fit for him, and he is much troubled also at all these things.

13th. To the Wardrobe, and found my young Lord very ill, so my Lady intends to send her other three sons, Sidney, Oliver, and John, to my house, for fear of the small-pox. After dinner I went to my father's, and Pall being there I spoke to my father about my intention not to keep her longer for such and such reasons, which troubled him and me also, and had like to have come to some high words between my mother and me, who is become a very simple woman. Home, and there found my Lady's three sons come, of which I am glad that I am in condition to do her and my Lord any service in this kind; but my mind is yet very much troubled about my Lord of Sandwich's health.

14th. This morning Sir W. Batten and Sir W. Pen and I waited upon the Duke of York in his chamber, to give him an account of the condition of the Navy for lack of money, and how our own very bills are offered upon the Exchange, to be sold at 20 in the 100 loss. He is much troubled at it, and will speak to the King and Council of it this morning. So I went to my Lady's and dined with her, and found my Lord Hinchinbroke somewhat better. At home, I found a letter from Mr. Creed of the 15th of July last, that tells me that my Lord is rid of his pain (which was wind got

into the muscles of his right side) and his fever, and is now in hopes to go abroad in a day or two, which do give me mighty great comfort.

15th. Walked to the Wardrobe, and dined with my Lady, and there told her of my Lord's sickness (of which, though it hath been the town-talk this fortnight, she had heard nothing), and recovery, of which she was glad, though hardly persuaded of the latter. I found my Lord Hinchinbroke better and better, and the worst past. Thence to the Opera, which begins again today with 'The Wits,'<sup>1</sup> never acted yet with scenes; and the King and Duke and Duchess were there, who dined today with Sir H. Finch, reader at the Temple, in great state; and indeed it is a most excellent play, and admirable scenes.

16th. At the office all the morning, though little to do because all our clerks are gone to the burial of Tom Whinton, one of the Comptroller's clerks, a very ingenious and a likely young man to live, as any in the Office. But it is such a sickly time both in the City and country everywhere (of a sort of fever), that never was heard of almost, unless it was in a plague-time. Among others, the famous Tom Fuller is dead of it; and Dr. Nichols,<sup>2</sup> Dean of Paul's; and my Lord General Monk is very dangerously ill. Dined at home with the children, and were merry. I understand my aunt Fenner is upon the point of death.

17th. At the Privy Seal, where we had a seal this morning. Then met with Ned Pickering, and walked with him into St. James's Park, where I had not been a great while, and there found great and very noble alterations. And, in our discourse, he was very forward to complain and to speak loud of the lewdness and beggary of the Court, which I am sorry to hear, and which I am afraid will bring all to ruin again. I to the Opera, and saw 'The Wits' again, which I like exceedingly. The Queen of Bohemia was here, brought by my Lord Craven.<sup>3</sup> Troubled in mind that I cannot bring myself to mind my business, but to be so much in love of plays.

18th. (Lord's day.) After dinner I took my wife and Mr. Sidney

<sup>1</sup> A comedy by Sir W. Davenant.

<sup>2</sup> Matthew Nicholas, D.D., installed Dean of St. Paul's, July 1660: ob. 14th August 1661. He was brother to Sir Edward Nicholas, Secretary of State.

<sup>3</sup> William, first Earl of Craven, a privy councillor, and colonel of the Coldstream Guards; supposed to be married to the Queen of Bohemia: ob. 1697, aged ninety-one.

to my Lady to see my Lord Hinchinbroke, who is now pretty well again, and sits up and walks about his chamber. So I went to White Hall, and there hear that my Lord General Monk continues very ill; so I went to la belle Pierce and sat with her; and then to walk in St. James's Park, and saw a great variety of fowl which I never saw before. At night fell to read in Hooker's 'Ecclesiastical Polity,' which Mr. Moore did give me last Wednesday very handsomely bound; and which I shall read with great pains and love for his sake.

19th. I am sent for to the Privy Seal, and there I found a thing of my Lord Chancellor's<sup>1</sup> to be sealed this afternoon, and so I am forced to go to Worcester House, where several Lords are met in Council this afternoon. And while I am waiting there in comes the King in a plain cotton riding-suit and velvet cap, in which he seemed a very ordinary man to one that had not known him. Home, and there I found that my Lady do keep the children at home, and lets them not come any more hither at present, which a little troubles me to lose their company. This day my aunt Fenner died.

20th. This day we come to some agreement with Sir R. Ford for his house to be added to the office to enlarge our quarters.

21st. I understand by Mr. Moore that my Lady Sandwich is brought to bed yesterday of a young Lady, and is very well. We went to Mrs. Terry, a daughter of Mr. Whately's, who lately offered a proposal of her sister for a wife for my brother Tom; and so to Mrs. Whately's, and there were well received, and she desirous to have the thing go forward, only is afraid that her daughter is too young, and portion not big enough, but offers £200 down with her. The girl is very well favoured, and a very child, but modest, and one I think will do very well for my brother: so parted till she hears from Hatfield from her husband, who is there; but I find them very desirous of it, and so am I. To the Wardrobe, where I supped with the ladies,<sup>2</sup> and hear their mother is well, and the young child.

22d. To the Privy Seal, and sealed; so home at noon, and there took my wife by coach to my uncle Fenner's, where there was both at his house and the Sessions great deal of company, but poor

<sup>1</sup> This 'thing' was probably one of those three grants which Clarendon quietly, or, as he himself says, 'without noise or scandal,' procured from the king.

<sup>2</sup> Montagu.

entertainment, which I wonder at; and the house so hot, that my uncle Wight, my father, and I were fain to go out and stay at an alehouse awhile to cool ourselves. Then back again and to church — my father's family being all in mourning, doing him the greatest honour, the world believing that he did give us it: so to church, and stayed out the sermon.

23d. To W. Joyce's, where by appointment my wife was, and I took her to the Opera, and showed her 'The Wits,' which I had seen already twice, and was most highly pleased with it.

24th. Called to Sir W. Batten's, to see the strange creature that Captain Holmes hath brought with him from Guinea; it is a great baboon, but so much like a man in most things, that, though they say there is a species of them, yet I cannot believe but that it is a monster got of a man and she-baboon. I do believe that it already understands much English, and I am of the mind that it might be taught to speak or make signs. To the Opera, and there saw 'Hamlet, Prince of Denmark,' done with scenes very well, but above all, Betterton did the Prince's part beyond imagination.

25th. (Lord's day.) At church in the morning, and dined at home with my wife very comfortably, and so again to church with her, and had a very good and pungent sermon of Mr. Mills, discoursing the necessity of restitution. Home; found my Lady Batten and her daughter to look something askew upon my wife, because my wife do not buckle to them, and is not solicitous for their acquaintance, which I am not troubled at at all. By and by comes in my father, and he and I among other discourse at last called Pall up to us, and there in great anger I told her before my father that I would keep her no longer, and my father he said he would have nothing to do with her. At last, after we had brought down her high spirit, I got my father to yield that she should go into the country with my mother and him, and stay there awhile to see how she will demean herself.

26th. This morning before I went out I made even with my maid Jane, who has this day been my maid three years, and is this day to go into the country to her mother. The poor girl cried, and I could hardly forbear weeping to think of her going, for though she be grown lazy and spoilt by Pall's coming, yet I shall never have one to please us better in all things, and so harmless, while I live. So I paid her her wages and gave her 2s. 6d. over, and bade her adieu, with my mind full of trouble at her going. Casting up my father's accounts, and upon the whole I find that

all he hath in money of his own due to him in the world is £45, and he owes about the same sum: so that I cannot but think in what a condition he had left my mother if he should have died before my uncle Robert. Thence to the Theatre, and saw 'The Antipodes,'<sup>1</sup> wherein there is much mirth, but no great matter else. I found a letter from my Lord Sandwich, who is now very well again of his fever, but not yet gone from Alicante, where he lay sick and was twice let blood. This letter dated the 22nd of July last, which puts me out of doubt of his being ill.

27th. This morning to the Wardrobe, and there took leave of my Lord Hinchinbroke and his brother, and saw them go out by coach toward Rye in their way to France, whom God bless. Then I was called up to my Lady's bedside, where we talked an hour about Mr. Edward Montagu's disposing of the £5000 for my Lord's preparation for Portugal, and our fears that he will not do it to my Lord's honour, and less to his profit, which I am to enquire a little after. My wife and I to the Theatre, and there saw the 'Jovial Crew,' where the King, Duke and Duchess, and Madame Palmer, were; and my wife, to her great content, had a full sight of them all the while. The play full of mirth.

28th. This day, I counterfeited a letter to Sir W. Pen, as from the thief that stole his tankard lately, only to abuse and laugh at him.

29th. My father, mother, and my aunt Bell come to dine with me, and we were very merry. Mr. Evans, the tailor, whose daughter we have a mind to get for a wife for Tom, told us that he hath not to except against us or our motion, but that the estate that God hath blessed him with is too great to give where there is nothing in present possession but a trade and house; and so we friendly ended.

30th. My wife and I to Drury Lane to the French comedy, which was so ill done, and the scenes and company and everything else so nasty and out of order and poor, that I was sick all the while in my mind to be there. Here my wife met with a son of my Lord Somerset,<sup>2</sup> whom she knew in France, a pretty man, but I showed him no great countenance, to avoid further acquaintance.

<sup>1</sup> A comedy by Richard Brome.

<sup>2</sup> John Lord Somerset, second son of the first Marquis of Worcester, had himself three sons, Henry, Thomas, and Charles, but it is uncertain which is here meant. There was no other Lord Somerset to whom the passage could apply. It was probably Thomas, as the other brothers were married.



That done, there being nothing pleasant but the foolery of the farce, we went home.

31st. Luellin and I to Bartholomew Fair, and there upon his motion to a pitiful alehouse, and then I back again to the fair all alone, and there met with my Ladies Jemimah and Paulina, with Mr. Pickering and Mademoiselle,<sup>1</sup> at seeing the monkeys dance, which was much to see, when they could be brought to do so, but it troubled me to sit among such nasty company. After that, with them into Christ's Hospital, and there Mr. Pickering bought them some fairings, and I did give every one of them a bauble, which was the little globes of glass with things hanging in them, which pleased the ladies very well. After that, home with them in their coach, and there was called up to my Lady, and she would have me stay to talk with her, which I did, I think, a full hour. And the poor lady did with so much innocency tell me how Mrs. Crisp had told her that she did intend, by means of a lady that lies at her house, to get the King to be godfather to the young lady that she is in child-bed now of; but to see in what manner my Lady told it me, protesting that she sweat in the very telling of it, was the greatest pleasure to me in the world to see the simplicity and harmlessness of a lady.

Thus ends the month. My maid Jane newly gone, and Pall left now to do all the work till another maid comes, which shall not be till she goes away into the country with my mother. I find myself lately too much given to seeing of plays, and expense, and pleasure, which makes me forget my business, which I must labour to amend. No money comes in, so that I have been forced to borrow a great deal for my own expenses, and to furnish my father, to leave things in order. I have some trouble about my brother Tom, who is now left to keep my father's trade, in which I have great fears that he will miscarry for want of brains and care. At Court things are in very ill condition, there being so much emulation, poverty, and the vices of drinking, swearing, and loose amours, that I know not what will be the end of it, but confusion. And the Clergy so high, that all people that I meet with do protest against their practice. In short, I see no content or satisfaction anywhere, in any one sort of people. The Benevolence<sup>2</sup> proves so little, and an occasion of so much discontent everywhere, that

<sup>1</sup> The young ladies' governess.

<sup>2</sup> A voluntary contribution made by the subjects to their sovereign. Upon this occasion the clergy alone gave £33,743.

it had better it had never been set up. I think to subscribe £20. We are at our office quiet, only for lack of money all things go to rack. Our very bills offered to be sold upon the Exchange at 10 per cent. loss. We are upon getting Sir R. Ford's house added to our office; but I see so many difficulties will follow in pleasing of one another in the dividing of it, and in becoming bound personally to pay the rent of £200 per annum, that I do believe it will yet scarce come to pass. The season very sickly everywhere of strange and fatal fevers.

September 1st. (Lord's day.) Last night being very rainy, [the water] broke into my house, the gutter being stopped, and spoiled all my ceilings almost. At church in the morning. After dinner to Sir W. Batten's, and we were very merry with Sir W. Pen about the loss of his tankard, though all be but a cheat, and he do not yet understand it; but the tankard was stole by Sir W. Batten, and the letter, as from the thief, wrote by me, which makes very good sport. Captain Holmes and I by coach to White Hall; in our way, I found him by discourse to be a great friend of my Lord's, and he told me there was a many did seek to remove him; but they were old seamen, such as Sir J. Minnes,<sup>1</sup> but he would name no more, though he do believe Sir W. Batten is one of them that do envy him, but he says he knows that the King do so love him, and the Duke of York too, that there is no fear of him. He seems to be very well acquainted with the King's mind, and with all the several factions at Court, and spoke all with so much frankness, that I do take him to be my Lord's good friend, and one able to do him great service, being a cunning fellow and one, by his own confession to me, that can put on two several faces, and look his enemies in the face with as much love as his friends. But, good God! what an age is this, and what a world is this! that a man cannot live without playing the knave and dissimulation.

2d. Mr. Pickering and I to Westminster Hall, and there walked

<sup>1</sup> John Mennes, or Minnes, born at Sandwich in 1599, educated at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, became afterwards a great traveller and noted seaman: he held a place in the Navy Office during the reigns of the two elder Stuarts, and was knighted at Dover in 1642 by Charles I. Adhering to the royal cause, he was, after the Restoration, appointed Governor of Dover Castle, and commanded the *Henry*, as a vice-admiral, in the fleet that brought Catherine of Braganza to England. Subsequently he was made Comptroller of the Navy, which office he retained till his death in 1671. He is buried in the church of St. Olave, Hart Street.

an hour or two talking, and, though he be a fool, yet he keeps much company, and will tell all he sees or hears, and so a man may understand what the common talk of the town is. And I find by him that there are endeavours to get my Lord out of play at sea, which I believe Mr. Coventry and the Duke do think will make them more absolute; but I hope, for all this, they will not be able to do it. My wife tells me that she met at Change with my young ladies of the Wardrobe, and there helped them to buy things, and also with Mr. Somerset, who did give her a bracelet of rings, which did a little trouble me, though I know there is no hurt in it, but only for fear of further acquaintance. This night I sent another letter to Sir W. Pen to offer him the return of his tankard upon his leaving of 30s. at a place where it should be brought.

3d. Dined at home, and then with my wife to the Wardrobe, where my Lady's child was christened (my Lord Crewe and his lady, and my Lady Montagu, my Lord's mother-in-law, were the witnesses), and named Catherine,<sup>1</sup> the Queen elect's name; but to my and all our trouble, the Parson of the parish christened her, and did not sign the child with the sign of the cross. After that was done, we had a very fine banquet.

4th. My wife came to me to White Hall, and we went and walked a good while in St. James's Park to see the brave alterations.

5th. To the Privy Seal this morning about business, in my way taking leave of my mother, who goes to Brampton to-day. But doing my business pretty soon, I took boat and went to my uncle Fenner's, and there I found my mother and my wife and Pall (of whom I had this morning at my own house taken leave, and given her 20s. and good counsel how to carry herself to my father and mother), and so I took them and put them into the waggon, and saw them going presently. To my uncle Fenner's to dinner, in the way meeting a French footman<sup>2</sup> with feathers, who was in quest of my wife, and spoke with her privately, but I could not tell what it was, only my wife promised to go to some place tomorrow morning, which do trouble my mind how to know whither it was. My wife and I to the fair, and I showed her

<sup>1</sup> Lady Catherine Montagu, youngest daughter of Lord Sandwich, married first Nicholas Bacon, eldest son and heir of Sir Nicholas Bacon, K.B., of Shrubland Hall, county Suffolk; and, secondly, the Rev. Balthazar Gardeman. She died 15th January 1758, *æt.* 96 years 4 months. M. I.

<sup>2</sup> Apparently a servant of Mr. Somerset's.

the Italians dancing the ropes, and the women that do strange tumbling tricks.

6th. My wife held her resolution to go this morning, as she resolved yesterday, and though there could not be much hurt in it, yet my own jealousy put a hundred things into my mind, which did much trouble me all day. To dinner all alone, and thence, my mind being for my wife's going abroad much troubled and unfit for business, I went to the theatre, and saw 'Elder Brother' ill acted; that done, meeting here with Sir G. Askew, Sir Theophilus Jones,<sup>1</sup> and another knight, with Sir W. Pen, we to the Ship tavern, and there stayed and were merry till late at night, and so got a coach and Sir William and I home, where my wife had been long come home, but I seemed very angry, as indeed I am, and did not all night show her any countenance, and so slept and rose discontented.

7th. Having appointed the young ladies at the Wardrobe<sup>2</sup> to go with them to the play today, my wife and I took them to the Theatre, where we seated ourselves close by the King and Duke of York and Madame Palmer, which was great content; and, indeed, I can never enough admire her beauty. And here was 'Bartholomew Fair,' with the puppet-show, acted today, which had not been these forty years, it being so satirical against Puritanism, they durst not till now, which is strange they should already dare to do it, and the King do countenance it, but I do never a whit like it the better for the puppets, but rather the worse. Thence home with the ladies, it being by reason of our staying a great while for the King's coming, and the length of the play, near nine o'clock before it was done.

8th. (Lord's day.) To church, and coming home again, found our new maid Doll asleep, that she could not hear to let us in, so that we were fain to send the boy in at a window to open the door to us. So up to my chamber all alone, and troubled in mind to think how much of late I have addicted myself to expense and pleasure, that now I can hardly reclaim myself. I pray God give me grace to begin now to look after my business, but it always was, and I fear it will ever be, my foible that after I am once got behindhand with business, I am hard to set to it again to recover it. In the evening I began to look over my accounts, and, upon the

<sup>1</sup> Sir Theophilus Jones had represented the county of Dublin in Parliament, and served as a colonel in the Commonwealth army.

<sup>2</sup> Lord Sandwich's family of daughters.

whole, I do find myself, by what I can yet see, worth near £600, for which God be blessed.

9th. I went with Captain Morrice into the King's Privy Kitchen to Mr. Sayers, the Master Cook, and there we had a good slice of beef or two to our breakfast; and from thence he took us into the wine-cellar where, by my troth, we were very merry, and I drank so much wine that I was not fit for business. Therefore at noon I went and walked in Westminster Hall awhile, and thence to Salisbury Court playhouse, where was acted the first time, 'Tis pity she's a Whore,'<sup>1</sup> a simple play, and ill acted, only it was my fortune to sit by a most pretty and most ingenious lady, which pleased me much. To the Dolphin, to drink the 30s. that we got the other day of Sir W. Pen about his tankard. Here was Sir R. Slingsby, Holmes, Captain Allen, Mr. Turner, his wife and daughter, my Lady Batten, and Mrs. Martha, &c., and an excellent company of fiddlers; so we exceeding merry till late; and then we begun to tell Sir W. Pen the business, but he had been drinking to-day, and so is almost gone, that we could not make him understand it, which caused us more sport.

10th. To the Wardrobe to see my Lady, and after supper with the young ladies, bought a link and carried it myself till I met one that would light me home for the link. So he light me home with his own, and then I did give him mine.

11th. To Dr. Williams, who did carry me into his garden, where he hath abundance of grapes: and he did show me how a dog that he hath do kill all the cats that come thither to kill his pigeons, and do afterwards bury them; and do it with so much care that they shall be quite covered; that if but the tip of the tail hangs out, he will take up the cat again, and dig the hole deeper, which is very strange; and he tells me, that he do believe that he hath killed above 100 cats. Home to my house to dinner, where I found my wife's brother Balty,<sup>2</sup> as fine as hands could make him, and his servant, a Frenchman, to wait on him, and come to have my wife visit a young lady which he is a servant to, and have hope to trepan and get for his wife. I did give way for my wife to go with him. Walking through Lincoln's Inn Fields, observed at the Opera a new play, 'Twelfth Night,' was acted there, and the King there: so I, against my own mind and resolution, could not forbear to go in, which did make the play seem a burthen to me; and I took no pleasure at all in it: and so, after it was done, went home with my

<sup>1</sup> A tragedy by John Ford.

<sup>2</sup> Balthazar St. Michel.

mind troubled for my going thither, after my swearing to my wife that I would never go to a play without her. My wife was with her brother to see his mistress today, and says she is young, rich, and handsome, but not likely for him to get.

12th. To my Lady's to dinner at the Wardrobe; and in my way upon the Thames I saw the King's new pleasure-boat that is come now for the King to take pleasure in above bridge, and also two Gundaloes,<sup>1</sup> that are lately brought, which are very rich and fine. Called at Sir W. Batten's, and there hear that Sir W. Pen do take our jest of the tankard very ill, which I am sorry for.

13th. This morning I was sent for by my uncle Fenner to come and advise about the burial of my aunt,<sup>2</sup> the butcher, who died yesterday. To the Wardrobe, where I found my wife, and thence she and I to the water to spend the afternoon in pleasure, and so we went to old George's, and there eat as much as we would of a hot shoulder of mutton, and so to boat again and home.

14th. Before we had dined comes Sir R. Slingsby and his lady and a great deal of company, to take my wife and I out by barge, to show them the King's and Duke's yachts. We had great pleasure, seeing all four yachts, viz., these two, and the two Dutch ones.

15th. (Lord's day.) To my aunt Kite's in the morning, to help my uncle Fenner to put things in order against anon for the burial. After dinner to church, my wife and I, and after sermon, with my wife to the burial of my aunt Kite, where, besides us and my uncle Fenner's family, there was none of any quality, but poor rascally people. So we went to church with the corpse, and there had service read at the grave, and back again with Pegg Kite, who will be, I doubt, a troublesome carrion to us executors, but if she will not be ruled I shall fling up my executorship.

16th. Word was brought me from my brother's, that there is a fellow come from my father out of the country, on purpose to speak with me, and he made a story how he had lost his letter, but he was sure it was for me to come into the country, which I believed, but I afterwards found that it was a rogue that did use to play such tricks to get money of people, but he got none of me.

<sup>1</sup> 'Two long boats that were made in Venice, called gondolas, were by the Duke of Venice (Domenico Contarini), presented to His Majesty, and the attending watermen, being four, were in very rich clothes, crimson satin; very big were their breeches and doublets; they wore also very large shirts of the same satin, very richly laced.'—Rugge's *Diurnal*.

<sup>2</sup> Mrs. Kite.

Letters from my father informing me of the Court,<sup>1</sup> and that I must come down and meet him at Impington, which I presently resolved to do.

17th. Got up, telling my wife of my journey, and she with a few words got me to hire her a horse to go along with me. So I went to my Lady's and elsewhere to take leave, and of Mr. Townsend did borrow a very fine side-saddle for my wife, and so, after all things were ready, she and I took coach to the end of the town towards Kingsland, and there got upon my horse, and she upon her pretty mare that I hired her, and she rides very well. By the mare at one time falling, she got a fall, but no harm; so we got to Ware, and there supped, and to bed very merry and pleasant.

18th. Up early, and begun our march; the way about Puckridge very bad, and my wife, in the very last dirty place of all, got a fall, but no hurt, though some dirt. At last, she begun, poor wretch, to be tired, and I to be angry at it, but I was to blame; for she is a very good companion as long as she is well. In the afternoon, we got to Cambridge, where I left my wife at my cousin Angier's, while I went to Christ's College, and there found my brother in his chamber, and talked with him, and so to the barber's and then to my wife again, and remounted for Impington, where my uncle received me and my wife very kindly.

19th. Up early, and my father and I alone talked about our business, and then we all horsed away to Cambridge, where my father and I, having left my wife at the Bear with my brother, went to Mr. Sedgwick, the steward of Graveley, and there talked with him, but could get little hopes from anything that he would tell us; but at last I did give him a fee, and then he was free to tell me what I asked, which was something, though not much comfort. From thence to our horses, and, with my wife, went and rode through Sturbridge Fair, but the fair was almost done. Set out for Brampton, where we come in very good time.

20th. Will Stankes and I set out in the morning betimes for Graveley, where to an alehouse and drank, and then, going to the Court House, met my uncle Thomas and his son Thomas, with Bradley, the rogue that had betrayed us, and one Young, a cunning fellow, who guides them. I said little, till by and by that we come

<sup>1</sup> The manorial court of Graveley, in Huntingdon, to which Impington owed suit or service, and under which the Pepyses' copyhold estates were held.

to the Court, which was a simple meeting of a company of country rogues, with the Steward, and two Fellows of Jesus College, that are lords of the town where the jury were sworn; and I producing no surrender, though I told them I was sure there is and must be one somewhere, they found my uncle Thomas heir at law,<sup>1</sup> as he is; and so my uncle was admitted, and his son also in reversion. The uncle paid a year and a half for his fine, and the son half a year, in all, £48, besides about £3 fees; so that I do believe the charges of his journeys, and what he gives those two rogues, and other expenses herein, cannot be less than £70, which will be a sad thing for him, if a surrender be found. After all was done, I openly wished them joy in it.

21st. After dinner (there coming this morning my aunt Hanes and her son from London, that is to live with my father), I rode to Huntingdon, and so to Hinchinbroke, where Mr. Barnwell showed me the condition of the house, which is yet very backward, and I fear will be very dark in the cloister when it is done.

22d. (Lord's day.) To church, where we had common prayer, and a dull sermon by one Mr. Case, who yet I heard sing very well.

23d. Up, and sad to hear my father and mother wrangle as they used to do in London, of which I took notice to both, and told them that I should give over care for anything unless they would spend what they have with more love and quiet. We took horse, and got early to Baldwick, where there was a fair, and we put in, and eat a mouthful of pork, which they made us pay 14d. for, which vexed us much. And so away to Stevenage, and stayed till a shower was over, and so rode easily to Welling, where we supped well, and had two beds in the room, and so lay single, and still remember it that of all the nights that ever I slept in my life I never did pass a night with more epicurism of sleep; there being now and then a noise of people stirring that waked me, and then I was a little weary, that what between waking and then sleeping again, one after another, I never had so much content in all my life, and so my wife says it was with her.

24th. We rose, and set forth, but found a most sad alteration in the road, by reason of last night's rains, they being now all dirty and washy, though not deep. So we rode easily through, and only drinking at Holloway, at the sign of a woman with cakes in one hand, and a pot of ale in the other,<sup>2</sup> which did give good

<sup>1</sup> To Robert Pepys, of Brampton.

<sup>2</sup> Probably the original of the well-known Mother Red-cap.



occasion of mirth, resembling her to the maid that served us, we got home very timely and well, and finding there all well, and letters from sea, that speak of my Lord's being well; and his Action, though not considerable of any side, at Algiers.

25th. Sir W. Pen told me that I need not fear any reflection upon my Lord for their ill success at Algiers, for more could not be done than was done. Meeting Sir R. Slingsby in St. Martin's Lane, he and I in his coach through the Mews, which is the way that now all coaches are forced to go, because of a stop at Charing Cross, by reason of digging of a drain there to clear the streets. To my Lord Crewe's, and dined with him, where I was used with all imaginable kindness both from him and her. And I see that he is afraid my Lord's reputation will a little suffer in common talk by this late success; but there is no help for it now. The Queen of England, as she is now owned and called, I hear doth keep open court and distinct at Lisbon. To the Theatre, and saw 'The Merry Wives of Windsor' ill done.

26th. With my wife by coach to the Theatre, to show her 'King and no King,' it being very well done.

27th. At noon met my wife at the Wardrobe; and there dined, where we found Captain Country,<sup>1</sup> my little Captain, that I loved, who carried me to the Sound, with some grapes and melons from my Lord at Lisbon, the first that ever I saw; but the grapes are rare things. In the afternoon comes Mr. Edward Montagu, by appointment this morning, to talk with my Lady and me about the provisions fit to be bought and sent to my Lord along with him. And told us, that we need not trouble ourselves how to buy them, for the King would pay for all, and that he would take care to get them: which put my Lady and me into a great deal of ease of mind. Here we stayed and supped too; and, after my wife had put up some of the grapes in a basket for to be sent to the King, we took coach and home, where we found a hamper of melons sent to me also.

28th. Sir W. Pen and his daughter, and I and my wife to the Theatre, and there saw 'Father's own Son,'<sup>2</sup> a very good play, and the first time I ever saw it.

29th. (Lord's day.) To Sir W. Pen's and there supped, and what

<sup>1</sup> Richard Country, captain of the *Hind*, in the fleet at Scheveling.

<sup>2</sup> The only mention of this play occurs in an enumeration of plays belonging to Will. Beeston, as Governor of the Cockpit, in Drury Lane. This list is dated 10th August 1639.—See Collier's *Annals of the Stage*, ii. 92.

at dinner and supper I drink, I know not how, of my own accord, so much wine that I was even almost foxed, and my head ached all night. So home and to bed without prayers (which I never did yet, since I came to the house, of a Sunday night), I being now so out of order that I durst not read prayers, for fear of being perceived by my servants in what case I was.

30th. This morning up by moonshine, at five o'clock, to White Hall, to meet Mr. Moore at the Privy Seal, and there I heard of a fray between the two Ambassadors of Spain<sup>1</sup> and France;<sup>2</sup> and that, this day, being the day of the entrance of an Ambassador from Sweden,<sup>3</sup> they intended to fight for the precedence. Our King, I heard, ordered that no Englishman should meddle in the business, but let them do what they would. And to that end all the soldiers in the town were in arms all the day long, and some of the train-bands in the City; and a great bustle through the City all the day. Then we took coach, which was the business I come for, to Chelsea, to my Lord Privy Seal, and there got him to seal the business. Here I saw by daylight two very fine pictures in the gallery, that a little while ago I saw by night; and did also go all over the house, and found it to be the prettiest contrived house that ever I saw in my life. So back again; and at White Hall 'light, and saw the soldiers and people running up and down the streets. So I went to the Spanish Ambassador's and the French, and there saw great preparations on both sides; but the French made the most noise and vaunted most, but the other made no stir almost at all; so that I was afraid the other would have had too great a conquest over them. Then to the Wardrobe, and dined there, and then abroad and in Cheapside hear that the Spanish hath got the best of it, and killed three of the French coach-horses and several men, and is gone through the City next to our King's coach; at which it is strange to see how all the City did rejoice. And indeed we do naturally all love the Spanish and hate the French. But I, as I am in all things curious, presently got to the water-side, and there took oars to Westminster Palace, thinking to have seen them come in thither with all the coaches; but they being come and returned, I ran after them with my boy after me through all the dirt and the

<sup>1</sup> The Baron de Batteville.

<sup>2</sup> Godefroi d'Estrades, Marshal of France and Viceroy of America. He proved himself, upon many occasions, an able diplomatist, and particularly at the conferences of Nimeguen, when acting as ambassador in 1673. *Ob.* 1686, *at. sua* 79.

<sup>3</sup> The Count Brahé.

streets full of people, till at last, at the Mews, I saw the Spanish coach go, with fifty drawn swords at least to guard it, and our soldiers shouting for joy. And so I followed the coach, and then met it at York House, where the Ambassador lies; and there it went in with great state. So then I went to the French house, where I observe still that there is no men in the world of a more insolent spirit where they do well, nor before they begin a matter, and more abject if they do miscarry, than these people are; for they all look like dead men, and not a word among them, but shake their heads. The truth is, the Spaniards were not only observed to fight most desperately, but also they did outwit them: first, in lining their own harness with chains of iron that they could not be cut; then in setting their coach in the most advantageous place, and to appoint men to guard every one of their horses, and others for to guard the coach, and others the coachmen; and, above all, in setting upon the French horses and killing them, for by that means the French were not able to stir. There were several men slain of the French, and one or two of the Spaniards, and one Englishman by a bullet. Which is very observable, the French were at least four to one in number, and had near 100 cases of pistols among them, and the Spaniards had not one gun among them; which is for their honour for ever and the others' disgrace. So, having been very much daubed with dirt, I got a coach, and home; where I vexed my wife in telling of her this story, and pleading for the Spaniards against the French. So ends this month; myself and family in good condition of health, but my head full of my Lord's and my own and the office business; where we are now very busy about sending forces to Tangier, and the fleet of my Lord of Sandwich, who is now at Lisbon to bring over the Queen. The business of Algiers hath of late troubled me, because my Lord hath not done what he went for, though he did as much as any man in the world could have done. The want of money puts all things, and above all the Navy, out of order; and yet I do not see that the King takes care to bring in any money, but thinks of new designs to lay out money.

October 1st. This morning my wife and I lay long in bed, and among other things fell into talk of music, and desired that I would let her learn to sing, which I did consider, and promised her she should.

2d. We went to the Theatre, but coming late, and sitting in an ill place, I never had so little pleasure in a play in my life, yet it was

the first time that I ever saw it—'Victoria Corombona.'<sup>1</sup> Me-thinks, a very poor play.

3rd. Called at Sir W. Batten's, where his son and his wife were, who had yesterday been at the play where we were; and it was good sport to hear how she talked of it with admiration like a fool.

4th. By coach to White Hall with Sir W. Pen. So to Mr. Montagu, where his man, Monsieur Eschar, makes a great complaint against the English, that they did help the Spaniards against the French the other day; and that their Ambassador do demand justice of our King, and that he do resolve to be gone for France the next week; which I, and all that I met with, are very glad of. I found my wife vexed at her people for grumbling to eat Suffolk cheese, which I also am vexed at.<sup>2</sup>

5th. At the office all the morning, then dined at home, and so all the afternoon putting up my Lord's model of the Royal James, which I borrowed of him long ago to hang in my room. And at night Sir W. Pen and I alone to the Dolphin, and there eat some bloat-herrings and drank good sack.

6th. (Lord's day.) To church in the morning: Mr. Mills preached, who, I expect, should take in snuff that my wife did not come to his child's christening the other day. The winter coming on, many of the parish ladies are come home, and appear at church again: among others the three sisters of the Thornburys, very fine, and the most zealous people that ever I saw in my life, even to admiration, if it were true zeal. There was also my pretty black girl, Mrs. Dekins, and Mrs. Margaret Pen, this day come to church in a new flowered satin suit that my wife helped to buy her the other day. To church in the afternoon to St. Gregory's by Paul's, where I heard a good sermon of Dr. Buck's,<sup>3</sup> one I never heard before. A very able man.

7th. Troubled in my mind till I can hear from Brampton how

<sup>1</sup> *The White Devil; or, the Life and Death of Vittoria Corombona, the famous Venetian Courtesan*, by John Webster.

<sup>2</sup> This prejudice extended to the days of Pope, whose country mouse entertained his courtly guest with

'Cheese such as men in Suffolk make,  
But wished it Stilton for his sake.'

*Imitations of Horace*, Bk. ii, Sat. 6.

See also Shadwell's *Works*, vol. iv, p. 350.

<sup>3</sup> James Buck, afterwards preacher at the Temple, a man of great learning, and rector of St. James's Garlickhithe, from 1661 till his death, at an advanced age, in 1685.

things go on at Sturtlow, at the Court, which I was cleared in at night by a letter, which tells me that my cousin Tom was there to be admitted in his father's name as heir-at-law; but that was opposed, and I was admitted by proxy, which puts me out of a great trouble of mind.

8th. After office done went and eat some Colchester oysters with Sir W. Batten at his house, and there, with some company, dined, and stayed there talking all the afternoon; and late after dinner took Mrs. Martha out by coach, and carried her to the Theatre in a frolic, to my great expense, and there showed her part of the 'Beggar's Bush,' without much pleasure, and so home again.

9th. Thinking to go with Sir Williams both to dinner, by invitation, to Sir W. Rider's,<sup>1</sup> at home I found Mrs. Pierce, la belle, and Madam Clifford, with whom I was forced to stay, and made them the most welcome I could; and I was (God knows) very well pleased with their beautiful company. Frank Bagge tells me a story of Mrs. Pepys, that lived with my Lady Harvey, Mr. Montagu's sister, a good woman: that she had been very ill, and often asked for me; that she is in good condition, and that nobody could get her to make her will; and that now she is well she desires to have a chamber at my house. Now, I do not know whether this is a trick of Bagge's, or a good will of hers to do something for me; but I will not trust her, but told him I should be glad to see her, and that I would be sure to do all that I could to provide a place for her.

10th. Sir W. Pen and my wife and I to the Theatre, where the King came today, and there was 'The Traitor,'<sup>2</sup> most admirably acted; and a most excellent play it is. So home, and intending to be merry, it being my sixth wedding [anniversary]; but by a late bruise I am in so much pain that I eat my supper, and in pain to bed, yet my wife and I pretty merry.

11th. All day in bed.

12th. In bed the greatest part of this day also.

13th. (Lord's day.) This day left off half-skirts, and put on a waistcoat, and my false tabby waistcoat with gold lace.

14th. To Mr. Pim's, my Lord's tailor's, and there he went out with us to the Fountain tavern, and it being the Duke of York's birthday, we drank the more to his health.

15th. At the office all the morning, and in the afternoon to

<sup>1</sup> At Bethnal Green.

<sup>2</sup> A tragedy by James Shirley.

Paul's Church-yard to a blind place, where Mrs. Goldsborough was to meet me to treat about the difference which remains between my uncle and her. But, Lord! to hear how she talks and how she rails against my uncle would make one mad. But I seemed not to be troubled at it.

16th. This morning came several maids to my wife to be hired, and at last she pitched upon one Nell, whose mother, an old woman, came along with her, but would not be hired under half a year, which I am pleased at their drollness. Dined upon a fin of ling and some sounds, neither of which did I ever know before, but most excellent meat they are both, that in all my life I never eat the like fish.

17th. Captain Cocke, a man of great observation and repute, did tell me that he was confident that the Parliament, when it comes the next month to sit again, would bring trouble with it and enquire how the King had disposed of offices and money, before they will raise more; which, I fear, will bring all things to ruin again. Dined with Captain Lambert and his father-in-law, and had much talk of Portugal, from whence he is lately come; and he tells me it is a very poor dirty place—I mean the City and Court of Lisbon;—that the King is a very rude and simple fellow, and, for reviling of somebody a little while ago, had been killed, had he not told them that he was their King; that there are no glass windows nor will they have any, which makes sport among our merchants there to talk of an English factor that, being newly come thither, writ into England that glass would be a good commodity to send thither, &c.; that the King has his meat sent up by a dozen of lazy guards and in pipkins, sometimes, to his own table, and sometimes nothing but fruits, and now and then half a hen; and that now the Infanta is become our Queen, she is come to have a whole hen or goose to her table.

18th. To White Hall, to Mr. Montagu's, where I met with Mr. Pierce, the purser, to advise about the things to be sent to my Lord for the Queen's provision, now there is all haste made for the fleet's going. I met with complaints at home that my wife left no victuals for them all this day.

19th. At the office all morning, and at noon Mr. Coventry, who sat with us all the morning, and Sir G. Carteret, Sir W. Pen, and myself by coach to Captain Marsh's at Limehouse, to a house that hath been their ancestors' for this 250 years, close by the lime-house, which gives the name to the place. Here they have a design

to get the King to hire a dock for the herring busses, which is now the great design on foot, to lie up in. We had a very good and handsome dinner and excellent wine. I not being neat in clothes, which I find a great fault in me, could not be so merry as otherwise, and at all times I am, and can be, when I am in good habit; which makes me remember my father Osborne's rule for a gentleman, to spare in all things rather than that.

20th. (Lord's day.) Much offended in mind at a proud trick my man Will hath got, to keep his hat on in the house, but I will not speak of it to him today, but I fear I shall be troubled with his pride and laziness, though in other things he is good enough. To church in the afternoon, where a sleepy Presbyter preached, and then to Sir W. Batten, who is to go to Portsmouth tomorrow to wait upon the Duke of York, who goes to take possession, and to set in order the garrison there.

21st. Early with Mr. Moore by coach to Chelsea, to my Lord Privy Seal's; but have missed of coming time enough, and having taken up Mr. Pargiter, the goldsmith, who is the man of the world that I do most know and believe to be a cheating rogue, we drank our morning draught there together of cake and ale, and did make good sport of his losing so much by the King's coming in, he having bought much of Crown lands, of which, God forgive me! I am very glad. To the Opera, which is now newly begun to act again after some alteration of their scene, which do make it very much worse; but the play, 'Love and Honour,'<sup>1</sup> being the first time of their acting it, is a very good plot, and well done.

22d. At the office all the morning, where we had a deputation from the Duke in his absence, he being gone to Portsmouth, for us to have the whole disposal and ordering of the fleet. At night to visit Sir R. Slingsby, who is fallen sick of this new disease, an ague and fever.

23d. To the Opera, and there I saw again 'Love and Honour,' and a very good play it is. This day all our Office is invited against Tuesday next, my Lord Mayor's day, to dinner with him at Guildhall.

24th. Went to see Sir R. Slingsby, who continues ill, and this day has not spoke at all, which makes them all afeard of him.

25th. I did give my man Will a sound lesson about his forbearing to give us the respect due to a master and mistress.

26th. This morning Sir W. Pen and I should have gone out of

<sup>1</sup> A tragi-comedy by Sir W. Davenant, first acted at the Blackfriars.

town with my Lady Batten, to have met Sir William coming back from Portsmouth, at Kingston, but could not, by reason that my Lord of Peterborough,<sup>1</sup> who is to go governor of Tangier,<sup>2</sup> came this morning, with Sir G. Carteret, to advise with us about completing of the affairs and preparations for that place. My wife and I to the Theatre, and there saw 'The Country Captain,' the first time it hath been acted this twenty-five years, a play of my Lord Newcastle's, but so silly a play as in all my life I never saw. News was brought that Sir R. Slingsby, our Comptroller, who hath this day been sick a week, is dead; which put me into so great a trouble of mind, that all the night I could not sleep, he being a man that loved me and had many qualities that made me to love him, above all the officers and commissioners in the Navy.

27th. (Lord's day.) At church in the morning, where in the pew both Sir Williams and I had much talk about the death of Sir Robert, which troubles me much (and them in appearance; though I do not believe it), because I know that he was a check to their engrossing the whole trade of the Navy Office. To church, my wife with me, whose mourning is now grown so old that I am ashamed to go to church with her.

28th. To the Theatre, and there saw 'Argalus and Parthenia,' where a woman acted Parthenia, and came afterwards on the stage in men's clothes, and had the best legs that ever I saw, and I was very well pleased with it. Thence to the Ring salehouse, and thither sent for a belt-maker, and bought of him a handsome belt for second mourning, which cost me 24s. and is very neat.

29th. This day I put on my half cloth black stockings and my new coat of the fashion, which pleases me well, and with my beaver I was, after office was done, ready to go to my Lord Mayor's feast, as we are all invited; but the Sir Williams were both loth to go because of the crowd, and so none of us went. My mind not

<sup>1</sup> Henry Mordaunt, second Earl of Peterborough, a Privy Councillor, and in 1685 made Groom of the Stole. He was also K.G., and died in 1697.

<sup>2</sup> This place, so often mentioned, was first given up to the English fleet under Lord Sandwich, by the Portuguese, 30th January 1662; and Lord Peterborough left governor, with a garrison. The greatest pains were afterwards taken to preserve the fortress, and a fine mole was constructed, at a vast expense, to improve the harbour. At length, after immense sums of money had been wasted there, the House of Commons expressed a dislike to the management of the garrison, which they suspected to be a nursery for a Catholic army, and seemed disinclined to maintain it any longer. The king, consequently, in 1683, sent Lord Dartmouth to bring home the troops and destroy the works. Pepys accompanied the expedition.



pleased, because I had proposed a great deal of pleasure to myself this day at Guildhall. This Lord Mayor, it seems, brings up again the custom of Lord Mayors going the day of their instalment to Paul's, and walking round about the Cross, and offering something at the altar.

30th. In the afternoon Captain Lambert called me out by appointment, and we walked together to Deptford, and there in his ship, the *Norwich*, I got him to show me every hole and corner of the ship, much to my information and the purpose of my going. At Sir W. Batten's heard how he had been already at Sir R. Slingsby's, as we were all invited and I intended this night to go, [to his funeral] and there he finds all things out of order, and no such thing done tonight; but pretending that the corpse stinks, they will bury it tonight privately, and so will unbespeak all their guests, and there shall be no funeral; which I am sorry for, that there should be nothing done for the honour of Sir Robert, but I fear he hath left his family in great distraction. Sir Henry Vane, Lambert, and others are lately sent suddenly away from the Tower, prisoners to Scilly; but I do not think there is any plot, as is said, but only a pretence, as there was once pretended often against the Cavaliers.

31st. With my mind full of trouble, to my uncle Fenner's, when at the alehouse I found him drinking, and very jolly and youth-some, and as one that I believe will in a little time get a wife.

November 1st. With Sir W. Pen to the Three Tuns tavern, at Charing Cross, and there sent up for the master of the house's dinner, and dined very well upon it, and so went away to the Theatre, to 'The Jovial Crew'; and from hence to my house and were very merry till late, having sent for his son, Mr. William Pen,<sup>1</sup> lately come from Oxford.

2d. At the office all the morning, where Sir John Minnes, our new Comptroller, was fetched by Sir William Pen and myself from Sir William Batten's, and led to his place in the office: the first time that he had come hither, and he seems a good fair condition man, and one that I am glad hath the office. This night my boy Wayneman, as I was in my chamber, I overheard him let off some gunpowder; and hearing my wife chide him below for it, and a noise made, I call him up, and find that it was powder that he had put in his pocket, and a match carelessly with it, thinking that it was out, and so the match did give fire to the powder, and had

<sup>1</sup> The celebrated Quaker, and founder of Pennsylvania.

burnt his side and his hand that he put into his pocket to put out the fire. But upon examination, and finding him in a lie about the time and place that he bought it, I did extremely beat him, and though it did trouble me to do it, yet I thought it necessary to do it.

3d. (Lord's day.) This day I stirred not out, but took physic; and all the day I did read in Fuller's 'Holy War,' and did try to make a song in the praise of a liberal genius (as I take my own to be) to all studies and pleasures, but it not proving to my mind, I did reject it. At night my wife and I had a good supper by ourselves of a pullet hashed, which pleased me much to see my condition come to allow ourselves a dish like that.

4th. In the morning with Sir W. Pen to White Hall, and then to the Mitre (Mr. Rawlinson's), where Mr. Pierce, the purser, had got us a most brave chine of beef and a dish of marrowbones. Then called my wife, and to the Opera, where we saw 'The Bondman,' which of old we both did so dote on, and do still; though to both our thinking not so well acted here, having too great expectations, as formerly at Salisbury Court. But for Betterton,<sup>1</sup> he is called by us both the best actor in the world.

5th. To the Dolphin, where Armiger and I and Captain Cocke sat late and drank much, seeing the boys in the streets flying their crackers, this day being kept all the day very strictly in the city.

6th. Going forth this morning I met Mr. Davenport and a friend of his, and did give them their morning draught in good wine, and anchovies and pickled oysters. And at noon, being invited by a note from Luellin, I went and had a good dish or two of marrowbones and another of neat's tongues to dinner, and so I went home and sat late with pleasure at my lute, and so to bed.

7th. I met with letters at home from my Lord at Lisbon, which speak of his being well; and he tells me he had seen at the court there, the day before he wrote this letter, the Juego de Toro.<sup>2</sup> Peg Kite now hath declared she will have the beggarly rogue the weaver, and so we are resolved neither to meddle nor make with her.

8th. This morning up early, and to my Lord Chancellor's, with a letter to him from my Lord, and did speak with him; and he did

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Betterton, the celebrated actor, born c. 1635, was the son of an under-cook to Charles I, and first appeared on the stage at the Cockpit in Drury Lane in 1659. Died in 1710, and was buried in the cloisters of Westminster Abbey.

<sup>2</sup> A bull fight.

ask me whether I was son to Mr. Talbot Pepys<sup>1</sup> or no (with whom he was once acquainted, in the Court of Requests), and spoke to me with great respect. At noon Commissioner Pett and I to the Sun in New Fish Street, where Sir J. Minnes, Sir William Batten, and we all were to dine, and by discourse found Sir J. Minnes a fine gentleman and a very good scholar.

9th. With my Lady all the afternoon. My Lady did mightily urge me to lay out money upon my wife, which I perceived was a little more earnest than ordinary, and so I seemed to be pleased with it, and do resolve to bestow a lace upon her.

10th. (Lord's day.) At St. Gregory's, where I hear our Queen Katherine, the first time by name as such, publicly prayed for.<sup>2</sup> And heard Dr. Buck<sup>3</sup> upon 'Woe unto thee, Corazin,' &c., where he started a difficulty, which he left to another time to answer, about why God should give means of grace to those people which He knew would not receive them, and deny to others, which He Himself confesses, if they had had them, would have received them, and they would have been effectual too. I would I could hear him explain this, when he do come to it.

11th. Captain Ferrers carried me the first time that ever I saw any gaming-house, to one, entering into Lincoln's Inn Fields, at the end of Bell Yard, where strange the folly of men to lay and lose so much money; and very glad I was to see the manner of a gamester's life, which I see is very miserable, and poor, and unmanly. And thence he took me to a dancing school in Fleet Street, where we saw a company of pretty girls dance, but I do not in myself like to have young girls exposed to so much vanity. So to the Wardrobe, where I found my Lady had agreed upon a lace for my wife at £6, which I seemed much glad of that it was no more, though in my mind I think it too much, and I pray God to keep me so to order myself, and my wife's expenses, that no inconvenience in purse or honour follow this my prodigality.

12th. My wife and I to 'Bartholomew Fair,' with puppets, which I had seen once before, and the play without puppets often, but though I love the play as much as ever I did, yet I do not like the puppets at all, but think it to be a lessening to it. This day

<sup>1</sup> Of Impington, great-uncle to our author.

<sup>2</sup> The king's letter to the council for this purpose was read on 19th November.

<sup>3</sup> Probably John Buck, D.D., who was vicar of Stradbroke, Suffolk, and published in 1660 a thanksgiving sermon, preached at St. Paul's (*Watt's Bibliotheca Britannica*).

Holmes come to town; and we do expect hourly to hear what usage he hath from the Duke and the King about his late business of letting the Swedish Ambassador<sup>1</sup> go by him, without striking his flag.

13th. By appointment we all went this morning to wait upon the Duke of York, which we did in his chamber, as he was dressing himself in his riding suit to go this day by sea to the Downs. He is in mourning for his wife's grandmother, which is thought a great piece of fondness. After we had given him our letter relating the bad condition of the Navy for want of money, he referred it to his coming back, and so parted. Thence on foot to my Lord Crewe's; here I was well received by my Lord and Sir Thomas, with whom I had great talk; and he tells me in good earnest that he do believe the Parliament, which comes to sit again the next week, will be troublesome to the Court and Clergy, which God forbid! But they see things carried so by my Lord Chancellor and some others that get money themselves, that they will not endure it. Home by coach, with my mind very heavy at this my expenseful life, which will undo me, I fear, after all my hopes, if I do not take up; for now I am coming to lay out a great deal of money in clothes for my wife, I must forbear other expenses. To bed, and this night began to lie in the little green chamber where the maids lie; but we could not a great while get Nell to lie there, because I lie there and my wife. But at last, when she saw she must lie there or sit up, she, with much ado, came to bed.

14th. To a dinner of young Mr. Bernard's for myself, Mr. Phillips, Davenport, Weaver, &c., where we had a most excellent dinner, but a pie of such pleasant variety of good things as in all my life I never tasted.

15th. At noon with my wife to the Wardrobe to dinner, and there did show herself to my Lady in the handkercher that she bought the lace for the other day, and indeed it is very handsome. To the Opera, where I met my wife and Captain Ferrers and Mademoiselle Le Blanc, and there did see the second part of 'The Siege of Rhodes' very well done; and so by coach set her home, and the coach driving down the hill through Thames Street, which I think never any coach did before from that place to the bridge-foot, but going up Fish Street hill, his horses were so tired that they could not be got to go up the hill, though all the street boys and men did beat and whip them. At last I was fain to send my

<sup>1</sup> The Count Brahé.

boy for a link, and so 'light out of the coach till we got to another at the corner of Fenchurch Street, and so home.

17th. (Lord's day.) To our own church, and at noon, by invitation, Sir W. Pen dined with me, and I took Mrs. Hester, my Lady Batten's kinswoman, to dinner from church with me, and we were very merry. So to church again, and heard a simple fellow upon the praise of church music, and exclaiming against men's wearing their hats on in the church; but I slept part of the sermon, till latter prayer and blessing and all was done, without waking, which I never did in my life.

18th. At St. Paul's, where I saw the choristers in their surplices going to prayers, and a few idle people and boys to hear them, which is the first time I have seen them, and am sorry to see things done so out of order. Here I dined and had a good dinner. There was a young parson at the table that had got himself drunk before dinner, which troubled me to see. After dinner for my wife, and brought her to the Theatre to see 'Philaster'<sup>1</sup> (which I never saw before), but I found it far short of my expectations.

19th. Took coach as far as my cousin Scott's, and my wife and I stayed there at the christening of my cousin's boy, where my cousin Samuel Pepys of Ireland and I were godfathers, and I did name the child Samuel. There was a company of pretty women there in the chamber, but we stayed not, but went with the minister into another room, and eat and drank—my she-cousin Stradwick being godmother. It cost me 20s. between the midwife and the two nurses today.

20th. To Westminster Hall by water in the morning, where I saw the King going in his barge to the Parliament House, this being the first day of their meeting again. And the Bishops, I hear, do take their places in the Lords' House this day. I walked long in the Hall, but hear nothing of news but what Ned Pickering tells me, which I am troubled at, that Sir J. Minnes should send word to the King, that if he did not remove all my Lord Sandwich's captains out of this fleet, he believed the King would not be master of the fleet at its coming again: and so do endeavour to bring disgrace upon my Lord. But I hope all that will not do, for the King loves him. To the Wardrobe, and dined with my Lady—my Lady Wright being there too, whom I find to be a witty but very conceited woman and proud. Lay long reading

<sup>1</sup> *Philaster, or Love lies a-bleeding*, a tragedy, by Beaumont and Fletcher.

Hobbs his 'Liberty and Necessity,' and a little but very shrewd piece.

21st. Mr. Moore comes and dined with me, and we had a good sirloin of roast beef, the first that ever I had of my own buying since I kept house. After dinner went with Mr. Moore to Gray's Inn to his chamber, and there he showed me his old Camden's 'Britannica,' which I intend to buy of him, and took it away with me, and left it at St. Paul's Church-yard to be bound. At the office all the afternoon; it being the first afternoon that we have sat, which we are now to do always, so long as the Parliament sits, who this day have voted the King £1,200,000, to be raised to pay his debts.

22d. At noon with my wife, by appointment, to dinner at the Dolphin, where Sir W. Batten and his lady and daughter Matt,<sup>1</sup> and Captain Cocke and his lady, a German lady, but a very great beauty, and we dined together, at the spending of some wagers won and lost between him and I. And there we had the best music and very good songs, and were very merry, and danced, but I was most of all taken with Madam Cocke and her little boy, which in mirth his father had given to me. But after all our mirth comes a reckoning of £4, besides 40s. to the musicians, which did trouble us, but it must be paid, and so I took leave and left them there about eight at night.

23d. To Cheapside, to one Savill,<sup>2</sup> a painter, who I intend shall do my picture and my wife's.

24th. (Lord's day.) Up early, and by appointment to St. Clement Danes to church, and there to meet Captain Cocke, who had often commended Mr. Alsopp, their minister, to me, who is indeed an able man, but as to all things else did not come up to my expectations. His text was, that all good and perfect things are from above.

25th. To Westminster Hall in the morning with Captain Lambert, and there he did at the Dog give me, and some other friends of his, his foy,<sup>3</sup> he being to set sail today toward the Straits. Here we had oysters and good wine. At noon, at the rising of the House, I met with Sir W. Pen and Major-General Massey, who I find by discourse to be a very ingenious man, and among other things a great master in the secrecies of powder and

<sup>1</sup> Martha Batten.

<sup>2</sup> No notice of this artist has been discovered.

<sup>3</sup> A merrymaking given at parting (Halliwell's *Dictionary*).

fireworks, and another knight to dinner, at the Swan, in the Palace-Yard, and our meat brought from the Leg; and after dinner to the Theatre, and there saw 'The Country Captain'; and that being done, I left Sir W. Pen with his Tories, and went to the Opera and saw the last act of 'The Bondman,' and there found Mr. Sanchy and Mrs. Mary Archer, sister to the fair Betty, whom I did admire at Cambridge, and thence took them to the Fleece in Covent Garden: but Mr. Sanchy could not by any argument get his lady to trust herself with him into the tavern, which he was much troubled at, and so we returned immediately into the City by coach, and then set her at her uncle's in the Old Jewry.

27th. This morning our maid Dorothy and my wife parted, which, though she be a wench for her tongue not to be borne with, yet I was loth to part with her but I took my leave kindly of her and went out to Savill's, the painter, and there sat the first time for my face with him. Thence to dinner with my Lady; and so after an hour or two's talk in divinity with my Lady, Captain Ferrers and Mr. Moore and I to the Theatre, and there saw 'Hamlet' very well done.

28th. Letters from my Lord Sandwich, from Tangier, where he continues still, and hath done some execution upon the Turks, and retaken an Englishman from them, of one Mr. Parker's, a merchant in Mark Lane. To the Chancellor's, and there met with Mr. Dugdale, and with him and one Mr. Simons, I think that belongs to my Lord Hatton,<sup>1</sup> and Mr. Kipps and others, to the Fountain tavern. When I came home I found our new maid, Sarah, who is tall and a very well-favoured wench, and one that I think will please us.

29th. I lay long in bed, till Sir Williams both sent me word that we were to wait upon the Duke of York today; and that they would have me to meet them at Westminster Hall, at noon: so I rose and went thither; and there I understand that they are gone to Mr. Coventry's lodgings, in the Old Palace Yard, to dinner (the first time that I knew he had any); and there I met them two, and Sir G. Carteret, and had a very fine dinner, and good welcome, and discourse; and so, by water, after dinner, to White Hall, to the Duke, who met us in his closet; and there he did discourse upon the business of Holmes, and did desire of us to know what hath been the common practice about making of foreign ships to strike sail to us, which they did all do as much as they could; but I could

<sup>1</sup> Christopher, first Lord Hatton: *ob.* 1670.

say nothing to it, which I was sorry for. So indeed I was forced to study a lie, and so after we were gone from the Duke, I told Mr. Coventry that I had heard Mr. Selden<sup>1</sup> often say, that he could prove that in Henry the 7th's time, he did give commission to his captains to make the King of Denmark's ships to strike to him in the Baltic. From thence Sir W. Pen and I to the Theatre, but it was so full that we could hardly get any room, so he went up to one of the boxes, and I into the 18d. places, and there saw 'Love at First Sight,' a play of Mr. Killigrew's, and the first time that hath been acted since before the troubles, and great expectation there was, but I found the play to be a poor thing, and so I perceive everybody else do. So home, calling at Paul's Churchyard for a 'Mare Clausum,' having it in my mind to write a little matter, what I can gather, about the business of striking sail, and present it to the Duke, which I now think will be a good way to make myself known.

30th. The old condemned judges of the late King have been brought before the Parliament, and like to be hanged. I am deep in Chancery against Tom Trice. God give a good issue. This is the last day for the old State's coin to pass in common payments, but they say it is to pass in public payments to the King three months still.

December 1st. (Lord's day.) At noon dined, and with me Mr. Sanchy, who should have brought his mistress, Mrs. Mary Archer, of Cambridge, but she could not come; but we had a good dinner for him. We this day cut a brave collar of brawn from Winchcombe, which proves very good, and also opened the glass of gherkins which Captain Cocke did give my wife the other day, which are rare things. There hath lately been great clapping up of some old statesmen, such as Ireton, Moyer,<sup>2</sup> and others, and they say, upon a great plot, but I believe no such thing; but it is but justice that they should be served as they served the poor Cavaliers; and I believe it will oftentimes be so, as long as I live, whether there be cause or no.

2d. Called on by Mr. Sanchy and his mistress, and with them by coach to the Opera, to see 'The Mad Lover,'<sup>3</sup> but not much pleased with the play.

3d. To the painter's, and sat and had more of my picture done,

<sup>1</sup> See Selden's *Mare Clausum*.

<sup>2</sup> Samuel Moyer, one of the Council of State, 1653.

<sup>3</sup> By John Fletcher.



but it do not please me, for I fear it will not be like me. At noon thence to the Wardrobe, where my Lady Wright was at dinner, and all our talk about the great happiness that my Lady Wright says there is in being in the fashion and in variety of fashions, in scorn of others that are not so, as citizens' wives and country gentlewomen, which though it did displease me enough, yet I said nothing to it.

4th. I saw a man lie dead upon Westminster Stairs that had been drowned yesterday.

5th. This morning I went early to the painter's and there sat for my picture the fourth time; but it do not yet please me, which do much trouble me.

6th. To White Hall, where, at Sir G. Carteret's, Sir Williams both and I dined very pleasantly; and after dinner, by appointment, came the Governors of the East India Company, to sign and seal the contract between us, in the King's name, and them. And that done we all went to the King's closet, and there spoke with the King and the Duke of York, who promise to be very careful of the India trade to the utmost.

7th. This morning comes Captain Ferrers and the German, Emanuel Luffe, who goes as one of my Lord's footmen, though he deserves a much better preferment, to take their leave of me, and here I got the German to play upon my theorbo. He plays bravely. I did give them a mince pie and a collar of brawn and some wine for their breakfast, and were very merry. Within a quarter of an hour after they were gone, and my wife and I were talking about buying of a fine scallop which is brought her this morning by a woman to be sold, which is to cost her 45s., in comes the German back again, all of a gore of blood, which I wondered at, and tells me that he is afraid that the Captain is killed by the watermen at Tower stairs; so I went presently thither, and found that upon some rude pressing of the watermen to ply the Captain, he struck one of them with his cane, which they would not take, but struck him again, and then the German drew his sword, and ran at one of them, but they were both soundly beaten. The Captain is, however, got to the hoy that carries him and the pages to the Downs, and I went into the alehouse at the stairs, and got them to deliver the Captain's feathers, which one from the Captain was come to demand, and went home again, and there found my wife dressing of the German's head, and so did [give] him a cravat for his neck, and a crown in his purse, and sent him away again.

To the Privy Seal, and sealed there; and, among other things that passed, there was a patent for Roger Palmer, Madame Palmer's husband, to be Earl of Castlemaine and Baron of Limerick in Ireland; but the honour is tied up to the males got of the body of this wife, the Lady Barbary: the reason whereof everybody knows. That done, by water to the office, where I found Sir W. Pen, and with him Captain Holmes (who had wrote his case, and gives me a copy, as he hath many among his friends), and presented the same to the King and Council, which I shall make use of in my attempt of writing something concerning the business of striking sail, which I am now about; <sup>1</sup> but he do cry out against Sir John Minnes, as the veriest knave and rogue and coward in the world.

8th. (Lord's day.) Good discourse with my Lady, among other things of the great christening yesterday at Mr. Rumbell's, and courtiers and pomp that was there, which I wonder at.

9th. At noon to dinner at the Wardrobe, where my Lady Wright was, who did talk much upon the worth and the desert of gallantry; and that there was none fit to be courtiers but such as have been abroad and know fashions; which I endeavoured to oppose; and was troubled to hear her talk so, though she be a very wise and discreet lady in other things.

10th. To dinner to my Lord Crewe's, by coach, and in my way had a stop of above an hour and a half, which is great trouble this Parliament time, but it cannot be helped. However, I got thither before my Lord come from the House, and so dined with him.

11th. My wife by coach to Clerkenwell, to see Mrs. Margaret Pen, who is at school there.

12th. Dined with my Lady, where her brother, Mr. John Crewe, dined also, and a strange gentlewoman dined at the table as a servant of my Lady's; but I knew her not, and so I was afraid that poor Mademoiselle was gone; but I since understand that she is come as housekeeper to my Lady, and is a married woman.

13th. With my wife to the painter's, and there she sat the first time to be drawn, while I all the while stood looking on a pretty lady's picture, whose face did please me extremely. At last, he

<sup>1</sup> Pepys does not seem to be aware that Sir John Burroughs, Keeper of the Records, *temp.* Car. I, had written a treatise on the Sovereignty of the British Seas, copies of which, both in Latin and English, are common, and one of which is in the Pepysian Library; neither had he discovered that William Ryley, the Herald, Deputy Keeper of the Records, whom he knew personally, had also written on the subject, and had made extracts from the records.

having done, I found that the dead colour of my wife is good, above what I expected, which pleased me exceedingly.

15th. (Lord's day.) I have been troubled this day about a difference between my wife and her maid Nell, who is a simple slut, and I am afraid we shall find her a cross-grained wench. I am now full of study about writing something about our making of strangers strike to us at sea; and so am altogether reading Selden and Grotius, and such other authors to that purpose.

16th. After dinner to the Opera, where there was a new play, 'Cutter<sup>1</sup> of Coleman Street,' made in the year 1658, with reflections much upon the late times; and it being the first time, the pay was doubled, and so, to save money, my wife and I went up into the gallery, and there sat and saw very well; and a very good play it is—it seems, of Cowley's making.

17th. Up, and to the painter's to see how he went forward in our picture. So back again to dinner at home, and then was sent for to the Privy Seal, whither I was forced to go and stay so long and late that I was much vexed.

18th. At the office upon business extraordinary all the morning, this to my Lady Sandwich's to dinner; and then to see Mrs. Turner, and so back to my lady's, where much made of; and so home to my study till bed-time.

19th. This morning my wife and I to the painter's, and there she sat till noon, I all the while looking upon a variety of prints. My wife and I went home by coach; but in the way I took occasion to fall out with my wife very highly about her ribbons being ill matched and of two colours; and to very high words, so that, like a passionate fool, I did call her a bad name, for which I was afterwards sorry.

20th. Met with Mr. Swan (my old acquaintance), and we to a tavern, where we had enough of his old simple religious talk; and he is still a coxcomb in these things as he ever was, and tells me he is setting out a book called 'The Unlawful Use of Lawful Things.' But a very simple fellow he is, and so I leave him.

21st. To White Hall, to the Privy Seal, as my Lord Privy Seal did tell us he could seal no more this month, for that he goes thirty miles out of town, to keep his Christmas. At which I was glad, but only afraid lest anything of the King's should force us to go after him to get a seal in the country. Taken by some Exchequer

<sup>1</sup> *Cutter*, in old English, means a sharper: hence the title of the play. It was originally called *The Guardian*, when acted before royalty at Cambridge.

men to the Dog, where, it being St. Thomas's day, by custom, they have a general meeting at dinner. There I was, and all very merry, and there I spoke to Mr. Falconberge to look whether he could, out of Domesday Book, give me anything concerning the sea, and the dominion thereof; which he says he will look after.

22d. To church in the morning, where the reader made a boyish young sermon. Home to dinner, and there I took occasion, from the blackness of the meat as it came out of the pot, to fall out with my wife and my maid for their sluttery, and went up to read in Mr. Selden till church time; and then my wife and I to church, and there in the pew, with the rest of the company, was Captain Holmes, in his gold-laced suit, at which I was troubled.

23d. Lighting at my bookseller's in Paul's Church-yard, I met there with Mr. Crumlum, and the second master of Paul's School, and thence I took them to the Star, and there we sat and talked, and I had great pleasure in their company, and very glad I was of meeting him so accidentally, I having omitted too long to go to see him. Here in discourse of books I did offer to give the school what books he would choose of £5. So we parted.

25th. In the morning to church, where at the door of our pew I was fain to stay, because that the sexton had not opened the door. A good sermon of Mr. Mills. Dined at home all alone, and taking occasion from some fault in the meat to complain of my maid's sluttery, my wife and I fell out, and I up to my chamber in a discontent. After dinner my wife comes up to me, and all friends again; and she and I to walk upon the leads.

26th. After dinner, Sir William came to me, and he and his son and daughter, and I and my wife by coach to Moorfields to walk, but it was most foul weather, and so we went into an alehouse, and there eat some cakes and ale, and a wassail-bowl woman and girl come to us, and sung to us. And after all was done I called my boy, Wayneman, to us to eat some cake that was left, and the woman of the house told us that he had called for two cakes and a pot of ale for himself, at which I was angry, and am resolved to correct him for it.

27th. In the morning to my bookseller's, to bespeak a Stephens's Thesaurus, for which I offer £4, to give to Paul's School, and from thence to Paul's Church; and there I heard Dr. Gunning preach a good sermon upon the day, being St. John's day, and did hear him tell a story, which he did persuade us to believe to be true, that St. John and the Virgin Mary did appear to Gregory, a

Bishop, at his prayer to be confirmed in the faith, which I did wonder to hear from him.

28th. At home all the morning; and in the afternoon all of us at the office, upon a letter from the Duke for the making up of a speedy estimate of all the debts of the Navy, which is put into good forwardness.

29th. (Lord's day.) To the Abbey, and there meeting with Mr. Hooper, he took me in among the choir, and there I stayed with them their service. So to the Wardrobe, and supped, and stayed very long talking with my Lady, who seems to dote every day more and more upon us.

30th. With my wife and Sir W. Pen to see our pictures, which do not much displease us; and so back again, and I stayed at the Mitre whither I had invited all my old acquaintances of the Exchequer to a good chine of beef, which with three barrels of oysters and three pullets, and plenty of wine and mirth, was our dinner. And there was about twelve of us; and here I made a foolish promise to give them one this day twelvemonth, and so for ever while I live; but I do not intend it. So home to Sir W. Pen who with his children and my wife has been at a play to-day, and saw 'D'Ambois,'<sup>1</sup> which I never saw.

31st. My wife and I this morning to the painter's, and there she sat the last time, and I stood by, and did tell him some little things to do, that now her picture I think will please me very well; and after her, her little black dog sat in her lap, and was drawn, which made us very merry: so home to dinner. To the office; and there late finishing our estimate of the debts of the Navy to this day; and it come to near £374,000. So home, and after supper and my barber had trimmed me, I sat down to end my journal for this year, and my condition at this time, by God's blessing, is thus: my health is very good, and so my wife's, in all respects: my servants, W. Hewer, Sarah, Nell, and Wayneman: my house at the Navy Office. I suppose myself to be worth about £500 clear in the world, and my goods of my house my own, and what is coming to me from Brampton, when my father dies, which God defer. But, by my uncle's death, the whole care and trouble of all and settling of all lies upon me, which is very great, because of lawsuits, especially that with T. Trice about the interest of £200, which will, I hope, be ended soon. My chiefest thought is now to get a good wife for Tom, there being one offered by the

<sup>1</sup> *Bussy D'Ambois*, a tragedy by George Chapman.

Joyces, a cousin of theirs, worth £200 in ready money. I am also upon writing a little treatise to present to the Duke, about our privilege in the seas, as to other nations striking their flags to us. But my greatest trouble is, that I have for this last half year been a very great spendthrift in all manner of respects, that I am afraid to cast up my accounts, though I hope I am worth what I say above. But I will cast them up very shortly. I have newly taken a solemn oath about abstaining from plays and wine, which I am resolved to keep, according to the letter of the oath which I keep by me. The fleet hath been ready to sail for Portugal, but hath lacked wind this fortnight, and by that means my Lord is forced to keep at sea all this winter, till he brings home the Queen, which is the expectation of all now, and the greatest matter of public talk.

## 1662

January 1st. Waking this morning out of my sleep on a sudden, I did with my elbow hit my wife a great blow over her face and nose, which waked her with pain, at which I was sorry, and to sleep again. Seeing that the 'Spanish Curate'<sup>1</sup> was acted today, I sent to young Mr. Pen and his sister to go anon with my wife and I to the theatre; and after we had eat a barrel of oysters we went by coach to the play, and there saw it well acted. And a good play it is, only Diego the Sexton did overdo his part too much.

2d. An invitation sent us before we were up from my Lady Sandwich's, to come and dine with her: so at the office all the morning, and at noon thither to dinner, where there was a good and great dinner, and the company, Mr. William Montagu and his lady, but she seemed so far from the beauty that I expected her from my Lady's talk to be, that it put me into an ill humour all day, to find my expectation so lost. I went forth, by appointment to meet with Mr. Grant, who promised to bring me acquainted with Cooper,<sup>2</sup> the great limner in little, but they deceived me. Sir Richard Fanshawe is come suddenly from Portugal, but nobody knows what his business is.

<sup>1</sup> By John Fletcher. Pepys saw it at the Duke's Theatre.

<sup>2</sup> Samuel Cooper, the celebrated miniature painter: *ob.* 1672.

3d. To Faithorne's,<sup>1</sup> and there bought some pictures of him; and while I was there comes by the King's Life-guard, he being gone to Lincoln's Inn this afternoon to see the Revels there; there being, according to an old custom, a prince and all his nobles, and other matters of sport and charge.

4th. At home most of the morning hanging up pictures, and seeing how my pewter sconces that I have bought will become my stairs and entry. With Mr. Chetwind, who had a dog challenged of him by another man, that said it was his, but Mr. Chetwind called the dog, and the dog at last would follow him, and not his old master.

5th. (Lord's day.) My brother Tom tells me how he hath seen the father and mother of the girl which my cousin Joyces would have him to have for a wife, and they are much for it, but we are in a great quandary what to do therein—£200 being but a little money; and I hope, if he continues as he begins, he may look out for one with more. To church, and before sermon, there was a long psalm, and half another sung out, while the Sexton gathered what the church would give him for this last year. I gave him 3s., and have the last week given the clerk 2s., which I set down, that I may know what to do the next year, if it please the Lord that I live so long: but the jest was, the clerk begins the 25th psalm, which hath a proper tune to it, and then the 116th, which cannot be sung with that tune, which seemed very ridiculous. After church to Sir W. Batten's, where on purpose I have not been this fortnight: and I am resolved to keep myself more reserved to avoid the contempt which otherwise I must fall into.

6th. (Twelfth day.) This morning I sent my lute to the painter's, and then I stayed with him all the morning to see him paint the neck of my lute in my picture, which I was not pleased with after it was done. Thence to dinner to Sir W. Pen's, it being a solemn feast day with him—his wedding day,<sup>2</sup> and we had, besides a good chine of beef and other good cheer, eighteen mince pies in a dish, the number of years that he hath been married, where Sir W. Batten and his lady and daughter was, and Colonel Treswell and Major Holmes, who I perceive would fain get to be free and friends with my wife, but I shall prevent it, and she herself hath also a defiance against him.

<sup>1</sup> William Faithorne, the well-known engraver: *ob.* 1691.

<sup>2</sup> Lady Penn was Margaret, daughter of Sir John Jasper, of Rotterdam (*Life of Penn*, ii, 572).

7th. In the afternoon and at night to Sir W. Pen's: there supped and played at cards with them and were merry, the children being to go all away to school again tomorrow.

8th. This night come about £100 from Brampton by carrier to me, in holsters from my father, which made me laugh.

9th. This morning we agreed upon some things to answer to the Duke about the practice of striking of the flags, which will now put me upon finishing my resolution of writing something upon the subject.

10th. To White Hall, and there spoke with Sir Paule Neile,<sup>1</sup> about a mathematical request of my Lord's to him, which I did deliver to him, and he promised to employ somebody to answer it—something about observation of the moon and stars, but what I did not mind. An injunction is granted in Chancery against T. Trice, at which I was very glad, being before in some trouble for it. To Westminster by appointment, to meet my wife at Mrs. Hunt's to gossip with her, which we did alone, and were very merry, and did give her a cup and spoon for my wife's godchild.

11th. To the Exchange, and there all the news is of the French and Dutch joining against us; but I do not think it yet true. In the afternoon, to Sir W. Batten's, where in discourse I heard the custom of the election of the Duke of Genoa, who for two years is every day attended in the greatest state, and four or five hundred men always waiting upon him as a king; and when the two years are out and another is chose a messenger is sent to him, who stands at the bottom of the stairs, and he at the top, and says 'V<sup>a</sup>. Illustrissima Serenita sta finita, et puede andar en casa'—'Your serenity is now ended; and now you may be going home': and so claps on his hat. And the old Duke, having by custom sent his goods home before, walks away, it may be with but one man at his heels; and the new one brought immediately in his room, in the greatest state in the world. Another account was told us, how the dukedom of Ragusa, in the Adriatic (a state that is little, but more ancient, they say, than Venice, and is called the mother of Venice, and the Turks lie round about it), that they change all the officers of their guard, for fear of conspiracy, every twenty-four hours, so that nobody knows who shall be captain of the guard tonight; but two men come to a man, and lay hold of him as a prisoner and carry him to the place; and there he hath the keys of the garrison

<sup>1</sup> Sir Paul Neile, of White Waltham, Berks, son of Neile, Archbishop of York, an active member of the Royal Society.



given him, and he presently issues his orders for that night's watch: and so always from night to night. Sir William Rider told the first of his own knowledge; and both he and Sir W. Batten confirm the last.

12th. (Lord's day.) To church. At noon Sir W. Pen and my good friend Dean Fuller, by appointment, dined with me very merry and handsomely.

13th. Mr. Berkenshaw came to see me, who stayed with me a great while talking of music; and I am resolved to begin to learn of him to compose, and to begin to-morrow, he giving of me so great hopes that I shall soon do it. Before twelve o'clock comes, by appointment, Mr. Peter and the Dean and Colonel Honiwood, brothers,<sup>1</sup> to dine with me; but so soon, that I was troubled at it. Mr. Peter did show us the experiment, which I had heard talk of, of the chemical glasses,<sup>2</sup> which break all to dust by breaking off a little small end; which is a great mystery to me. My aunt Wright and my wife and I to cards, she teaching of us to play at gleek,<sup>3</sup> which is a pretty game; but I have not my head so free as to be troubled with it.

14th. Mr. Berkenshaw coming to me, and began composition of music. This day, my brave vellum covers, to keep pictures in, come in, which pleases me very much.

15th. This morning, Mr. Berkenshaw came again, and after he had examined me and taught me something in my work, he and I went to breakfast in my chamber upon a collar of brawn; and, after we had eaten, asked me whether we had not committed a fault in eating today; telling me, that it is a fast-day ordered by the Parliament, to pray for more seasonable weather; it having hitherto been summer weather, that it is, both as to warmth and every other thing, just as if it were the middle of May or June, which do threaten a plague, as all men think, to follow, for so it was almost the last winter; and the whole year after hath been a very sickly time to this day.

<sup>1</sup> These three brothers were the sons of Robert Honywood, of Charing, Kent, who had purchased the estate of Mark's Hall, in Essex; and whose mother, Mary Attwaters, after forty-four years of widowhood, died at ninety-three, having lived to see 367 of her own lawful descendants. Colonel Honywood and Peter seem, from subsequent notices in the *Diary*, to have been both knighted; but we find no particulars of their history.

<sup>2</sup> They are formed by dropping melted glass into water.

<sup>3</sup> A game of cards played by three persons, each hand having twelve cards, and the rest being left for the stock (*Halliwel's Dictionary*).

16th. Towards Cheapside; and in Paul's Churchyard saw the funeral of my Lord Cornwallis, late Steward<sup>1</sup> of the King's House, a bold, profane-talking man, go by. And thence I to the painter's, and there paid him £6 for the two pictures, and 36s. for the two frames. Stoakes told us that notwithstanding the country of Gambo<sup>2</sup> is so unhealthy, yet the people of the place live very long, so as the present King there is 150 years old, which they count by rains: because every year it rains continually four months together. He also told us, that the kings there have above 100 wives apiece, and offered him the choice of any of his wives, and so he did Captain Holmes.

17th. To Westminster with Mr. Moore, and there I met with Lany, the Frenchman, who told me that he had a letter from France last night, that tells him that my Lord Hinchinbroke is dead, and that he did die yesterday was se'nnight, which do surprise me exceedingly (though we know that he hath been sick these two months), so I hardly ever was in my life; but being fearful that my Lady should come to hear it too suddenly, he and I went up to my Lord Crewe's, and there I dined with him, and after dinner we told him, and the whole family is much disturbed by it: so we consulted what to do to tell my Lady of it; and at last we thought of my going first to Mr. George Montagu's, to hear whether he had any news of it; which I did, and there found all his house in great heaviness for the death of his son, Mr. George Montagu, who did go with our young gentlemen into France, and that they hear nothing at all of our young lord: so believing that thence comes the mistake, I returned to my Lord Crewe (in my way in the Piazza seeing a house on fire, and all the streets full of people to quench it), and told them of it, which they are much glad of, and conclude, and so I hope, that my Lord is well; and so I went to my Lady Sandwich and told her all, and after much talk I parted thence with my wife, who had been there all the day, and so home to my music, and then to bed.

18th. Comes Mr. Moore to give me an account how Mr. Montagu<sup>3</sup> was gone away of a sudden with the fleet, in such haste,

<sup>1</sup> This should be treasurer.

<sup>2</sup> Gambia, on the western coast of Africa, then recently possessed by the English.

<sup>3</sup> Edward Montagu, noticed 20th April 1660, dying unmarried, *v.p.*, his brother Ralph succeeded, as third Lord Montagu of Boughton, and was created an earl in 1689, and in 1705 Duke of Montagu. He was ambassador

that he hath left behind some servants, and many things of consequence; and, among others, my Lord's commission for Ambassador. Whereupon he and I took coach, and to White Hall to my Lord's lodgings, to have spoke with Mr. Ralph Montagu, his brother, and here stayed talking with Sarah and the old man; but by and by hearing that he was in Covent Garden, we went thither: and at my Lady Harvey's, his sister, I spoke with him, and he tells me that the commission is not left behind.

19th. (Lord's day.) To church in the morning where Mr. Mills preached upon Christ's being offered up for our sins, and he did make such a sermon, that I could have wished he had let it alone; and speaking again, the Father is now so satisfied by our security for our debt, that we might say at the last day: Lord, we owe Thee nothing, our debt is paid Thee to the full; which methinks were very bold words. Into the Old Bailey by appointment to speak with Mrs. Norbury, who lies (it falls out) next door to my uncle Fenner's; but, as God would have it, we having no desire to be seen by his people, he having lately married a midwife, that is old and ugly and that hath already brought home to him a daughter and three children, we were let in at a back door. And here she offered me the refusal of some lands of hers at Brampton, if I have a mind to buy. Thence to my uncle Wight's, and there we supped, and were merry, though my uncle hath lately lost 200 or 300 at sea, and I am troubled to hear that the Turks do take more and more of our ships in the Straits, and that our merchants here in London do daily break, and are still likely to do so.

20th. This morning Sir William Batten and Pen and I did begin the examining the Treasurer's accounts. Mr. Morrice, the wine cooper, this day did divide the two butts, which we four did send for, of sherry from Cales, and mine was put into a hogshead, and the vessel filled up with four gallons of Malaga wine; but what it will stand us in I know not; but it is the first great quantity of wine that I ever bought.

21st. To the office till night; then home to write letters and to practise my composition of music. We have heard nothing yet how far the fleet hath got toward Portugal.

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to France from 1668 to 1672; and some of his letters were used for the impeachment of the Earl of Danby, afterwards Duke of Leeds. He died in 1709. His sister Elizabeth had married Sir Daniel Harvey, who was knighted by Charles II at his first landing, and was sent, in 1668, ambassador to Constantinople.

22d. After music-practice, to White Hall, and thence to Westminster, in my way calling at Mr. George Montagu's,<sup>1</sup> to condole on the loss of his son, who was a fine gentleman; and it is no doubt a great discomfort to our two young gentlemen, his companions in France. After this discourse, he told me, among other news, the great jealousies that are now in the Parliament House. The Lord Chancellor, it seems, taking occasion from this late plot to raise fears in the people, did project the raising of an army forthwith, besides the constant militia, thinking to make the Duke of York General thereof. But the House did, in very open terms, say they were grown too wise to be fooled again into another army; and said they had found how that man that hath the command of an army is not beholden to anybody to make him King. There are factions, private ones at Court, about Madam Palmer; but what it is about I know not. But it is something about the King's favour to her now that the Queen is coming. He told me, too, what sport the King and Court do make at Mr. Edward Montagu's leaving his things behind him. But the Chancellor, taking it a little more seriously, did openly say to my Lord Chamberlain,<sup>2</sup> that had it been such a gallant as my Lord Mandeville<sup>3</sup> his son, it might have been taken as a frolic; but for him, that would be thought a grave coxcomb, it was very strange. Thence to the Hall, where I heard the House had ordered all the King's murderers that remain to be executed, but Fleetwood and Downes.

23d. By invitation to my uncle Fenner's, where I found his new wife, a pitiful, old, ugly, ill-bred woman, in a hat, a midwife. Here were many of his, and as many of her relations, sorry, mean people; and after choosing our gloves, we all went over to the Three Cranes tavern,<sup>4</sup> and, though the best room of the house, in such a narrow dog-hole we were crammed, and I believe we were near forty, that it made me loathe my company and victuals; and a sorry, poor dinner it was too. After dinner I took aside the two Joyces, to thank them for their kind thoughts for a wife for Tom; but

<sup>1</sup> Henry Montagu, first Earl of Manchester, had numerous issue by his first lady; but George, here mentioned, was the eldest son of Margaret Crouch, the earl's third wife.

<sup>2</sup> The Earl of Manchester.

<sup>3</sup> Robert Montagu, Viscount Mandeville, was a Gentleman of the Bed-chamber to Charles II. He became third Earl of Manchester on his father's death, and died at Paris in 1682.

<sup>4</sup> In Upper Thames Street.

that, considering the possibility there is of my having no child, and what then I shall be able to leave him, I do think he may expect in that respect a wife with more money, and so desired them to think no more of it.

24th. To the Wardrobe, where very merry with my Lady, and after dinner I sent for the pictures <sup>1</sup> thither, and mine is well liked; but she is much offended with my wife's; and I am of her opinion, that it do much wrong her; but I will have it altered. So home, in my way calling at Pope's Head Alley, and there bought me a pair of scissors and a brass square.

25th. At home and the office all the morning. Walking in the garden to give the gardener directions what to do this year, for I intend to have the garden handsome, Sir W. Pen came to me, and did break a business to me about removing his son from Oxford to Cambridge to some private college. I proposed Magdalene, but cannot name a tutor at present; but I shall think and write about it. Thence with him to the Trinity House to dinner; where Sir Richard Browne,<sup>2</sup> one of the clerks of the Council, and who is much concerned against Sir N. Crisp's project of making a great *sasse* <sup>3</sup> in the King's lands about Deptford, to be a wet-dock to hold 200 sail of ships. But the ground, it seems, was long since given by the King to Sir Richard. After the Trinity House men had done their business, the master, Sir William Rider, came to bid us welcome; and so to dinner, where good cheer and discourse, but I eat a little too much beef. Thence to supper with my wife to Sir W. Pen's. While we were at supper comes Mr. Moore with letters from my Lord Sandwich, speaking of his lying still at Tangier, looking for the fleet; which, we hope, is now in a good way thither.

26th. (Lord's day.) Thanks be to God, since my leaving drinking of wine, I do find myself much better, and do mind my business better and do spend less money, and less time lost in idle company.

<sup>1</sup> Painted by Savill.

<sup>2</sup> He had been gentleman of the Privy Chamber to Charles I, and resident in France for that monarch. He was created a baronet 1st September 1649, and died 10th February 1683. Much is said of him in the *Diary* of John Evelyn, who married his only child and heir; and thus became possessor of Sayes Court.

<sup>3</sup> 'Sasse, a sluice, or lock, used in water-works.'—Bailey's *Dictionary*. This project is mentioned by Evelyn, 16th January 1662, and Lysons, *Environs*, vol. iv, p. 392.

27th. This morning, both Sir William and I by barge to Deptford Yard to give orders in business there; and called on several ships, also to give orders. This morning, going to take water upon Tower Hill, we met with three sleds standing there to carry my Lord Monson<sup>1</sup> and Sir H. Mildmay<sup>2</sup> and another,<sup>3</sup> to the gallows and back again, with ropes about their necks; which is to be repeated every year, this being the day of their sentencing, the King.

28th. This morning with my wife to the painter's, where we stayed very late to have her picture mended, which at last is come to be very like her, and I think well done; but the painter, though a very honest man, I found to be very silly as to matter of skill in shadows, for we were long in discourse, till I was almost angry to hear him talk so simply.

29th. To the Wardrobe to dinner, and so home, where I found Mr. Pen and Mrs. Rooth and Smith, who played at cards with my wife; and I did give them a barrel of oysters and had a pullet to supper for them, and when it was ready to come to table, the foolish girl had not the manners to stay and sup with me, but went away, which did vex me cruelly.

30th. Fast-day for the murdering of the late King. I went to Church, and Mr. Mills made a good sermon upon David's words, 'Who can lay his hands upon the Lord's Anointed and be guiltless?'

31st. All the morning in my cellar ordering some alterations therein, being much pleased with my new door into the back-yard.

February 1st. This morning with Commissioner Pett to the office; and he stayed there writing, while I and Sir W. Pen walked in the garden talking about his business of putting his son to Cambridge; and to that end I intend to write to-night to Fairbrother, to give me an account of Mr. Burton of Magdalene.

<sup>1</sup> William, second son of Sir Thomas Monson, Bart.; created, by Charles I, Viscount Monson of Castlemaine of the kingdom of Ireland. Notwithstanding this act of favour, he was instrumental in the king's death: and in 1661, being degraded of his honours, was sentenced, with Sir Henry Mildmay and Robert Wallop, to undergo the punishment here described.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Henry Mildmay, third son of Sir Humphrey Mildmay, had enjoyed the confidence of Charles I, who made him Master of the Jewels; but he sat a few days as one of the king's judges. He died at Antwerp. His estate of Wansted was confiscated, and was given to Sir Robert Brookes; and by him or his heirs, or creditors, alienated in 1667 to Sir Josiah Child, ancestor of the Earl Tylney.

<sup>3</sup> Robert Wallop, the direct ancestor of the present Earl of Portsmouth. He died in the Tower, 16th November 1667.

Thence with Mr. Pett to the painter's; and he likes our pictures very well, and so do I. Thence he and I to the Countess of Sandwich, to lead him to her to kiss her hands: and dined with her, and told her the news, which Sir W. Pen told me to-day, that express is come from my Lord with letters, that by a great storm and tempest the mole of Algiers is broken down, and many of their ships sunk into the mole. So that God Almighty hath now ended that unlucky business for us; which is very good news.

2d. (Lord's day.) To church in the morning, and then home, and dined with my wife, and so both of us to church again, where we had an Oxford man give us a most impertinent sermon upon 'Cast your bread upon the waters,' &c.

3d. After music practice, I went to the office, and at noon dined with Sir W. Batten with many friends more, it being his wedding-day, and among other frolics, it being their 3rd year, they had three pies, whereof the middlemost was made of an oval form in an oval hole within the other two, which made much mirth, and was called the middle piece; and above all the rest, we had great striving to steal a spoonful out of it; and I remember Mrs. Mills, the minister's wife, did steal one for me, and did give it me; and to end all, Mrs. Shippman did fill the pie full of white wine, it holding at least a pint and a half, and did drink it off for a health to Sir William and my Lady—it being the greatest draught that ever I did see a woman drink in my life. I went along with my Lady and the rest of the gentlewomen to Major Holmes's, and there we had a fine supper—among others, excellent lobsters, which I never eat at this time of the year before. The Major hath good lodgings at the Trinity House. At last home, and, being in my chamber, we do hear great noise of mirth at Sir William Batten's, tearing the ribbons<sup>1</sup> from my Lady and him.

4th. To Westminster Hall, where it was full term. Here all the morning, and at noon to my Lord Crewe's, where one Mr. Templer,<sup>2</sup> an ingenious man and a person of honour he seems to be, dined; and, discoursing of the nature of serpents, he told us some that in the waste places of Lancashire do grow to a great bigness, and that do feed upon larks, which they take thus:—They observe when the lark is soared to the highest, and do crawl till they come to be just underneath them; and there they place themselves with their mouths uppermost, and there, as is conceived,

<sup>1</sup> As if newly married. See note to 24th January 1660.

<sup>2</sup> Probably Benjamin Templer, rector of Ashby, in Northamptonshire.

they do eject poison up to the bird; for the bird do suddenly come down again in its course of a circle, and falls directly into the mouth of the serpent; which is very strange. He is a great traveller; and, speaking of the tarantula, he says that all the harvest long, about which times they are most busy, there are fiddlers go up and down the fields everywhere, in expectation of being hired by those that are stung. This afternoon, going into the office, one met me, and did serve a subpoena upon me for one Field, whom we did commit to prison the other day for some ill words he did give the Office. The like he had for others, but we shall scour him for it.

5th. Early at the office. Sir G. Carteret, the two Sir Williams and myself all alone reading of the Duke's institutions for the settlement of our Office. At noon Sir W. Pen dined with me, and after dinner he and I and my wife to the Theatre, and there saw 'Rule a Wife and have a Wife'; very well done. And here also I did look long upon my Lady Castlemaine, who, notwithstanding her sickness, continues a great beauty.

6th. Into my cellar to my workmen, and I am very much pleased with my alterations there. After dinner, my barber trimmed me, and so to the office, where I do begin to be exact in my duty there, and exacting my privileges, and shall continue to do so.

7th. I hear the prisoners in the Tower, that are to die, are come to the Parliament-house this morning. To the Wardrobe, to dinner with my Lady; where a civet-cat, parrot, apes, and many other things are come from my Lord by Captain Hill, who dined with my Lady with us to-day. Thence to the painter's, and am well pleased with our pictures.

8th. All the morning in the cellar with the colliers, removing the coals out of the old coal-hole into the new one, which cost me 8s. the doing; but now the cellar is done and made clean, it do please me exceedingly. I prey God keep me from setting my mind too much upon it.

9th. (Lord's day.) I took physic this day, and was all day in my chamber, talking with my wife about her laying out of £20, which I had long since promised her to lay out in clothes against Easter for herself, and composing some airs, God forgive me! At night to prayers and to bed.

10th. To Paul's Church-yard, and there I met with Dr. Fuller's 'England's Worthies,' the first time that I ever saw it; and so I sat down reading in it; being much troubled that, though he had some



discourse with me about my family and arms, he says nothing at all, nor mentions us either in Cambridgeshire or Norfolk. But I believe, indeed, our family were never considerable.

11th. At the office in the afternoon; so home to music: my mind being full of our alterations in the garden. At night begun to compose songs, and begin with 'Gaze not on swans.'<sup>1</sup>

12th. This morning till four in the afternoon I spent abroad, doing of many and considerable businesses: so home, with my mind very highly contented with my day's work, wishing I could do so every day.

13th. Mr. Blackburne do tell me plain of the corruption of all our Treasurer's officers, and that they hardly pay any money under ten per cent; and that the other day, for a mere assignation of £200 to some counties, they took £15, which is very strange. Last night died the Queen of Bohemia.<sup>2</sup>

14th. (Valentine's day.) I did this day purposely shun to be seen at Sir W. Batten's, because I would not have his daughter to be my Valentine, as she was the last year, there being no great friendship between us now, as formerly. This morning in comes W. Bowyer, who was my wife's Valentine, she having, at which I made good sport to myself, held her hands all the morning, that she might not see the painters that were at work in gilding my chimney-piece and pictures in my dining-room.

15th. With the two Sir Williams to the Trinity House; and there, in their society, had the business debated of Sir Nicholas Crisp's sasse at Deptford. After dinner, I was sworn a Younger Brother, Sir W. Rider being Deputy Master for my Lord of Sandwich; and after I was sworn, all the Elder Brothers shake me by the hand; it is their custom, it seems. No news yet of our fleet gone to Tangier, which we now begin to think long.

16th. (Lord's day.) To church this morning, and so home and to dinner. In the afternoon, I walked to St. Bride's to church, to hear Dr. Jacomb preach upon the recovery, and at the request, of Mrs. Turner, who came abroad this day, the first time since her long sickness. He preached upon David's words, 'I shall not die, but live, and declare the works of the Lord,' and made a pretty

<sup>1</sup> The poetry of the song, 'Gaze not on Swans,' is by H. Noel, and set to music by H. Lawes, in his *Ayres and Dialogues*, 1653.

<sup>2</sup> At Leicester House, on the north side of the present Leicester Square, to which she had removed only five days previously from Drury House, in Drury Lane, the residence of Lord Craven, to whom it has been asserted that she was married.

good sermon, though not extraordinary. After sermon, I led her home, and sat with her, and there was the Dr. got before; but strange what a command he hath got over Mrs. Turner, who was so careful to get him what he would, after his preaching, to drink, and he, with a cunning gravity, knows how to command and had it, and among other things told us that he heard more of the Common Prayer this afternoon (while he stood in the vestry, before he went up into the pulpit) than he had heard this twenty years.

17th. This morning, both Sir Williams, myself, and Captain Cocke, and Captain Tinker of the *Convertine*<sup>1</sup> (which we are going to look upon being intended to go with these ships fitting for the East Indies), down to Deptford; and thence, after being on ship-board, to Woolwich, and there eat something. The Sir Williams being unwilling to eat flesh,<sup>2</sup> Captain Cocke and I had a breast of veal roasted. And here I drank wine upon necessity, being ill for want of it; and I find reason to fear that by my too sudden leaving off of wine, I do contract many evils upon myself. Going and coming, we played at gleeke, and I won 9s. 6d. clear, the most that ever I won in my life. I pray God it may not tempt me to play again.

18th. Having agreed with Sir W. Pen and my wife to meet them at the Opera, and finding by my walking in the streets, which were everywhere full of brick-bats and tiles flung down by the extraordinary wind the last night, such as hath not been in memory before, unless at the death of the late Protector, that it was dangerous to go out of doors; and hearing how several persons had been killed today by the fall of things in the streets, and that the pageant in Fleet Street is most of it blown down, and hath broke down part of several houses, among others Dick Brigden's; and that one Lady Sanderson, a person of quality in Covent-Garden, was killed by the fall of the house, in her bed, last night; I sent my boy home to forbid them to go forth. But he bringing me word that they are gone, I went thither, and there saw 'The Law against Lovers,'<sup>3</sup> a good play and well performed, especially the little girl's, whom I never saw act before, dancing and singing;

<sup>1</sup> A fourth-rate, of forty-eight guns; in 1665 it was commanded by Captain John Pierce.

<sup>2</sup> In Lent, of which the observance, intermitted for nineteen years, was now reviving.

<sup>3</sup> A tragi-comedy by Sir William Davenant; taken from *Measure for Measure* and *Much Ado about Nothing*.

and were it not for her, the loss of Roxalana<sup>1</sup> would spoil the house.

19th. Music practice: thence to the Trinity House to conclude upon our report of Sir N. Crisp's project, who came to us to answer objections, but we did give him no ear, but are resolved to stand to our report; though I could wish we had shown him more justice and had heard him.

20th. Letters from Tangier from my Lord, telling me how, upon a great defeat given to the Portugese there by the Moors, he had put in three hundred men into the town, and so he is in possession, of which we are very glad, because now the Spaniards' designs of hindering our getting the place are frustrated. I went with the letter enclosed to my Lord Chancellor to the House of Lords, and 'did give it him in the House. Went by promise to Mr. Savill's, and there sat the first time for my picture in little, which pleaseth me well.

21st. Packing up glass to send into the country to my father, and books to my brother John, and then to my Lord Crewe's to dinner.

22d. Came Mr. Savill with the pictures, and we hung them up in our dining-room. It comes now to appear very handsome with all my pictures. This evening I wrote letters to my father; among other things acquainting him with the unhappy accident which hath happened lately to my Lord of Dorset's two oldest sons, who, with two Belassis and one Squire Wentworth, were lately apprehended for killing and robbing of a tanner about Newington on Wednesday last, and are all now in Newgate. I am much troubled for it, and for the grief and disgrace it brings to their families and friends.

23d. (Lord's day.) My cold being increased, I stayed at home all day, pleasing myself with my dining-room, now graced with pictures, and reading of Dr. Fuller's 'Worthies': so I spent the day,

<sup>1</sup> This actress, so called from the character she played in the *Siege of Rhodes*, was Elizabeth Davenport. Evelyn saw her on the 9th January 1662, she being soon after taken to be 'My Lord Oxford's Miss'; but she returned to the stage within a year. See 20th May, *post*. She was induced to marry the Earl of Oxford, after indignantly refusing to become his mistress, and discovered, when too late, that the nuptial ceremony had been performed by the earl's trumpeter, in the habit of a priest. For more of her history, see *Mémoires de Grammont*. Ashmole records the birth of the Earl of Oxford's son, by Roxalana, 17th April 1664, which shows that the liaison continued after her return to the stage. (Cat. p. 205.) The child was called Aubrey Vere.—Ward's *Diary*, p. 131.

and at night comes Sir W. Pen and supped and talked with me. This day, by God's mercy, I am 29 years of age, and in very good health, and like to live and get an estate; and if I have a heart to be contented, I think I may reckon myself as happy a man as any is in the world, for which God be praised. So to prayers and to bed.

24th. Long with Mr. Berkenshaw in the morning at my music practice, finishing my song of 'Gaze not on swans' in two parts, which pleases me well, and I did give him £5 for this month or five weeks that he hath taught me, which is a great deal of money, and troubled me to part with it. Thence to the painter's, and set again for my picture in little. Called Will up, and chid him before my wife for refusing to go to church with the maids yesterday, and telling his mistress that he would not be made a slave of, which vexes me. So to bed.

25th. Great talk of the effects of this late great wind; and I heard one say that he had five great trees standing together blown down; and beginning to lop them, one of them, as soon as the lops were cut off, did, by the weight of the root, rise again and fasten. We have letters from the Forest of Dean, that above 1000 oaks and as many beeches are blown down in one walk there. And letters from my father tell me of £20 hurt done to us at Brampton. This day in the news-book I find that my Lord Buckhurst<sup>1</sup> and his fellows have printed their case as they did give it in upon examination to a Justice of the Peace, wherein they make themselves a very good tale that they were in pursuit of thieves, and that they took this man for one of them, and so killed him; and that he himself confessed it was the first time of his robbing; and that he did pay dearly for it, for he was a dead man. But I doubt things will be proved otherwise as they say.

27th. Came Mr. Berkenshaw, and in our discourse I, finding that he cries up his rules for most perfect, and that I could not persuade him to grant wherein they were somewhat lame, we fell to angry words, so that in a pet he flung out of my chamber, and I never stopped him, having intended to put him off today, whether this had happened or no, because I think I have all the rules that he hath to give.

28th. The boy failing to call us up as I commanded, I was angry,

<sup>1</sup> Charles, Lord Buckhurst, eldest son of Richard Sackville, fifth Earl of Dorset; created Lord Cranfield and Earl of Middlesex soon after his uncle's death, in 1675, and succeeded his father as Earl of Dorset in 1677. *Ob.* 1706.

and resolved to whip him for that, and many other faults, today. Early with Sir W. Pen by coach to White Hall, to the Duke of York's chamber, and there I presented him from my Lord a fine map of Tangier, done by one Captain Beckman,<sup>1</sup> a Swede that is with my Lord. We stayed looking it over a great while with the Duke after he was ready. Home, and to be as good as my word, I bade Will get me a rod, and he and I called the boy up to one of the upper rooms of the Comptroller's house towards the garden, and there I reckoned all his faults, and whipped him soundly, but the rods was so small that I fear they did not much hurt to him, but only to my arm, which I am already, within a quarter of an hour, not able to stir almost.

March 1st. My wife and I by coach, first to see my little picture that is a-drawing, and thence to the Opera, and there saw 'Romeo and Juliet,'<sup>2</sup> the first time it was ever acted, but it is a play of itself the worst that ever I heard, and the worst acted that ever I saw these people do, and I am resolved to go no more to see the first time of acting, for they were all of them out more or less. I do find that I am £500 beforehand in the world, which I was afraid I was not, but I find that I had spent above £250 this last half year, which troubles me much; but by God's blessing I am resolved to take up, having furnished myself with all things for a great while, and tomorrow to think upon some rules and obligations upon myself to walk by.

2d. (Lord's day.) With my mind much eased talking long in bed with my wife about our frugal life for the time to come, proposing to her what I could and would do if I were worth £2000, that is, be a knight and keep my coach, which pleased her. To church in the morning: none in the pew but myself.

3d. I do find a great deal more of content in these few days, that I do spend well about my business, than in all the pleasure of a whole week. I am told that this day the Parliament hath voted 2s. per annum for every chimney in England, as a constant revenue for ever to the Crown.

4th. Sir W. Pen and I and my wife in his coach to Moorfields, where we walked a great while, though it was no fair weather and

<sup>1</sup> Afterwards Sir Martin Beckman, many of whose plans are in the British Museum. He became chief engineer, and was knighted 20th March 1685. The map of Tangier here mentioned is in the collection of George III at the British Museum.

<sup>2</sup> Betterton played Romeo, and his wife Juliet.

cold, and after our walk, we went to the Pope's Head,<sup>1</sup> and eat cakes and other fine things.

5th. To the pewterer's to buy a poor's box, to put my forfeits in, upon breach of my late vows. To my office, and there sat looking over my papers of my voyage, when we fetched over the King, and tore so many of these that were worth nothing, as filled my closet as high as my knees.

6th. This night my new camlott riding coat to my coloured cloth suit came home. More news today of our losses at Brampton by the late storm.

7th. Early to White Hall, to the chapel, where by Mr. Blagrove's means I got into his pew, and heard Dr. Creeton,<sup>2</sup> the great Scotchman, and chaplain in ordinary to the King, preach before the King, and Duke and Duchess, upon the words of Micah: 'Roll yourselves in dust.' He made a most learned sermon upon the words: but, in his application, the most comical man that ever I heard in my life. Just such a man as Hugh Peters; saying that it had been better for the poor Cavalier never to have come with the King into England again; for he that hath the impudence to deny obedience to the lawful magistrate, and to swear to the oath of allegiance, &c., was better treated nowadays in Newgate, than a poor Royalist, that hath suffered all his life for the King, is at Whitehall among his friends.

8th. By coach with both Sir Williams to Westminster; this being a great day there in the House to pass the business for chimney-money, which was done. In the Hall I met with Serjeant Pierce; and he told me how my Lady Monk hath disposed of all the places which Mr. Edward Montagu hoped to have had, as he was Master of the Horse to the Queen; which I am afraid will undo him, because he depended much upon the profit of what he should make by these places. He told me also many more scurvy stories of him and his brother Ralph,<sup>3</sup> which troubles me to hear of persons of honour, as they are. Sir W. Pen and I to the office, whither afterward came Sir G. Carteret; and we sent for Sir Thomas Allen, one of the Aldermen of the City, about the business of one Colonel Appesley, whom we had taken counterfeiting of bills with all our

<sup>1</sup> In Cornhill.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Robert Creighton, originally of Trinity College, Oxford; but who afterwards, from 1627 to 1639, was Greek professor and Public Orator at Cambridge. When Pepys heard him, Creighton was Dean of Wells. In 1670 he was consecrated Bishop of Bath and Wells. He died in 1672.

<sup>3</sup> Afterwards Duke of Montagu.

hands and the officers of the yards, so well counterfeited that I should never have mistrusted them. We stayed about this business at the office till ten at night, and at last did send him with a constable to the Counter, and did give warrants for the seizing of a complice of his, one Blenkinsop.

9th. (Lord's day.) Church in the morning: dined at home, then to church again, and heard Mr. Naylor, whom I knew formerly of Caius College, make a most eloquent sermon. To walk an hour with Sir W. Pen in the garden: then he in to supper with me.

10th. At the office, doing business all the morning. Home and to bed, tomorrow being washing day.

11th. At the office all the morning, and all the afternoon rummaging of papers in my chamber, and tearing some and sorting others till late at night.

12th. This morning we had news from Mr. Coventry, that Sir G. Downing, like a perfidious rogue, though the action is good and of service to the King, yet he cannot with a good conscience do it, hath taken Okey,<sup>1</sup> Corbet, and Barkstead at Delft, in Holland, and sent them home in the Blackmore. Sir W. Pen talking to me this afternoon of what a strange thing it is for Downing to do this, he told me of a speech he made to the Lords States of Holland, telling them to their faces that he observed that he was not received with the respect and observance now, that he was when he came from the traitor and rebel Cromwell: by whom, I am sure, he hath got all he hath in the world—and they know it too.

13th. All day busy about business. Having lately followed my business much, I find great pleasure in it, and a growing content.

14th. At the office all the morning. Home to dinner. In the afternoon, came the German, Dr. Knuffler, to discourse with us about his engine to blow up ships. We doubted not the matter of fact, it being tried in Cromwell's time, but the safety of carrying them in ships; but he do tell us that when he comes to tell the King his secret (for none but the Kings, successively, and their heirs must know it), it will appear to be of no danger at all. We concluded nothing, but shall discourse with the Duke of York tomorrow about it. I found that Sarah the maid had been very ill all day, and my wife fears that she will have an ague. Thence to my lute, upon which I have not played a week or two, and trying

<sup>1</sup> John Okey, Miles Corbet, and John Barkstead, three of the regicides: executed 19th April following.

over the two songs of 'Nulla, Nulla,' etc., and 'Gaze not on Swans,' which Mr. Berkenshaw set for me a little while ago. I find them most incomparable songs as he has set them, of which I am not a little proud, because I am sure none in the world has them but myself, nor so much as he himself that set them.

15th. To the Exchange, to hire a ship for the Madeiras. Troubled at my maid's being ill.

16th. (Lord's day.) This morning, till churches were done, I spent going from one church to another, and hearing a bit here and a bit there. Walked to White Hall; and an hour or two in the Park, which is now very pleasant. Here the King and Duke came to see their fowl play. The Duke took very civil notice of me. At Tom's, giving him my resolution about my boy's livery. Walking in the garden with Sir W. Pen: his son William is at home, not well. But all things, I fear, do not go well with them—they look discontentedly, but I know not what ails them.

17th. Last night, the Blackmore pink brought the three prisoners, Barkstead, Okey, and Corbet, to the Tower, being taken at Delft in Holland; where, the Captain tells me, the Dutch were a good while before they could be persuaded to let them go, they being taken prisoners in their land. But Sir G. Downing would not be answered so, though all the world takes notice of him for a most ungrateful villain for his pains.

18th. Sir W. Pen and I on board some of the ships now fitting for East Indies and Portugal, to see in what forwardness they are. That which troubles me is that my father has now got an ague that I fear may endanger his life.

19th. This noon came a letter from T. Pepys, the turner, in answer to one of mine the other day to him, wherein I did check him for not coming to me, as he had promised, with his and his father's resolution about the difference between us. But he writes to me in the very same slighting terms that I did to him, without the least respect at all, but word for word, as I did him, which argues a high and noble spirit in him, though it troubles me a little that he should make no more of my anger; yet I cannot blame him for doing so, he being the elder brother's son, and not depending upon me at all.

20th. At my office all the morning and all the afternoon till late at night; and so home and to bed, my mind in good ease when I mind business, which methinks should be a good argument to me never to do otherwise.



21st. I went to see Sarah and my Lord's lodgings, which are now all in dirt, to be repaired against my Lord's coming from sea with the Queen. Thence to Westminster Hall; and there walked up and down, and heard the great difference that hath been between my Lord Chancellor and my Lord of Bristol, about a proviso that my Lord Chancellor would have brought into the Bill for Conformity, that it shall be in the power of the King, when he sees fit, to dispense with the Act of Conformity; and, though it be carried in the House of Lords, yet it is believed it will hardly pass in the Commons.

22d. At noon, Sir Williams both and I by water down to the Lewes, Captain Dekins his ship, a merchantman, where we met the owners, Sir John Lewes<sup>1</sup> and Alderman Lewes, and several other great merchants: among others, one Jefferys, a merry man, and he and I called brothers, and he made all the mirth in the company. We had a very fine dinner, and all our wives' healths, with seven or nine guns apiece; and exceeding merry we were, and so home by barge again.

23d. (Lord's day.) This morning was brought me my boy's fine livery, which is very handsome, and I do think to keep the black and gold lace upon grey, being the colour of my arms, for ever. To White Hall, and there met with Captain Isham, this day come from Lisbon, with letters from the Queen to the King, and he did give me letters which speak that our fleet is all at Lisbon and that the Queen do not intend to embark sooner than tomorrow come fortnight.

24th. Comes La Belle Pierce<sup>2</sup> to see my wife, and to bring her a pair of perukes of hair as the fashion now is for ladies to wear; which are pretty, and are of my wife's own hair, or else I should not endure them. After a good while's stay, I went to see if any play was acted, and I found none upon the post, it being Passion Week. To Westminster Hall, and there bought Mr. Grant's book of observations upon the weekly bills of mortality,<sup>3</sup> which appears to me, upon first sight, to be very pretty.

26th. Up early. This being, by God's great blessing, the fourth solemn day of my cutting for the stone this day four years,

<sup>1</sup> He had been knighted at the Hague, and afterwards was created a baronet.

<sup>2</sup> Wife of Surgeon Pierce.

<sup>3</sup> Burnet remarks, *Own Times*, vol. i, p. 401, edit. 1823, that 'Sir William Petty published his Observations on the Bills of Mortality, in the name of one Grant, a papist.' This is confirmed by Evelyn, *Diary*, 22nd March 1675.

and am, by God's mercy, in very good health, and like to do well; the Lord's name be praised for it! At noon come my good guests, Madam Turner, The., and cousin Norton, and a gentleman, one Mr. Lewin, of the King's Life-Guard, by the same token he told us of one of his fellows killed this morning in a duel. I had a pretty dinner for them: viz., a brace of stewed carps, six roasted chickens, and a jowl of salmon, hot, for the first course; a tansy,<sup>1</sup> and two neat's tongues, and cheese, the second; and were very merry all the afternoon, talking, and singing, and piping on the flageolet. We had a man-cook to dress dinner to-day, and sent for Jane to help us. And my wife and she agreed for £3 a year (she would not serve under) till both could be better provided, and so she stays with us.

27th. Early Sir G. Carteret, both Sir Williams, and I by coach to Deptford, taking a cod and some prawns in Fish Street with us. We settled to pay the Guernsey, a small ship but come to a great deal of money, it having been unpaid ever since before the King came in, by which means not only the King pays wages while the ship has lain still, but the poor men have most of them been forced to borrow all the money due for their wages before they receive it, and that at a dear rate, God knows: so that many of them had very little to receive at the table, which grieved me to see it. To dinner, very merry.

28th. (Good Friday.) At home all the morning. At my office all the afternoon.

29th. To my Lady, and stayed two hours talking with her about her family business with great content and confidence in me. Home, where my people are getting the house clean against to-morrow.

30th. (Easter-day.) Having my old black suit new furbished, I was pretty neat in clothes today; and my boy, his old suit new trimmed, very handsome. To church in the morning, and so home, leaving the two Sir Williams to take the Sacrament, which I blame myself that I have hitherto neglected all my life, but once or twice at Cambridge. My wife and I to church in the afternoon, and seated ourselves, she below me, and by that means the precedence of the pew, which my Lady Batten and her daughter takes, is confounded; and after sermon she and I did stay behind them in the pew, and went out by ourselves, a good while after them,

<sup>1</sup> A kind of sweet dish made of eggs, cream, &c., flavoured with the juice of tansy, which is a species of odorous herb.

which we judge a very fine project hereafter to avoid contention; so my wife and I to walk an hour or two on the leads, which begins to be very pleasant, the garden being in good condition. So to supper, which is also well served in. We had a lobster to supper with a crab Pegg Pen sent my wife this afternoon, the reason of which we cannot think; but something there is of plot or design in it, for we have a little while carried ourselves pretty strange to them.

31st. To Sir Thomas Crewe's lodgings. He hath been ill, and continues so, under fits of apoplexy. Among other things, he and I did discourse much of Mr. Montagu's base doings, and to the dishonour that he will do my Lord, as well as cheating him of two or three thousand pounds, which is too true. Thence to the play, where coming late, and meeting with Sir W. Pen, who had got room for my wife and his daughter in the pit, he and I into one of the boxes, and there we sat and heard 'The Little Thief,'<sup>1</sup> a pretty play, and well done.

April 1st. At noon my wife and I to the Wardrobe, and dined. Here was Mr. Harbord, son to Sir Charles Harbord, that lately came with letters from my Lord Sandwich to the King. He and I, and the two young ladies and my wife, to the playhouse—the Opera—and saw 'The Maid in the Mill,' a pretty good play; and that being done, in their coach I took them to Islington, and then, after a walk in the fields, I took them to the great cheese-cake house, and entertained them, and so home; and after an hour's stay with my Lady, their coach carried us home, and so weary to bed.

2d. Mr. Moore and I walked to the Spittle,<sup>2</sup> an hour or two before my Lord Mayor and the blue-coat boys come, which at last they did, and a fine sight of charity it is, indeed. We got places, and stayed to hear a sermon; but, it being a Presbyterian one, it was so long, that after above an hour of it we went away, and I home and dined; and then my wife and I by water to the Opera, and there saw 'The Bondman' most excellently acted; and though we had seen it so often, yet I never liked it better than to-day, Ianthe acting Clerora's part very well, now Roxalana is gone. We are resolved to see no more plays till Whitsuntide, we having been three days together. Met Mr. Sanchy, Smithes, Gale, and Edlin, at the play; but having no great mind to spend money, I left them there.

4th. I was much troubled today to see a dead man lie floating

<sup>1</sup> By John Fletcher and James Shirley.

<sup>2</sup> Christ's Hospital.

upon the waters, and had done (they say) these four days, and nobody takes him up to bury him, which is very barbarous.

5th. Sir G. Carteret and I walked together alone in the garden, taking notice of some faults in the office, particularly of Sir W. Batten's, and he seemed to be much pleased with me, and I hope will be the ground of a future interest of mine in him, which I should be glad of.

6th. (Lord's day.) By water to White Hall, to Sir G. Carteret, to give him an account of the backwardness of the ships we have hired to Portugal; at which he is much troubled. Thence to the Chapel, and there, though crowded, heard a very honest sermon before the King by a Canon of Christ Church, upon these words, 'Having a form of godliness, but denying,' &c. Among other things, he did much insist upon the sin of adultery: which methought might touch the King, and the more because he forced it into his sermon, methinks, besides his text. So up and saw the King at dinner; and thence with Sir G. Carteret to his lodgings to dinner, with him and his lady. All their discourse, which was very much, was upon their sufferings and services for the King. Yet not without some trouble, to see that some, that had been much bound to them, do now neglect them; and others again most civil that have received least from them: and I do believe that he hath been a good servant to the King. Thence to the Park, where the King and Duke did walk.

7th. By water to White Hall, and thence to Westminster, and stayed at the Parliament door long to speak with Mr. Coventry, which vexed me. Thence to the Lords' House, and stood within the House, while the Bishops and Lords did stay till the Chancellor's coming, and then we were put out; and they to prayers. There comes a Bishop; and while he was rigging himself, he bid his man listen at the door, whereabouts in the prayers they were; but the man told him something, but could not tell whereabouts it was in the prayers, nor the Bishop neither, but laughed at the conceit; so went in: but, God forgive me! I did tell it by and by to people, and did say that the man said that they were about something of saving their souls, but could not tell whereabouts in the prayers that was. I sent in a note to my Lord Privy Seal,<sup>1</sup> and he came out to me; and I desired he would make another deputy for me, because of my great business of the Navy this month: but he told me he could not do it without the King's consent, which vexed me.

<sup>1</sup> Lord Saye and Sele, who died seven days afterwards.

The great talk is, that the Spaniards and the Hollanders do intend to set upon the Portugese by sea, at Lisbon, as soon as our fleet is come away; and by that means our fleet is not likely to come yet these two or three months; which I hope is not true.

8th. Up very early and to my office till noon. So to dinner, and in comes uncle Fenner and the two Joyces. I sent for a barrel of oysters and a breast of veal roasted, and were very merry; but I cannot down with their dull company and impertinence.

9th. Sir George<sup>1</sup> showed me an account in French of the great famine, which is to the greatest extremity in some part of France at this day; which is very strange.<sup>2</sup>

10th. Yesterday came Colonel Talbot<sup>3</sup> with letters from Portugal, that the Queen is resolved to embark for England this week. Thence to the office all the afternoon. My Lord Windsor<sup>4</sup> came to us to discourse of his affairs, and to take his leave of us; he being to go Governor of Jamaica with this fleet that is now going.

11th. With Sir W. Pen by water to Deptford; and among the ships now going to Portugal with men and horse, to see them dispatched. So to Greenwich; and had a fine pleasant walk to Woolwich, having in our company Captain Minnes, whom I was much pleased to hear talk. Among other things, he and the Captains that were with us tell me that negroes drowned look white, and lose their blackness, which I never heard before. At Woolwich, up and down to do the same business; and so back to Greenwich by water. Sir William and I walked into the Park, where the King hath planted trees and made steps in the hill up to the Castle, which is very magnificent. So up and down the house, which is now repairing in the Queen's lodgings. To dinner at the Globe, and so home and walked with my wife on the leads late; and so the barber came to me, and so to bed very weary which I seldom am.

12th. At the office all the morning, where, among other things,

<sup>1</sup> Carteret.

<sup>2</sup> On 5th June following, Louis, notwithstanding the scarcity, gave that splendid festival in the court before the Tuileries, known as the Place du Carrousel (Tiltyard).

<sup>3</sup> Richard Talbot, who figures conspicuously in Grammont's *Mémoires*. He married, first, Catherine Boynton, and secondly, Frances Jennings, elder sister of Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough. Talbot was created Earl of Tyrconnel by James II, and made Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and elevated by him to the dukedom of Tyrconnel after his abdication.

<sup>4</sup> Thomas Windsor, Baron Windsor, Lord Lieutenant of Worcestershire; advanced to the earldom of Plymouth, 1682: *ob.* 1687.

being provoked by some impertinence of Sir W. Batten's, I called him an unreasonable man, at which he was very angry, and so was I; but I think we shall not much fall out about it.

13th. (Lord's day.) In the morning to Paul's, where I heard a pretty good sermon, and thence to dinner with my Lady at the Wardrobe; and after much talk with her after dinner, I went to the Temple Church, and there heard another: by the same token, a boy being asleep, fell down a high seat to the ground, ready to break his neck, but got no hurt. Thence to Gray's Inn Walks; and there met Mr. Pickering. His discourse most about the pride of the Duchess of York; and how all the ladies envy my Lady Castlemaine. He intends to go to Portsmouth to meet the Queen this week; which is now the discourse and expectation of the town.

14th. Being weary last night I lay very long in bed to-day, talking with my wife, and persuaded her to go to Brampton, and take Sarah with her, next week, to cure her ague by change of air; and we agreed all things therein. We rose, and at noon dined, and then we to the painter's and there sat the last time for my little picture, which I hope will please me. Then to Paternoster Row to buy things for my wife against her going. So home and walked upon the leads with my wife, and whether she suspected anything or no I know not, but she is quite off her going to Brampton. Yet all my design was that I might the freer go to Portsmouth. But I will get off if I can.

15th. With my wife, by coach, to the New Exchange,<sup>1</sup> to buy her some things; where we saw some new-fashion petticoats of sarcenet, with a black broad lace printed round the bottom and before, very handsome, and my wife had a mind to one of them, but we did not then buy one.

17th. To Mr. Hollyard's in the morning, thinking to be let blood, but he was gone out. Sir W. Batten sent for me to tell me that he had this day spoke to the Duke about raising our houses, and he hath given us leave to do it; at which, being glad, I went home merry.

18th. This morning, sending the boy down into the cellar for some beer I followed him with a cane, and did there beat him for his staying of errands and other faults; and his sister came to me down and begged for him. So I forbore, and afterwards in my wife's chamber, did there talk to Jane how much I did love the boy

<sup>1</sup> In the Strand; built, under the auspices of James I, in 1608, out of the ruins of the stables of Durham House, the site of the present Adelphi.

for her sake, and how much it do concern to correct the boy for his faults, or else he would be undone. So at last she was well pleased. This morning Sir G. Carteret, Sir W. Batten, and I met at the office, and did conclude of our going to Portsmouth next week, in which my mind is at a great loss what to do with my wife; for I cannot persuade her to go to Brampton; and I am loth to leave her at home.

19th. This morning, before we sat, I went to Aldgate; and at the corner shop, a draper's, I stood, and did see Barkstead, Okey, and Corbet, drawn towards the gallows at Tyburn; and there they were hanged and quartered. They all looked very cheerful; but I hear they all die defending what they did to the King to be just, which is very strange. In the evening did get a beaver, an old one, but a very good one, of Sir W. Batten, for which I must give him something; but I am very well pleased with it.

20th. (Lord's day.) My intention being to go this morning to White Hall to hear South,<sup>1</sup> my Lord Chancellor's chaplain (the famous preacher and orator of Oxford, who the last Lord's day did sink down in the pulpit before the King, and could not proceed), it did rain, and the wind against me, that I could by no means get a boat or coach to carry me; and so I stayed at Paul's, where the Judges did all meet, and heard a sermon, it being the first Sunday of the term; but they had a very poor sermon.

21st. This morning I attempted to persuade my wife to go to Brampton this week, but she would not; and seeing I could no longer keep it from her, I told her that I was resolved to go to Portsmouth to-morrow. At noon dined with my Lord Crewe; and after dinner went up to Sir Thomas Crewe's chamber, who is still ill. He tells me how my Lady Duchess of Richmond<sup>2</sup> and Castlemaine had a falling out the other day; and she calls the latter Jane Shore, and did hope to see her come to the same end that she did. Coming down again to my Lord, he told me that news was come that the Queen is landed; at which I took leave, and by coach hurried to White Hall, the bells ringing in several places; but I found there no such matter, nor anything like it.

<sup>1</sup> This was the learned Robert South, then public orator at Oxford, and afterwards D.D., and Prebendary of Westminster, and Canon of Christchurch.

<sup>2</sup> Mary, daughter to George Villiers, first Duke of Buckingham; wife of James, fourth Duke of Lennox, and third Duke of Richmond, who left her a widow secondly in 1655. She had previously married Charles Lord Herbert; and she took for her third husband Thomas Howard, brother of the Earl of Carlisle.

22d. After taking leave of my wife, which we could hardly do kindly, because of her mind to go along with me, Sir W. Pen and I took coach, and so over the bridge to Lambeth; W. Bodham and Tom Hewet going as clerks to Sir W. Pen, and my Will for me. Here we got a dish of buttered eggs, and there stayed till Sir G. Carteret came to us from White Hall, who brought Dr. Clerke with him, at which I was very glad, and so we set out. We come to Guildford, and there passed our time in the garden, cutting of asparagus for supper—the best that ever I eat in my life but in the house last year. Supped well, and the Doctor and I to bed together, calling cousins, from his name and my office.<sup>1</sup>

23d. Up early, and to Petersfield; and thence got a countryman to guide us by Havant, to avoid going through the Forest; but he carried us much out of the way, and upon our coming, we sent away an express to Sir W. Batten, to stop his coming, which I did project to make good my oath, that my wife should come if any of our wives came, which my Lady Batten did intend to do with her husband. The Doctor and I lay together at Wiard's, the surgeon's, in Portsmouth: his wife a very pretty woman. We lay very well and merrily; in the morning, concluding him to be of the eldest blood and house of the Clerkes, because that all the fleas came to him, and not to me.

24th. Up and to Sir G. Carteret's lodgings, at Mrs. Stephens's, where we keep our table all the time we are here. Thence, all of us to the Pay-house; but the books not being ready, we went to church to the lecture, where there was my Lord Ormond<sup>2</sup> and Manchester,<sup>3</sup> and much London company, though not so much as I expected. Here we had a very good sermon upon this text: 'In love serving one another'; which pleased me very well. No news of the Queen at all. So to dinner; and then to the Pay all the afternoon. Then W. Pen and I walked to the King's Yard, and there lay at Mr. Tippetts's, where exceeding well treated.

25th. All the morning at Portsmouth, at the Pay, and then to dinner, and again to the Pay; and at night got the Doctor to go lie with me, and much pleased with his company; but I was much troubled in my eyes, by reason of the healths I have this day been forced to drink.

26th. Sir George and I, and his clerk, Mr. Stephens, and Mr.

<sup>1</sup> Clerk of the Acts.

<sup>2</sup> The Duke of Ormond, as Lord High Steward.

<sup>3</sup> As Lord Chamberlain.



Holt, our guide, over to Gosport; and so rode to Southampton. In our way, besides my Lord Southampton's <sup>1</sup> parks and lands, which in one view we could see £6000 per annum, we observed a little churchyard, where the graves are accustomed to be all sowed with sage. At Southampton, we went to the Mayor's, and there dined, and had sturgeon of their own catching the last week, which do not happen in twenty years, and it was well ordered. They brought also some caviar, which I attempted to order, but all to no purpose, for they had neither given it salt enough, nor are the seeds of the roe broke, but are all in berries. The town is one most gallant street, and is walled round with stone, &c., and Bevis's picture upon one of the gates; many old walls of religious houses, and the quay, well worth seeing. After dinner, to horse again, being in nothing troubled but the badness of my hat, which I borrowed to save my beaver.

27th. (Sunday.) Sir W. Pen got trimmed before me, and so took the coach to Portsmouth, to wait on my Lord Steward to church, and sent the coach for me back again: so I rode to church, and met my Lord Chamberlain upon the walls of the garrison, who owned and spoke to me. I followed him in the crowd of gallants through the Queen's lodgings to chapel; the rooms being all rarely furnished, and escaped hardly being set on fire yesterday. At chapel we had a most excellent and eloquent sermon. By coach to the Yard, and then, on board the Swallow in the dock, hear our navy chaplain preach a sad sermon, full of nonsense and false Latin; but prayed for the Right Honourable the principal officers. Visited the Mayor, Mr. Timbrell, our anchor-smith, who showed us the present they have for the Queen; which is a salt-cellar of silver, the walls crystal, with four eagles and four greyhounds standing up at the top to bear up a dish; which indeed is one of the neatest pieces of plate that ever I saw, and the case is very pretty, also. This evening came a merchantman in the harbour, which we hired at London to carry horses to Portugal; but, Lord! what running

<sup>1</sup> Titchfield House, erected by Sir Thomas Wriothesley, on the site of an abbey of Premonstratensians, granted to him with their estates, 29th Henry VIII. Upon the death of his descendant, Thomas Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, the Lord Treasurer, without male issue, the house and manor were allotted to his eldest daughter, Elizabeth, wife of Edmund Noel, first Earl of Gainsborough; and their only son dying *s.p.m.*, the property devolved to his sister Elizabeth, married to Henry Bentinck, first Duke of Portland, whose grandson, the third duke, alienated it to Mr. Delme. The duke's second title is taken from this place.

there was to the seaside, to hear what news, thinking it had come from the Queen.

28th. The Doctor and I begun philosophy discourse exceeding pleasant. He offers to bring me into the college of virtuosos,<sup>1</sup> and my Lord Brouncker's acquaintance, and show me some anatomy, which makes me very glad; and I shall endeavour it when I come to London. Sir W. Pen much troubled upon letters came last night. Showed me one of Dr. Owen's<sup>2</sup> to his son, whereby it appears his son is much perverted in his opinion by him; which I now perceive is one thing that hath put Sir William so long off the hooks.

29th. After our work was done Sir G. Carteret, Sir W. Pen, and I walked forth, and I spied Mrs. Pierce and another lady passing by. So I left them and went to the ladies, and walked with them up and down, and took them to Mrs. Stephens, and there gave them wine and sweetmeats, and were very merry; and then comes the Doctor, and we carried them by coach to their lodging. So I appointed one to watch when the gates of the town were ready to be shut, and to give us notice; and so the Doctor and I stayed with them playing and laughing, and at last were forced to bid good-night for fear of being locked into the town all night. So we walked to the yard designing how to prevent our going to London tomorrow that we might be merry with these ladies, which I did.

30th. I took leave of Sir W. Pen, he desiring to know whither I went, but I would not tell him. I went to the ladies, and there took them and walked to the Mayor's and thence to the dock, and thence back again to their lodgings; and we were very merry, playing at cards and laughing very merry till twelve o'clock at night. And so bade them good-night, and so to the Doctor's lodgings, and there lay with him, our discourse being much about the quality of the lady with Mrs. Pierce, she being somewhat old and handsome, and painted and fine, and had a very handsome maid with her. This afternoon after dinner comes Mr. Stephenson, one of the burgesses of the town, to tell me that the Mayor and burgesses did desire my acceptance of a burgess-ship, and were ready at the Mayor's to make me one. So I went, and there they

<sup>1</sup> The Royal Society.

<sup>2</sup> John Owen, D.D., a learned Nonconformist divine, and a voluminous theological writer, made Dean of Christ Church in 1651, by the Parliament, and ejected in 1660. He died at Ealing in 1683.

were all ready, and did with much civility give me my oath, and after the oath, did by custom shake me all by the hand: so I took them to a tavern, and made them drink, and paying the reckoning, went away. It cost me a piece in gold to the Town Clerk, and 10s. to the Bailiffs, and spent 6s.

May 1st. Sir G. Carteret, Sir W. Pen, and myself, with our clerks, set out this morning from Portsmouth very early, and got by noon to Petersfield; several officers of the Yard accompanying us so far. At dinner comes my Lord Carlingford<sup>1</sup> from London, going to Portsmouth: tells us that the Duchess of York is brought to bed of a girl,<sup>2</sup> at which I find nobody pleased; and that Prince Rupert and the Duke of Buckingham are sworn of the Privy Council. He himself made a dish with eggs of the butter of the asparagus, which is very fine meat, which I will practise hereafter. To horse again, and got to Guildford, whereafter I to bed, having this day been offended by Sir W. Pen's foolish talk, and I offending him with my answers. Among others he in discourse complaining of want of confidence, did ask me to lend him a grain or two, which I told him I thought he was better stored with than myself, before Sir George. So that I see I must keep a greater distance than I have done. To bed all alone, and my Will in the truckle-bed.

2d. Got early to London. I to Dr. Clerke's lady, and gave her her letter and token. She is a very fine woman; and what with her person, and the number of fine ladies that were with her, I was much out of countenance, and could hardly carry myself like a man among them; but, however, I stayed till my courage was up again, and talked to them, and viewed his house, which is most pleasant, and so drank and good night.

3d. To the Duke's chamber, who had been a-hunting this morning, and is come back again. To dinner to my Lady Sandwich; and Sir Thomas Crewe's children coming thither, I took them and all my Lady's to the Tower, and showed them the lions, and all that was to be shown; Sir Thomas Crewe's children being as pretty, and the best behaved that ever I saw of their age. Thence, at the goldsmith's, took my picture in little, which is now done, home with me, and pleases me exceedingly, and my wife.

4th. Mr. Holliard come to me, and let me blood, about sixteen ounces, I being exceeding full of blood, and very good. I begun

<sup>1</sup> Theobald Taaffe, second Viscount Taaffe, created Earl of Carlingford, in Ireland, 1662.

<sup>2</sup> Mary, afterwards Queen of England.

to be sick; but, lying upon my back, I was presently well again, and did give him 5s. for his pains. After dinner, my arm tied up with a black ribbon, I walked with my wife to my brother Tom's; our boy waiting on us with his sword, which this day he begins to wear, to outdo Sir W. Pen's boy, who this day, and Sir W. Batten's, do begin to wear new liveries; but I do take mine to be the neatest of them all. I led my wife to Mrs. Turner's pew, the church being full, it being to hear a Doctor who is to preach a probation sermon. I went out to the Temple and there walked, and so when church was done, my wife and I walked to Gray's Inn, to observe fashions of the ladies, because of my wife's making some clothes.

5th. My arm not being well, I stayed in all the morning. My wife gone to buy some things for herself, and a gown for me to dress myself in.

6th. Got my seat set up on the leads, which pleases me well.

7th. Walked to Westminster; where I understand the news that Mr. Montagu is this last night come to the King with news, that he left the Queen and fleet in the Bay of Biscay, coming this wayward; and that he believes she is now at the Isle of Scilly. So at noon to my Lord Crewe's and there dined; and after dinner Sir Thomas Crewe and I talked together, and among other instances of the simple light discourse that sometimes is in the Parliament House, he told me how in the late business of Chimney Money, when all occupiers were to pay, it was questioned whether women were under that name to pay; and somebody rose and said that they were not occupiers but occupied. Thence to Paul's Churchyard; where, seeing my Ladies Sandwich and Carteret, and my wife, who this day made a visit the first time to my Lady Carteret,<sup>1</sup> come by coach, and going to Hyde Park, I was resolved to follow them; and so went to Mrs. Turner's: and thence found her out at the Theatre, where I saw the last act of the 'Knight of the Burning Pestle,'<sup>2</sup> which pleased me not at all. And so after the play done, she and The. Turner and Mrs. Lucin,<sup>3</sup> and I, in her coach to the Park; and there found them out, and spoke to them; and observed many fine ladies, and stayed till all were gone almost.

8th. Sir G. Carteret told me, that the Queen and the fleet were in Mount's Bay on Monday last; and that the Queen endures her sickness pretty well. He also told me how Sir John Lawson hath

<sup>1</sup> Elizabeth, who married her cousin, Sir George Carteret, and was the daughter of Sir Philip Carteret.

<sup>2</sup> A comedy by Beaumont and Fletcher.

<sup>3</sup> ? Lukyn.

done some execution upon the Turks in the Strait, of which I am glad, and told the news the first on the Exchange, and was much followed by merchants to tell it. Sir G. Carteret, among other discourse, tells me that it is Mr. Coventry that is to come to us as a Commissioner of the Navy; at which he is much vexed, and cries out upon Sir W. Pen, and threatens him highly. And looking upon his lodgings, which are now enlarging, he in a passion cried, '*Guarda mi spada; for, by God, I may chance to keep him in Ireland, when he is there!*' for Sir W. Pen is going thither with my Lord Lieutenant. But it is my design to keep much in with Sir George; and I think I have begun very well towards it.

9th. To Mr. de Cretz, and there saw some good pieces that he hath copied of the King's pieces—some of Raphael and Michelangelo; and I have borrowed an Elizabeth of his copying to hang up in my house. Thence with Salisbury, who I met there, into Covent Garden, to an alehouse, to see a picture that hangs there, which is offered for 20s.; and I offered fourteen, but it is worth much more money, but did not buy it, I having no mind to break my oath. Thence to see an Italian puppet play, that is within the rails there—the best that ever I saw, and great resort of gallants. The Duke of York went last night to Portsmouth; so that I believe the Queen is near.

10th. At noon to the Wardrobe; there dined. My Lady told me how my Lady Castlemaine do speak of going to lie in at Hampton Court; which she and all our ladies are much troubled at, because of the King's being forced to show her countenance in the sight of the Queen when she comes. In the evening Sir G. Carteret and I did hire a shup for Tangier, and other things together; and I find that he do single me out to join with me apart from the rest, which I am much glad of.

11th. (Lord's day.) To our church in the morning where, our minister being out of town, a dull flat presbyter preached. In the afternoon to White Hall; and there walked an hour or two in the Park, where I saw the King, now out of mourning,<sup>1</sup> in a suit laced with gold and silver, which, it was said, was out of fashion. Thence to the Wardrobe; and there consulted with the ladies about our going to Hampton Court to-morrow.

12th. Mr. Townsend called us up by four o'clock; and by five the three ladies, my wife and I, and Mr. Townsend, his son and daughter, were got to the barge and set out. We walked from

<sup>1</sup> For his aunt, the Queen of Bohemia.

Mortlake to Richmond, and so to boat again. And from Teddington to Hampton Court Mr. Townsend and I walked again. And then met the ladies, and were showed the whole house by Mr. Marriot;<sup>1</sup> which is indeed nobly furnished, particularly the Queen's bed, given her by the States of Holland; a looking-glass sent by the Queen-mother from France, hanging in the Queen's chamber, and many brave pictures. And so to barge again; and got home about eight at night very well. So my wife and I took leave of my ladies, and home by a hackney coach, the easiest that ever I met with.

14th. Dined at the Wardrobe; and after dinner sat talking an hour or two alone with my Lady. She is afraid that my Lady Castlemaine will keep still with the King, and I am afraid she will not, for I love her well. To my brother's, and, finding him in a lie about the lining of my new morning gown, saying that it was the same with the outside, I was very angry with him, and parted so. So home; and here came Mr. Morelock of Chatham, and brought me a stately cake.

15th. To Westminster; and at the Privy Seal I saw Mr. Coventry's seal for his being Commissioner with us, at which I know not yet whether to be glad or otherwise. At night, all the bells of the town rung, and bonfires made for the joy of the Queen's arrival, who landed at Portsmouth last night. But I do not see much thorough joy, but only an indifferent one, in the hearts of people, who are much discontented at the pride and luxury of the Court, and running in debt.

17th. To the Wardrobe to dinner, where dined Mrs. Sanderson, the mother of the maids, and after dinner my Lady and she and I on foot to Paternoster Row, to buy a petticoat against the Queen's coming for my Lady, of plain satin, and other things; and, being come back again, we there met Mr. Nathaniel Crewe at the Wardrobe, with a young gentleman, a friend and fellow student of his, and of a good family, Mr. Knightly, and known to the Crewes, of whom my Lady privately told me she hath some thoughts of a match for my Lady Jemimah. I like the person very well, and he hath £2,000 per annum. I walked to my brother Tom's to see a velvet cloak, which I buy of Mr. Moore. It will cost me £8 10s.; he bought it for £6 10s.; but it is worth my money.

18th. (Whitsunday.) By water to White Hall, and there to

<sup>1</sup> The housekeeper.

chapel in my pew, belonging to me as Clerk of the Privy Seal; and there I heard a most excellent sermon of Dr. Hacket,<sup>1</sup> Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, upon these words: 'He that drinketh this water shall never thirst.' We had an excellent anthem, sung by Captain Cooke and another, and brave music. And then the King came down and offered, and took the Sacrament upon his knees; a sight very well worth seeing. After dinner to chapel again; and there had another good anthem of Captain Cooke's. Thence to the Council-chamber; where the King and Council sat till almost eleven o'clock at night, and I forced to walk up and down the galleries till that time of night. They were reading all the bills over that are to pass tomorrow at the House, before the King's going out of town and proroguing the House. At last, the Council risen, Sir G. Carteret telling me what the Council hath ordered about the ships designed to carry horse from Ireland to Portugal, which is now altered. At home I found my wife discontented at my being abroad, but I pleased her. She was in her new suit of black sarcenet and yellow petticoat, very pretty. So to bed.

19th. Long in bed sometimes scolding with my wife, and then pleased again; and at last up and put on my riding-cloth suit and a camlott coat new, which pleases me well enough. I hear that the House of Commons do think much that they should be forced to huddle over business this morning against the afternoon, for the King to pass their Acts, that he may go out of town. But he, I hear since, was forced to stay till almost nine o'clock at night before he could have done, and then prorogued them; and so to Guildford, and lay there. After dinner Sir W. Pen and his daughter and I and my wife by coach to the theatre, and there, in a box, saw 'The Little Thief' well done. Thence to Moorfields, and walked and eat some cheese-cake and gammon of bacon, but when I was come home I was sick. So with my wife walking and singing upon the leads till very late, it being pleasant and moonshine, and so to bed.

20th. Sir W. Pen and I did a little business at the office, and so home again. Then comes Dean Fuller; and I am most pleased with his company and goodness. My wife and I by coach to the Opera, and there saw the 2nd part of 'The Siege of Rhodes,' but it is not so well done as when Roxalana was there, who, it is said, is now owned by my Lord of Oxford. A very pleasant life that

<sup>1</sup> John Hacket, elected bishop of that see 1661: *ob.* 1670.

we now lead, and have long done; the Lord be blessed, and make us thankful. But though I am much against too much spending, yet I do think it best to enjoy some degree of pleasure now that we have health, money, and opportunity, rather than to leave pleasures to old age or poverty, when we cannot have them so properly.

21st. My wife and I to my Lord's lodging; where she and I stayed walking in White Hall Garden. And in the Privy-garden saw the finest smocks and linen petticoats of my Lady Castlemaine's, laced with rich lace at the bottom, that ever I saw; and did me good to look at them. Sarah<sup>1</sup> told me how the King dined at my Lady Castlemaine's, and supped, every day and night the last week; and that the night that the bonfires were made for joy of the Queen's arrival, the King was there; but there was no fire at her door, though at all the rest of the doors almost in the street; which was much observed: and that the King and she did send for a pair of scales and weighed one another; and she, being with child,<sup>2</sup> was said to be the heaviest. But she is now a most disconsolate creature, and comes not out of doors, since the King's going. But we went to the Theatre, to 'The French Dancing Master,' and there with much pleasure gazed upon her (Lady Castlemaine); but it troubles us to see her look dejectedly, and slighted by people already. The play pleased us very well; but Lacy's part, the Dancing Master, the best in the world.<sup>3</sup>

22d. This morning comes an order from the Secretary of State, Nicholas, for me to let one Mr. Lee, a Councillor, view what papers I have relating to passages of the late times, wherein Sir H. Vane's hand is employed, in order to the drawing up his charge; which I did. At noon he with Sir W. Pen and his daughter, dined with me, and he to his work again, and we by coach to the Theatre, and saw 'Love in a Maze.'<sup>4</sup> The play hath little in it, but Lacy's part of a country-fellow, which he did to admiration. This night we had each of us a letter from Captain Teddman from the Straits, of a peace made upon good terms, by Sir J. Lawson, with the Algiers men, which is most excellent news. He hath also sent

<sup>1</sup> Lord Sandwich's housekeeper.

<sup>2</sup> The Duke of Southampton, Lady Castlemaine's son by the king, was born in May 1662.

<sup>3</sup> Lacy had been brought up a dancing-master. He afterwards procured a lieutenant's commission in the army, which he soon quitted for the stage, and was the author of four plays. *Ob.* 1681, and buried in the churchyard of St. Martin-in-the-Fields.

<sup>4</sup> 'Love in a Maze' is the second title of Shirley's play of *The Changes*.



each of us some anchovies, olives, and muscat; but I know not yet what that is, and am ashamed to ask. After supper, home and to bed, resolving to make up this week in seeing plays and pleasure, and so fall to business next week again for a great while.

23d. With my wife on foot to the Wardrobe. I stayed below in the parlour reading of the King's and Chancellor's late speeches at the proroguing of the Houses of Parliament. And while I was reading, news was brought me that my Lord Sandwich is come and gone up to my Lady; which put me into a great suspense of joy; so I went up waiting my Lord's coming out of my Lady's chamber, which by and by he did, and looks very well, and my soul is glad to see him. He very merry, and hath left the King and Queen at Portsmouth, and is come up to stay here till next Wednesday, and then to meet the King and Queen at Hampton Court. So to dinner; and my Lord mighty merry; among other things, saying that the Queen is a very agreeable lady, and paints still. After dinner, I showed him my letter from Teddiman about the news from Algiers, which pleases him exceedingly; and he writ one to the Duke of York about it, and sent it express. There coming much company after dinner to my Lord, my wife and I slunk away to the Opera, where we saw 'Wit in a Constable,'<sup>1</sup> the first time that it is acted; but so silly a play I never saw, I think, in my life. After it was done, my wife and I to the puppet play in Covent Garden, which I saw the other day, and indeed it is very pleasant. Here, among the fiddlers, I first saw a dulcimer<sup>2</sup> played on with sticks knocking of the strings, and is very pretty.

24th. To the Wardrobe, and there again spoke with my Lord, and saw W. Howe, who is grown a very pretty, and is a sober fellow. Thence abroad with Mr. Creed, of whom I informed myself of all I had a mind to know. Among other things, the great difficulty my Lord hath been in all this summer for lack of good and full orders from the King; and I doubt our Lords of the Council do not mind things as the late powers did, but their pleasures or profit more. That the Juego de Toros is a simple sport, yet the greatest in Spain. That the Queen hath given no rewards to any of the captains or officers, but only to my Lord Sandwich; and that was a bag of gold, which was no honourable present, of about £1,400 sterling. How reclude the Queen hath

<sup>1</sup> A comedy by Henry Glapthorne.

<sup>2</sup> For a description of the different musical instruments mentioned by Pepys, see *Everyman's Dictionary of Music*, 1946.

ever been, and all the voyage never come upon the deck, nor put her head out of her cabin; but did love my Lord's music, and would send for it down to the state-room, and she sit in her cabin within hearing of it. That my Lord was forced to have some clashing with the Council of Portugal about payment of the portion before he could get it; which was, besides Tangier and a free trade in the Indies, two millions of crowns, half now and the other half in twelve months. But they have brought but little money; but the rest in sugars and other commodities, and bills of exchange. That the King of Portugal is a very fool almost, and his mother do all, and he is a very poor Prince.

25th. (Lord's day.) To trimming myself, which I have this week done every morning with a pumice stone, which I learnt of Mr. March when I was last at Portsmouth; and I find it very easy, speedy, and cleanly, and shall continue the practice of it. To church, and heard a good sermon of Mr. Woodcocke's at our church; only in his latter prayer for a woman in child-bed, he prayed that God would deliver her from the hereditary curse of child-bearing, which seemed a pretty strange expression. Dined at home and Mr. Creed with me. After discourse he and I abroad and walked up and down and looked into many churches--among others, Mr. Baxter's, at Blackfriars. Out with Captain Ferrers to Charing Cross; and there at the Triumph tavern he showed me some Portugal ladies, which are come to town before the Queen. They are not handsome, and their farthingales a strange dress. Many ladies and persons of quality come to see them. I find nothing in them that is pleasing; and I see they have learnt to kiss and look freely up and down already, and I do believe will soon forget the recluse practice of their own country. They complain much for lack of good water to drink. The King's Guards and some City companies do walk up and down the town these five or six days; which makes me think, and they do say, there are some plots in laying. God keep us.

26th. Up by four o'clock in the morning, and fell to the preparing of some accounts for my Lord of Sandwich. By and by, by appointment, comes Mr. Moore, and, by what appears to us at present, we found that my Lord is above £7000 in debt, and that he hath money coming into him that will clear all, and so we think him clear, but very little money in his purse. So to my Lord's, and after he was ready we spent an hour with him, giving him an account thereof; and he having some £6000 in his hands, remaining

of the King's, he is resolved to make use of that, and get off of it as well as he can. To the Trinity House; where the Brethren have been at Detpford choosing a new Master; which is Sir J. Minnes, notwithstanding Sir W. Batten did contend highly for it; at which I am not a little pleased, because of his proud lady. I seated myself close to Mr. Prin, who, in discourse with me, fell upon what records he hath of the lust and wicked lives of the nuns heretofore in England, and showed me out of his pocket one wherein thirty nuns, for their lust, were ejected of their house, being not fit to live there, and, by the Pope's command, to be put however into other nunneries. To the Red Bull, where we saw 'Dr. Faustus,'<sup>1</sup> but so wretchedly and poorly done, that we were sick of it. Homewards by coach, through Moorfields, where we stood awhile, and saw the wrestling.

27th. To my Lord this morning, and thence to my brother's, where I found my father, poor man, come, which I was glad to see. He tells me his alterations of the house and garden at Brampton, which please me well.

28th. Comes my father by appointment to dine with me, which we did very merrily, I desiring to make him as merry as I am while the poor man is in town.

29th. At home all the morning. At noon to the Wardrobe, and dined with my Lady, and after dinner stayed long talking with her; then homeward, and, in Lombard Street, was called out of a window by Alderman Backwell where I went, and saluted his lady, a very pretty woman. Here was Mr. Creed, and it seems they have been under some disorder in fear of a fire at the next door, and had been removing their goods, but the fear was over before I came. Thence home, and with my wife and the two maids and the boy took boat and to Vauxhall, where I had not been a great while. To the old Spring Garden, and there walked long, and the wenches gathered pinks. Here we stayed, and seeing that we could not have anything to eat but very dear and with long stay, we went forth again without any notice taken of us, and so we might have done if we had had anything. Thence to the new one, where I never was before, which much exceeds the other; and here we also walked, and the boy crept through the hedge and gathered abundance of roses, and after a long walk passed out of doors as we did in the other place, and so to another house that was an ordinary house, and here we had cakes and powdered beef and

<sup>1</sup> *Dr. Faustus*, a tragical history, by Christopher Marlowe.

ale, and so home again by water, with much pleasure. This day, being the King's birthday, was very solemnly observed; and the more, for that the Queen this day comes to Hampton Court. In the evening bonfires were made, but nothing to the great number that was heretofore at the burning of the Rump.

30th. This morning I made up my accounts, and find myself *de claro* worth about £530, and no more, so little have I increased it since my last reckoning, but I confess I have laid out much money in clothes. Upon a sudden motion, I took my wife and Sarah and Will by water, with some victuals with us, as low as Gravesend, intending to have gone into the Hope to the Royal James, to have seen the ship and Mr. Shepley. But meeting Mr. Shepley in a hoy, bringing up my Lord's things, she and I went on board, and sailed up with them as far as Half-way tree, very glad to see Mr. Shepley. Here we saw a little Turk and a negro, which are intended for pages to the two young ladies. Many birds and other pretty novelties there was, but I was afraid of being lousy, and so took boat again, and got to London before them, all the way, coming and going, reading in the 'Wallflower'<sup>1</sup> with great pleasure. So home, and thence to the Wardrobe, where Mr. Shepley was come with the things. Here I stayed talking with my Lady, who is preparing to go tomorrow to Hampton Court. So home, and at ten o'clock at night Mr. Shepley come to sup with me: so we had a dish of mackerel and pease, and so he bid us good-night, going to lie on board the hoy.

31st. Had Sarah to comb my head clean, which I found so foul with powdering and other troubles, that I am resolved to try how I can keep my head dry without powder; and I did also in a sudden fit cut off all my beard, which I had been a great while bringing up, only that I may with my pumice stone do my whole face as I now do my chin, and so save time, which I find a very easy way, and gentle. She also washed my feet in a bath of herbs, and so to bed. The Queen is brought a few days since to Hampton Court; and all people say of her to be a very fine and handsome lady, and very discreet; and that the King is pleased enough with her: which, I fear, will put Madame Castlemaine's nose out of joint. The Court is wholly now at Hampton. A peace with Algiers is lately made, which is also good news. My Lord Sandwich is lately come with

<sup>1</sup> A very singular book by Dr. Thomas Bayly—'*Herba Parietis*; or the Wall-flower, as it grew out of the Stone Chamber belonging to Newgate.' London, 1650 folio.

the Queen from sea, very well and in good repute. The Act for Uniformity is lately printed, which, it is thought, will make mad work among the Presbyterian ministers. People of all sides are very much discontented; some thinking themselves used, contrary to promise, too hardly; and the other, that they are not rewarded so much as they expected by the King. I have by a late oath obliged myself from wine and plays, of which I find good effect.

June 1st. (Lord's day.) At church in the morning. A stranger made a very good sermon. Mr. Spong came to see me: so he and I sat down a little to sing some French psalms. To church again, where a Presbyter made a sad and long sermon, which vexed me.

2d. Spoke to my Lord about exchange of the crusados<sup>1</sup> into sterling money, and other matters. This day, my wife put on her slashed waistcoat, which is very pretty.

3d. Up by four o'clock, and to my business in my chamber, to even accounts with my Lord and myself, and very fain I would become master of £1000, but I have not above £530 toward it yet. At the office all the morning, and Mr. Coventry brought his patent and took his place with us this morning. Upon our making a contract, I went, as I use to do, to draw the heads thereof, but Sir W. Pen most basely told me that the Comptroller is to do it, and so begun to employ Mr. Turner about it, at which I was much vexed and begun to dispute; and what with the letter of the Duke's orders, and Mr. Barlow's letter, and the practice of our predecessors, which Sir G. Carteret knew best when he was Comptroller, it was ruled for me. What Sir J. Minnes will do, when he comes, I know not, but Sir W. Pen did it like a base rascal, and so I shall remember him while I live. After office done I went down to the Tower wharf, where Mr. Creed and Shepley was ready with three chests of the crusados, being about £6000, ready to bring on shore to my house, which they did, and put it in my further cellar. I to my father and Dr. Williams and Tom Trice, by appointment, in the Old Bailey, to Short's, the alehouse, but could come to no terms with T. Trice. Thence to the Wardrobe, where I found my Lady come from Hampton Court, where the Queen hath used her very civilly, and my Lady tells me is a most pretty woman, at which I am glad. Yesterday, Sir R. Ford told me, the Aldermen of the City did attend her in their habits, and did present her with a gold cup and £1000 in gold therein. But, he told me, that they are so poor in their Chamber, that they

<sup>1</sup> The coin in which part of the queen's portion was paid.

were fain to call two or three Aldermen to raise fines to make up this sum, among which was Sir W. Warren. Home and to bed, my mind troubled about Sir W. Pen, his playing the rogue with me today, as also about the charge of money that is in my house, which I had forgot, but I made the maids to rise and light a candle, and set it in the dining-room, to scare away thieves, and so to sleep.

4th. Sir W. Batten and I by water to Woolwich; and there saw an experiment made of Sir R. Ford's Holland yarn, about which we have lately had so much stir; and I have much concerned myself for our rope-maker, Mr. Hughes, who represented it so bad, and we found it to be very bad, and broke sooner than, upon a fair trial, five threads of that against four of Riga yarn; and also that some of it had old stuff that had been tarred, covered over with new hemp, which is such a cheat as hath not been heard of. I was glad of this discovery, because I would not have the King's workmen discouraged (as Sir W. Batten do most basely do) from representing the faults of merchants' goods, when there is any. To my Lord's, who I find resolved to buy Brampton Manor of Sir Peter Ball, at which I am glad. Thence to White Hall and showed Sir G. Carteret the cheat.

5th. To the office, where they were just sat down, and I showed them yesterday's discovery, and have got Sir R. Ford to be my enemy by it; but I care not, for it is my duty, and so did get his bill stopped for the present. To Alderman Backwell's, to see some thousands of my Lord's crusados weighed, and we find that 3,000 come to about £530 or 540 generally.

6th. The smith being with me about other things, did open a chest that hath stood ever since I came to the office, in my office, and there we found a model of a fine ship, which I long to know whether it be the King's or Mr. Turner's.

7th. To the office, where all the morning, and I find Mr. Coventry is resolved to do much good, and to enquire into all the miscarriages of the office. At noon with him and Sir W. Batten to dinner at Trinity House; where, among others, Sir. J. Robinson, Lieutenant of the Tower, was, who says that yesterday Sir H. Vane had a full hearing at the King's Bench, and is found guilty; and that he did never hear any man argue more simply than he in all his life, and so others say. Sent for to Sir G. Carteret's, and there talked with him a good while. I perceive, as he told me, were it not that Mr. Coventry had already feathered his nest in

selling of places, he do like him very well, and hopes great good from him. But he complains so of lack of money, that my heart is very sad under the apprehension of the fall of the office.

8th. (Lord's day.) To church, and there Mr. Mills preached but a lazy sermon. Walked to my Lady's, and merry with the parrot which my Lord hath brought from sea, which speaks very well, and cries *Pall* so pleasantly, that made my Lord give it my Lady Paulina, but my Lady her mother do not like it. Home, and observe my man Will to walk with his cloak flung over his shoulder like a ruffian, which, whether it was that he might not be seen to walk along with the foot-boy I know not, but I was vexed at it; and coming home, and after prayers, I did ask him where he learned that immodest garb; and he answered me, that it was not immodest, or some such slight answer, at which I did give him two boxes on the ears, which I never did before, and so was after a little troubled at it.

9th. At the office with Mr. Hater, making my alphabet of contracts, upon the dispatch of which I am now very intent, for that I am resolved to enquire into the price of commodities. After dinner to Greateorex's. He recommended Bond of our end of the town to teach me to measure timber and some other things that I would learn in order to my office.

10th. All the morning much business; and great hopes of bringing things, by Mr. Coventry's means, to a good condition in the office.

11th. Mr. Hater and I writing over my alphabet fair, in which I took great pleasure to rule the lines and to have the capital words wrote with red ink. Savill the painter came, and did varnish over my wife's picture and mine, and I paid him for my little picture £3, and so am clear with him.

12th. This morning I tried on my riding-cloth suit with close knees, the first that ever I had; and I think they will be very convenient, if not too hot to wear any other open knees after them. At the office all the morning. Among other businesses, I did get a vote signed by all concerning my issuing of warrants, which they did not smell the use I intend to make of it; but it is to plead for my clerks to have their right of giving out all warrants. But great difference happened between Sir G. Carteret and Mr. Coventry about passing the Victualler's account, and whether Sir George is to pay the Victualler his money, or the Exchequer; Sir George claiming it to be his place to save his threepences. It

ended in anger, and I believe will come to be a question before the King and Council. I did what I could to keep myself unconcerned in it, having some things of my own to do before I would appear high in anything. A note came from my brother Tom to tell me that my cousin Anne Pepys of Worcestershire her husband is dead and she married again, and her second husband <sup>1</sup> in town, and intends to come and see me tomorrow.

13th. Up by four o'clock in the morning, and read Cicero's Second Oration against Catiline, which pleased me exceedingly; and more I discern therein than ever I thought was to be found in him; but I perceive it was my ignorance, and that he is as good a writer as ever I read in my life. By and by to Sir G. Carteret's, to talk with him about yesterday's difference at the office; and offered my service to look into any old books or papers that I have, that may make for him. He was well pleased therewith, and did much inveigh against Mr. Coventry; telling me how he had done him service in the Parliament, when Prin had drawn up things against him for taking of money for places; that he did at his desire, and upon his letters, keep him off from doing it. And many other things he told me, as how the King was beholden to him, and in what a miserable condition his family would be, if he should die before he hath cleared his accounts. Upon the whole, I do find that he do much esteem of me, and is my friend.

14th. Up by four o'clock in the morning, and upon business at my office. Then we sat down to business, and about 11 o'clock, having a room got ready for us, we all went out to the Tower-hill; and there, over against the scaffold, made on purpose this day, saw Sir Henry Vane brought. A very great press of people. He made a long speech, many times interrupted by the Sheriff and others there; and they would have taken his paper out of his hand, but he would not let it go. But they caused all the books of those that writ after him <sup>2</sup> to be given the Sheriff; and the trumpets were brought under the scaffold that he might not be heard. Then he prayed, and so fitted himself, and received the blow; but the scaffold was so crowded that we could not see it done. But Boreman,<sup>3</sup> who had been upon the scaffold, came to us and told us, that first he began to speak of the irregular proceeding against him; that he was, against Magna Charta, denied to have his exceptions against the indictment allowed; and that there he was stopped by

<sup>1</sup> Fisher.

<sup>2</sup> i.e. the reporters.

<sup>3</sup> Sir William Boreman, clerk to the Board of Green Cloth



the Sheriff. Then he drew out his paper of notes, and begun to tell them first his life; that he was born a gentleman; that he was bred up and had the quality of a gentleman, and to make him in the opinion of the world more a gentleman, he had been, till he was seventeen years old, a good fellow, but then it pleased God to lay a foundation of grace in his heart, by which he was persuaded, against his worldly interest, to leave all preferment and go abroad, where he might serve God with more freedom. Then he was called home, and made a member of the Long Parliament; where he never did, to this day, anything against his conscience, but all for the glory of God. Here he would have given them an account of the proceedings of the Long Parliament, but they so often interrupted him, that at last he was forced to give over: and so fell into prayer for England in general, then for the churches in England, and then for the City of London: and so fitted himself for the block, and received the blow. He had a blister, or issue, upon his neck, which he desired them not hurt: he changed not his colour or speech to the last, but died justifying himself and the cause he had stood for; and spoke very confidently of his being presently at the right hand of Christ; and in all things appeared the most resolved man that ever died in that manner, and showed more of heat than cowardice, but yet with all humility and gravity. One asked him why he did not pray for the King. He answered, 'Nay,' says he, 'you shall see I can pray for the King: I pray God bless him!' The King had given his body to his friends; and, therefore, he told them that he hoped they would be civil to his body when dead; and desired they would let him die like a gentleman and a Christian, and not crowded and pressed as he was. So to the office a little, and so to the Trinity House all of us to dinner; and then to the office again all the afternoon till night. This day, I hear, my Lord Peterborough is come unexpected from Tangier, to give the King an account of the place, which, we fear, is in none of the best condition. We had also certain news today that the Spaniard is before Lisbon with thirteen sail; six Dutch, and the rest his own ships; which will, I fear, be ill for Portugal. I writ a letter of all this day's proceedings to my Lord, at Hinchinbroke, who, I hear, is very well pleased with the work there.

15th. (Lord's day.) To church. Come my brother Tom and Mr. Fisher, my cousin, Nan Pepys's second husband, who, I perceive, is a very good-humoured man, an old cavalier, and I am glad she hath light of so good a man.

16th. To the Wardrobe, and dined there; and in the afternoon with all the children by water to Greenwich, where I showed them the King's yacht, the house, and the park, all very pleasant; and so to the tavern, and had the music of the house, and so merrily home again.

17th. At Sir W. Batten's, where we all met by chance, and talked, and they drank wine, but I forbore all their healths. Sir John Minnes, I perceive, is most excellent company.

18th. Up early; and, after reading a little in Cicero, to my office. To my Lord Crewe's, and dined with him; where I hear the courage of Sir H. Vane at his death is talked on everywhere as a miracle. I walked to Lely's,<sup>1</sup> the painter's, where I saw, among other rare things, the Duchess of York, her whole body, sitting in state in a chair, in white satin, and another of the King, that is not finished; most rare things. I did give the fellow something that showed them us, and promised to come some other time, and he would show me Lady Castlemaine's, which I could not then see, it being locked up! Thence to Wright's,<sup>2</sup> the painter's: but, Lord! the difference that is between their two works. After some merry discourse in the kitchen with my wife and maids, as I nowadays often do, I being well pleased with both my maids, to bed.

19th. Up by five o'clock, and while my man Will was getting himself ready to come up to me I took and played my lute a little. With the last chest of crusados to Alderman Backwell's, by the same token his lady going to take coach stood in the shop, and having a gilded glass full of perfumed comfits given her by Don Duarte de Silva, the Portugal merchant that is come over with the Queen, I did offer at a taste, and so she poured some out into my hand, and though good, yet pleased me the better coming from a pretty lady.

20th. Up by four or five o'clock, and to the office, and there drew up the agreement between the King and Sir John Winter<sup>3</sup> about the Forest of Dean; and, having done it, he came himself (I did not know him to be the Queen's Secretary before, but observed him to be a man of fine parts), and we read it, and both liked it well. That done, I turned to the Forest of Dean, in Speed's

<sup>1</sup> Sir Peter Lely.

<sup>2</sup> Michael Wright, a native of Scotland and portrait-painter of some note, settled in London.

<sup>3</sup> Secretary and chancellor to the queen dowager.

Maps, and there he showed me how it lies; and the Lea-Bailey,<sup>1</sup> with the great charge of carrying it to Lydney, and many other things worth my knowing; and I do perceive that I am very short in my business by not knowing many times the geographical part of my business. I went to the Exchange, and I hear that the merchants have a great fear of a breach with the Spaniard; for they think he will not brook our having Tangier, Dunkirk, and Jamaica; and our merchants begin to draw home their estates as fast as they can. To Pope's Head Alley, and there bought me a pair of tweezers cost me 14s., the first thing like a bauble I have bought a good while. In the evening my wife and I and Jane over the water to the Half-way house—a pretty, pleasant walk, but the wind high.

21st. At noon, Sir W. Pen and I to the Trinity House, where was a feast made by the Wardens. Great good cheer, and much, but ordinary, company. The Lieutenant of the Tower, upon my demanding how Sir H. Vane died, told me that he died in a passion; but all confess with so much courage as never man died. Hearing from my wife and the maids' complaints made of the boy, I called him up, and with my whip did whip him till I was not able to stir; and yet I could not make him confess any of the lies that they tax him with. At last, not willing to let him go away a conqueror, I took him in task again, and pulled off his frock to his shirt, and whipped him till he did confess that he did drink the whey, which he had denied, and above all did lay the candlestick upon the ground in his chamber, which he had denied this quarter of a year. I confess it is one of the greatest wonders that ever I met with that such a little boy as he could possibly be able to suffer half so much as he did to maintain a lie. I think I must be forced to put him away. So to bed with my arm very weary.

22d. (Lord's day.) I first put on my slashed doublet which I like very well. To the Wardrobe. By and by my Lord came from church, and I dined, with some others, with him—he very merry; and after dinner took me aside, and talked of state and other matters. So home. My wife and I to walk in the garden, where all our talk was against Sir W. Pen, against whom I have lately had cause to be much prejudiced. By and by he and his daughter came out to walk, so we took no notice of them a great while, at last in going home spoke a word or two, and so good-night and to bed. This day I am told of a Portugal lady, at Hampton Court,

<sup>1</sup> A hamlet in the parish of Newland, Gloucestershire.

that hath dropped a child already since the Queen's coming, but the King would not have them searched whose it is; and so it is not commonly known yet. Coming home tonight, I met with Will Swan, who do talk as high for the Fanatics as ever he did in his life; and do pity my Lord Sandwich and me, that we should be given up to the wickedness of the world; and that a fall is coming upon us all; for he finds that he and his company are the true spirit of the nation, and the greater part of the nation too, who will have liberty of conscience in spite of this 'Act of Uniformity,' or they will die; and if they may not preach abroad, they will preach in their own houses. He told me that certainly Sir H. Vane must be gone to Heaven, for he died as much a martyr and saint as ever man did; and that the King hath lost more by that man's death than he will get again a good while. At all which I know not what to think; but, I confess, I do think that the Bishops will never be able to carry it so high as they do.

23d. Meeting with Frank Moore, my Lord Lambeth's man formerly, we, and two or three friends of his, did go to a tavern; and there they drank, but I nothing but small beer. In the next room one was playing very finely of the dulcimer, which, well played, I like well; but one of our company, a talking fellow, did in discourse say much of this Act against Seamen, for their being brought to account; and that it was made on purpose for my Lord Sandwich, who was in debt £100,000, and hath been forced to have pardon oftentimes from Oliver for the same; at which I was vexed.

24th. (Midsummer day.) Up early and to my office, putting things in order against we sit. There came to me my cousin Harry Alcock, whom I much respect, to desire (by a letter from my father to me, where he had been some days) my help for him to some place. I proposed the sea to him, and I think he will take it, and I hope do well. I do get ground in the office every day. At night news is brought me that Field, the rogue, hath this day cast me at Guildhall in £30 for his imprisonment, to which I signed his commitment with the rest of the officers; but they having been Parliament-men, he do begin the law with me, but threatens more.

25th. Into Thames Street, beyond the Bridge, and there enquire among the shops the price of tar and oil, and do find great content in it, and hope to save the King money by this practice.

26th. Comes Mr. Nicholson,<sup>1</sup> my old fellow student at Magdalene, and we played three or four things upon the violin and bass.

27th. To my Lord, who rose as soon as he heard I was there; and in his night-gown and shirt stood talking with me alone two hours, I believe, concerning his greatest matters of state and interest. Among other things, that his greatest design is, first, to get clear of all debts to the King for the embassy money, and then a pardon. Then, to get his land settled; and then to discourse and advise what is best for him, whether to keep his sea employment longer or no; for he do discern that the Duke would be willing to have him out, and that by Coventry's means. My Lord do acknowledge that his greatest obstacle is Coventry. He did seem to hint such a question as this: 'Hitherto I have been supported by the King and Chancellor against the Duke; but what if it should come about, that it should be the Duke and Chancellor against the King': which, though he said it in these plain words, yet I could not fully understand it; but may more hereafter. My Lord did also tell me, that the Duke himself at Portsmouth did thank my Lord for all his pains and care; and that he perceived it must be the old Captains that must do the business; and that the new ones would spoil all. And that my Lord did very discreetly tell the Duke (though quite against his judgement and inclination), that, however, the King's new Captains ought to be borne with a little and encouraged. By which he will oblige that party, and prevent, as much as may be, their envy; but he says certainly things will go to rack if ever the old Captains should be wholly out, and the new ones only command. I met Sir W. Pen:<sup>2</sup> he told me the day now was fixed for his going into Ireland; and that whereas I had mentioned some service he could do a friend of mine there, Samuel Pepys,<sup>3</sup> he told me he would most readily do what I would command him, and then he told me we must needs eat a dish of meat together before he went, and so invited me and my wife on Sunday next. To all which I did give a cold consent, for my heart cannot love or have a good opinion of him since his last playing the knave with me. After dinner comes Sir J. Minnes, and some Captains with him, who had been at a Council of War to-day, who tell us they have acquitted Captain Hall, who was

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Nicholson, A.M., 1672.

<sup>2</sup> He had been appointed governor of Kinsale.

<sup>3</sup> Mentioned elsewhere as 'My cousin in Ireland.'

accused of cowardice in letting of old Winter, the Algiers pirate, go away from him with a prize or two; and also Captain Diamond of the murder laid to him of a man that he had struck, but he lived many months after, till being drunk, he fell into the hold, and there broke his jaw and died.

28th. Great talk there is of a fear of a war with the Dutch; and we have order to pitch upon twenty ships to be forthwith set out; but I hope it is but a scarecrow to the world, to let them see that we can be ready for them; though, God knows! the King is not able to set out five ships at this present without great difficulty, we neither having money, credit, nor stores. My mind is now in a wonderful condition of quiet and content, more than ever in all my life, since my minding the business of my office, which I have done most constantly; and I find it to be the very effect of my late oaths against wine and plays, which, if God please, I will keep constant in; for now my business is a delight to me, and brings me great credit, and my purse increases too.

29th. (Lord's day.) Up by four o'clock, and to the settling of my own accounts; and I do find upon my monthly balance that I am worth £650, the greatest sum that ever I was yet master of. To church with my wife, who this day put on her green petticoat of flowered satin, with fine white and gimp lace of her own putting on, which is very pretty. Home with Sir W. Pen to dinner by appointment, and to church again in the afternoon, and then home and in the evening to supper again to Sir W. Pen. Whatever the matter is, he do much fawn upon me, and I perceive would not fall out with me, and his daughter mighty officious to my wife. But I shall never be deceived again by him, but do hate him and his traitorous tricks with all my heart. It was an invitation in order to his taking leave of us, he being to go for Ireland in a few days.

30th. To my office, where I fell upon boring holes for me to see from my closet into the great office, without going forth, wherein I please myself much. Told my Lady how my Lady Fanshawe<sup>1</sup> is fallen out with her only for speaking in behalf of the French, which my Lady wonders at, they having been formerly like sisters, but we see there is no true lasting friendship in this world. Thence to my house, where I took great pride to lead her through the court

<sup>1</sup> Anne, daughter of Sir John Harrison, of Balls, in Hertfordshire, wife of Sir Richard Fanshawe. She wrote *Memoirs* of her life, which have been published, and are extremely interesting.

by the hand, she being very fine, and her page carrying up her train. She stayed a little at my house, and then walked through the garden, and took water, and went first on board the King's pleasure-boat, which pleased her much. Then to Greenwich Park; and with much ado she was able to walk up to the top of the hill, and so down again, and took boat, and so through bridge to Blackfriars, and home, she being much pleased with the ramble in every particular of it. So we supped with her, and then walked home, and to bed.

### OBSERVATIONS

This I take to be as bad a juncture as ever I observed. The King and his new Queen minding their pleasures at Hampton Court. All people discontented; some that the King do not gratify them enough; and the others, Fanatics of all sorts, that the King do take away their liberty of conscience; and the height of the Bishops, who I fear will ruin all again. They do much cry up the manner of Sir H. Vane's death, and he deserves it. Much clamour against the chimney-money; and the people say, they will not pay it without force. And in the meantime, like to have war abroad; and Portugal to assist, when we have not money to pay for any ordinary layings-out at home. Myself all in dirt about building of my house, and Sir W. Batten's, a storey higher. Into a good way, fallen on minding my business and saving money, which God increase; and I do take great delight in it, and see the benefit of it. In a longing mind of going to see Brampton, but cannot get three days' time, do what I can. In very good health, my wife and myself.

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July 1st. Captain Cuttance and I by water to Deptford, where the Royal James was paying off. After dinner, seeing of Cooper, the mate of the ship, whom I knew in the Charles, I spoke to him about teaching the mathematics, and do please myself in my thoughts of learning of him, and bade him come to me in a day or two. Talking with my wife, who was afraid I did intend to go with my Lord to fetch the Queen-mother over, in which I did clear her doubts. I went to bed by daylight, in order to my rising early tomorrow.

2d. Up while the chimes went four, and to put down my journal, and so to my office, to read over such instructions as concern the officers of the Yard; for I am much upon seeing into the miscarriages there. By and by, by appointment, comes Commissioner Pett; and then a messenger from Mr. Coventry, who sits in his boat expecting us; and so we down to him at the Tower, and there took water all, and to Deptford, he in our passage taking notice how much difference there is between the old Captains for obedience and order, and the King's new Captains, which I am very glad to hear him confess; and there we went into the Storehouse, and viewed first the provisions there, and then his books, but Mr. Davis himself was not there, he having a kinswoman in the house dead, for which, when by and by I saw him, he do trouble himself most ridiculously, as if there was never another woman in the world; in which so much laziness, as also in the Clerks of the Cheque and Survey (which after one another we did examine), as that I do not perceive that there is one-third of their duties performed; but I perceive, to my great content, Mr. Coventry will have things reformed. To the Pay again, where I did relieve several of my Lord Sandwich's people, but was sorry to see them so peremptory, and at every word would complain to my Lord, as if they shall have such a command over my Lord.

3d. Dined at the Dolphin with the officers of the Ordnance; where Sir W. Compton, Mr. O'Neale,<sup>1</sup> and other great persons were. After dinner, was brought to Sir W. Compton a gun to discharge seven times; the best of all devices that ever I saw, and very serviceable, and not a bauble; for it is much approved of, and many thereof made.

4th. Up by five o'clock, and after my journal put in order to my office about my business, which I am resolved to follow, for every day I see what ground I get by it. Comes Mr. Cooper, mate of the Royal Charles, of whom I intend to learn mathematics, and

<sup>1</sup> The best account of this person is given in his monumental inscription, in Boughton-Malherbe church: 'Here lies the body of Mr. Daniel O'Neale, who descended from that greate, honourable, and antient family of the O'Neales, in Ireland, to whom he added new luster by his owne merit, being rewarded for his courage and loyalty in the civil warrs, under King Charles the First and Charles the Second, with the offices of Postmaster General of England, Scotland, and Ireland, Master of the Powder, and Groome of His Majties Bedchamber. He was married to the right honourable Katherine Countess of Chesterfeild, who erected him this monument, as one of the last markes of her kindness, to show her affection longer than her weak breath would serve to express it. He died A.D. 1663, aged 60.'



do begin with him today, he being a very able man, and no great matter, I suppose, will content him. After an hour's being with him at arithmetic, my first attempt being to learn the multiplication-table; then we parted till tomorrow. And so to my business at my office again till noon, about which time Sir W. Warren did come to me about business, and did begin to instruct me in the nature of fine timber and deals; and from that we fell to discourse of Sir W. Batten's corruption. This day I sent my brother Tom, at his request, my father's old bass viol which he and I have kept so long; but I fear Tom will do little good at it.

5th. At noon had Sir W. Pen, who I hate with all my heart, for his base treacherous tricks, but yet I think it not policy to declare it yet, and his son William, to my house to dinner, where was also Mr. Creed, and my cousin Harry Alcock. I having some vension given me a day or two ago, and so I had a shoulder roasted, another baked, and the umbles baked in a pie, and all very well done. We were merry as I could be in that company. At my mathematics at night with Mr. Cooper.

6th. (Lord's day.) Settled my accounts with my wife for house-keeping, and do see that my kitchen, besides wine, fire candle, soap, and many other things, comes to about 30s. a week, or a little over. To church, where Mr. Mills made a lazy sermon. To supper with my Lady (Sandwich); who tells me, with much trouble, that my Lady Castlemaine is still as great with the King, and that the King comes as often to her as ever he did. Jack Cole, my old friend, found me out at the Wardrobe; and, among other things, he told me that certainly most of the chief ministers of London would fling up their livings; and that, soon or late, the issue thereof would be sad to the King and Court.

7th. Comes Mr. Cooper: so he and I to our mathematics.

8th. To the Wardrobe; where alone with my Lord above an hour; and he do seem still to have his old confidence in me; and tells me, to boot, that Mr. Coventry hath spoke of me to him to great advantage; wherein I am much pleased. By and by comes in Mr. Coventry to visit my Lord; and so my Lord and he and I walked together in the great chamber a good while; and I found him a most ingenuous man and good company.

9th. Up by four o'clock, and at my multiplication-table hard, which is all the trouble I meet with at all in my arithmetic. Sir W. Pen came to my office to take his leave of me, and, desiring a turn in the garden, did commit the care of his building to me, and

offered all his services to me in all matters of mine. I did, God forgive me! promise him all my service, and love, though the rogue knows he deserves none from me, nor do I intend to show him any; but as he dissembles with me, so must I with him. Then to my business till night, and then came Mr. Mills, the minister, to see me, which he hath but rarely done to me, though every day almost to others of us, but he is a cunning fellow, and knows where the good victuals is, and the good drink, at Sir W. Batten's. However, I used him civilly, though I love him as I do the rest of his coat.

10th. Up by four o'clock, and before I went to the office I practised my arithmetic, and then, when my wife was up, did call her and Sarah, and did make up a difference between them, for she is so good a servant as I am loth to part with her.

11th. Up by four o'clock, and hard at my multiplication-table, which I am now almost master of and so made me ready and to my office, and then a messenger from Mr. Coventry, who stays in his boat at the Tower for us. So we to him, and down to Deptford first: then to Woolwich, and viewed well all the houses and stores there, which lie in very great confusion for want of storehouses. So by water back again. About five in the afternoon, to White Hall, and so to St. James's; and at Mr. Coventry's chamber, which is very neat and fine, we had a pretty neat dinner.

12th. Up by five o'clock, and put things in order to be laid up, against my workmen come on Monday, to take down the top of my house. At night with Cooper at arithmetic.

13th. (Lord's day.) To Deptford, on purpose to sign and seal a couple of warrants, as justice of peace in Kent, against one Annis, who is to be tried next Tuesday at Maidstone Assizes for stealing some lead out of Woolwich Yard. Come home, I found a rabbit at the fire, and so supped well, and so to my journal and to bed.

14th. Up by four o'clock, and to my arithmetic, and so to my office till 8, then to Thames Street along with old Mr. Green, among the tar-men, and did instruct myself in the nature and prices of tar, but could not get Stockholm for the use of the office under £10. 15. 0 per last, which is a great price. So home, and at noon Dr. T. Pepys to dinner, where by chance comes Mr. Pierce, the surgeon, and then Mr. Battersby, the minister, and then Mr. Dun, and it happened that I had a haunch of venison boiled, and so they were very welcome and merry; but my simple Dr. do talk so like a fool, that I am weary of him.

15th. In the evening comes Mr. Cooper, and I took him by water on purpose to tell me things belonging to ships, which was time well spent. About bed-time, it fell a-raining, and the house being all open at top, it vexed me, but there was no help for it.

16th. In the morning, I found all my ceilings spoiled with rain last night, so that I fear they must be all new whited when the work is done. Mr. Moore to me, about drawing up a fair state of all my Lord's accounts, which being settled, he went away. At noon to my Lord's with it, but found him at dinner, and some great company with him—Mr. Edward Montagu and his brother, and Mr. Coventry—and after dinner went out with them; and so I lost my labour, but dined with Mr. Moore and the people below, who after dinner fell to talk of Portugal rings, and Captain Ferrers offered five or six to sell, and I seeming to like a ring made of a coconut, with a stone done in it, he did offer and would give it me. This day I was told that my Lady Castlemaine, being quite fallen out with her husband, did yesterday go away from him, with all her plate, jewels, and other best things; and is gone to Richmond to a brother of hers; which, I am apt to think, was a design to get out of town, that the King might come at her the better.

17th. To my office, and by and by to our sitting; where much business. Mr. Coventry took his leave, being to go with the Duke over for the Queen-mother.

18th. Up very early, and got atop of my house, seeing the design of my work, and like it well, and it comes into my head to have my dining-room wainscoted, which will be very pretty. Comes Cooper for my mathematics, but, in good earnest, my head is so full of business, that I cannot understand it as otherwise I should do.

19th. In the afternoon I went upon the river to look after some tar I am sending down, and some coals: it raining hard upon the water, I put ashore and sheltered myself, while the King came by in his barge going down towards the Downs to meet the Queen, the Duke being gone yesterday. But methought it lessened my esteem of a king, that he should not be able to command the rain.

20th (Lord's day.) My wife and I lay talking long in bed, and at last she is come to be willing to stay two months in the country. To dinner we had a calf's head and bacon at my chamber at Sir W. Pen's, and there I and my wife concluded to have her go and her two maids and the boy, and so there shall be none but Will and I left at home.

21st. Up early. I did take boat and down to Greenwich, to Captain Cocke's, who hath a most pleasant seat, and neat. Here I drank wine, and eat some fruit off the trees; and he showed a great rarity, which was, two or three of a great number of silver dishes and plates, which he bought of an ambassador that did lack money, in the edge or rim of which was placed silver and gold medals, very ancient. To Woolwich to the Rope-yard; and there looked over several sorts of hemp, and did fall upon my great survey of seeing the working and experiments of the strength and the charge in the dressing of every sort; and I do think have brought it to so great a certainty, as I have done the King great service in it: and do purpose to get it ready against the Duke's coming to town to present to him. Thence to the dock, where we walked in Mr. Sheldon's garden, eating more fruit and drinking, and eating figs which were very good, and talking while the Royal James was bringing towards the dock. And then we went out and saw the manner and trouble of docking such a ship, which yet they could not do, but only brought her head into the dock, and so shored her up till next tide. But, good God! what a deal of company was there from both yards to help to do it, when half the company would have done it as well. I see it is impossible for the King to have things done as cheap as other men.

22d. I had letters from the Downs from Mr. Coventry; who tells me of the foul weather they had last Sunday, that drove them back from near Boulogne, whither they were going for the Queen, back again to the Downs with the loss of their cables, sails, and masts; but are all safe, only my Lord Sandwich, who went before with the yachts: they know not what is become of him, which do trouble me much; but I hope he got ashore before the storm begun; which God grant! All day at the office, only at home at dinner, where I was highly angry with my wife for her keys being out of the way; but they were found at last, and so friends again.

23d. This morning angry a little, and my house being so much out of order makes me a little pettish. A little vexed that my brother Tom, by his neglect, do fail to get a coach for my wife and maid this week, by which she will not be at Brampton feast, to meet my Lady at my father's. Much disturbed, by reason of the talk up and down the town, that my Lord Sandwich is lost; but I trust in God the contrary.

24th. I hear, to my great content, that my Lord Sandwich is safe landed in France.

25th. Reading Mr. Holland's<sup>1</sup> discourses of the Navy, lent me by Mr. Turner, and am much pleased with them—they hitting the very diseases of the Navy which we are troubled with nowadays.

26th. I had a letter from Mr. Creed, who hath escaped narrowly in the King's yacht, and got safe to the Downs after the late storm; and he says that there the King do tell him that he is sure my Lord is landed in Calais safe, of which being glad, I sent news thereof to my Lord Crewe, and by the post to my Lady into the country. This afternoon I went to Westminster; and there hear that the King and Queen intend to come to White Hall from Hampton Court next week, for all winter. Thence to Mrs. Sarah, and there looked over my Lord's lodgings, which are very pretty; and White Hall Garden and the Bowling-alley, where lords and ladies are now at bowls, in brave condition. Mrs. Sarah told me how the falling out between my Lady Castlemaine and her Lord was about christening of the child lately, which he would have, and had done by a priest; and, some days after, she had it again christened by a minister; the King, and Lord of Oxford,<sup>2</sup> and Duchess of Suffolk<sup>3</sup> being witnesses: and christened with a proviso, that it had not already been christened. Since that, she left her Lord, carrying away everything in the house; so much as every dish and cloth and servant but the porter. He is gone discontented into France, they say, to enter a monastery; and now she is coming back again to her house in King Street. But I hear that the Queen did prick her out of the list presented her by the King; desiring that she might have that favour done her, or that he would send her from whence she come: and that the King was angry, and the Queen discontented a whole day and night upon it; but that the King hath promised to have nothing to do with her hereafter. But I cannot believe that the King can fling her off so, he loving her too well: and so I writ this night to my Lady to be my opinion;

<sup>1</sup> John Holland, whose work is in the British Museum.

<sup>2</sup> Aubrey de Vere, twentieth and last Earl of Oxford of that family: *ob.*

1703 *s.p.*

<sup>3</sup> There was no Duchess of Suffolk at this time; the lady meant must have been Barbara, eldest daughter of Sir Edward Villiers, widow of Richard Wenman, eldest son of Philip, third Viscount Wenman, an Irish peer, and second wife of James Howard, third Earl of Suffolk. She was Mistress of the Robes to the queen, who might well feel annoyed at her own servant being selected for the office of sponsor to the king's base-born son. Lady Castlemaine was niece to Lady Suffolk, who perhaps had been her god-mother, as they both bore the same christian name.

she calling her my lady, and the lady I admire. Here I find that my Lord hath lost the garden to his lodgings, and that it is turning into a tennis-court.

27th. (Lord's day.) I to walk in the Park, which is now every day more and more pleasant, by the new works upon it. Here meeting with Laud Crisp, I took him to the further end, and sat under a tree in a corner, and there sang some songs.

28th. Up early, and by six o'clock, after my wife was ready, I walked with her to the George at Holborn Conduit, where the coach stood ready to carry her and her maid to Bugden<sup>1</sup>: so I took a troubled though willing good-bye, because of the sad condition of my house to have a family in it. Walked to the water-side, and there took boat for the Tower; hearing that the Queen-mother is come this morning already as high as Woolwich: and that my Lord Sandwich was with her; at which my heart was glad. In the evening Cooper comes, and he being gone, to my chamber a little troubled and melancholy, to my lute, and so to bed, Will lying there at my feet.

29th. Early up, and brought all my money, which is near £300, out of my house into this chamber; and so to the office, and there we sat all the morning, Sir George Carteret and Mr. Coventry being come from sea. In the evening walked to Deptford (Cooper with me talking of mathematics), to send a fellow to prison for cutting of buoy ropes.

30th. Up early, and to my office, where Cooper came to me and began his lecture upon the body of a ship, which my having of a model in the office is of great use to me, and very pleasant and useful it is. By water to White Hall, and there waited upon Lord Sandwich; and joyed him, at his lodgings, of his safe coming home after all his danger, which he confesses to be very great. And his people do tell me how bravely my Lord did carry himself, while my Lord Crofts<sup>2</sup> did cry; and I perceive it is all the town-talk how poorly he carried himself. But the best was of one Mr. Rawlings,<sup>3</sup> a courtier that was with my Lord; and in the greatest danger cried: 'My Lord, I won't give you threepence for your place now.'

<sup>1</sup> Buckden.

<sup>2</sup> William Crofts, created Baron Crofts, of Saxham, in Suffolk, 1658, and died *s.p.* 1677.

<sup>3</sup> Giles Rawlings occurs in an old household book of James, Duke of York, at Audley End, as Gentleman of the Privy Purse to His Royal Highness, with a salary of £400 per annum.

But all ends in the honour of the pleasure-boats; which, had they not been very good boats, they could never have endured the sea as they did. Thence with Captain Fletcher to Woolwich, expecting to find Sir W. Batten there upon his survey, but he is not come, and so we got a dish of steaks at the White Hart, while his clerks and others were feasting of it in the best room of the house, and after dinner playing at shuffle-board, and when at last they heard I was there they went about their survey. But God help the King! What surveys shall be taken after this manner!

31st. At noon, Mr. Coventry and I by his coach to the Exchange together; and in Lombard Street met Captain Browne of the Rosebush: at which he was cruel angry; and did threaten to go to-day to the Duke at Hampton Court, and get him turned out because he was not sailed. So took boat to Billingsgate, and went down on board the Rosebush at Woolwich, and found all things out of order; but after frightening the officers there, we left them to make more haste, and so on shore to the yard, and did the same to the officers of the yard, that the ship is not dispatched. Here we found Sir W. Batten going about his survey, but so poorly and unlike a survey of the Navy, that I am ashamed of it, and so is Mr. Coventry. I did make up my accounts before I went to bed, and found myself worth about £650.

August 1st. Up, and to my office, where Cooper read me another lecture upon my model, very pleasant.

2d. Up early, and got me ready in my riding clothes, and took boat with Will, and down to Greenwich, where, Captain Cocke not being at home, I was vexed, and went to walk in the Park till he came thither to me: and Will's forgetting to bring my boots in the boat did also vex me; for I was forced to send the boat back again for them. I to Captain Cocke's along with him to dinner where I find his lady still pretty, but not so good a humour as I thought she was. We had a plain good dinner, and I see they do live very frugally. I eat among other fruit much mulberries, a thing I have not eat of these many years, since I used to be at Ashead,<sup>1</sup> at my cousin Pepys's. After dinner, we to boats, and had a pleasant passage down to Gravesend, but it was nine o'clock before we got thither, so that we were in great doubt what to do, whether to stay there or no; and the rather because I was afraid to ride because of my pain; but at the Swan, finding Mr. Hempson and Lieutenant Carteret of the Foresight come to meet me, I

<sup>1</sup> A village near Epsom.

borrowed Mr. Hempson's horse; and he took another, and so we rode to Rochester in the dark. So we to our barge to the Hill-house, where we soon went to bed—before we slept, I telling upon discourse with Captain Cocke the manner of my being cut of the stone, which pleased him much. So to sleep.

3d. (Lord's day.) Up early, and with Captain Cocke to the dock-yard, a fine walk and fine weather. Commissioner Pett came to us, and took us to his house, and showed us his garden and fine things, and did give us a fine breakfast of bread and butter and sweetmeats and other things with great choice, and strong drinks, with which I could not avoid making my head ache, though I drank but little. By and by to church, by coach, with the Commissioner, and had a dull sermon. A full church, and some pretty women in it: among others, Beck Allen, who was a bridesmaid to a new-married couple that came to church to-day, and, which was pretty strange, sat in a pew hung with mourning for a mother of the bride's, which methinks should have been taken down. After dinner to church again, where quite weary, and so with the Commissioner to his house, and had a syllabub, and saw his closet, which came short of what I expected, but there was fine models of ships in it indeed, whose worth I could not judge of. So to supper, and so Captain Cocke and I to bed. Among other stories, he told me how despicable a thing it is to be a hangman in Poland, although it be a place of credit. And that, in his time, there was some repairs to be made of the gallows there, which was very fine, of stone; but nobody could be got to mend it till the Burgomaster, or Mayor of the town, with all the companies of those trades which were necessary to be used about those repairs, did go in their habits with flags, in solemn procession, to the place, and there the Burgomaster did give the first blow with the hammer upon the wooden work; and the rest of the Masters of the Companies upon the works belonging to their trades; that so workmen might not be ashamed to be employed upon doing of the gallows' works.

4th. Up by four o'clock, and Commissioner Pett and I went to Upnor Castle, and there went up to the top, where there is a fine prospect, but of very small force. So to Rochester and Gravesend. Very dark before we got thither to the Swan; and there, meeting with Doncaster, an old waterman of mine above bridge, we eat a short supper, being very merry with the drolling, drunken coachman that brought us, and so took water. It being very dark, and the wind rising, and our waterman unacquainted with this part of



the river, so that we presently cast upon the Essex shore, but got off again, and so, as well as we could, went on, but I in such fear that I could not sleep till we came to Erith, and there it begun to be calm and the stars to shine, and so I begun to take heart again, and the rest too; and so made shift to slumber a little. Above Woolwich we lost our way and went back to Blackwall, and up and down, being guided by nothing but the barking of a dog, which we had observed in passing by Blackwall.

5th. Got right again with much ado, after two or three circles, and so on, and at Greenwich set in Captain Cocke; and I set forward, hailing to all the King's ships at Deptford, but could not wake any man: so that we could have done what we would with their ships. At last, waked one man, but it was a merchant ship, the Royal Catharine: so to the Tower-dock and home, where the girl sat up for me. It was about three o'clock, and, putting Mr. Boddam out of my bed, went to bed, and lay till nine o'clock. Dined alone at home, and was glad my house is begun tiling.

6th. By water to White Hall; and so to St. James's; but there found Mr. Coventry gone to Hampton Court. So to my Lord's; and he is also gone: this being a great day at the Council, about some business before the King. Here Mr. Pierce, the surgeon, told me how Mr. Edward Montagu hath lately had a duel with Mr. Cholmeley,<sup>1</sup> that is first gentleman-usher to the Queen, and was a messenger from the King to her in Portugal, and is a fine gentleman; but had received many affronts from Mr. Montagu, and some unkindness from my Lord, upon his score, for which I am sorry. He proved too hard for Montagu, and drove him so far backward that he fell into a ditch, and dropped his sword, but with honour would take no advantage over him; but did give him his life: and the world says Mr. Montagu did carry himself very poorly in the business, and hath lost his honour for ever with all people in it, of which I am very glad, in hopes that it will humble him. I hear, also, that he hath sent to my Lord to borrow £400, giving his

<sup>1</sup> Hugh Cholmley, afterwards the third baronet of that name; he was the second son of Sir Hugh Cholmley, of Whitby (governor of Scarborough for Charles I), whose autobiography has been printed. This Hugh succeeded his nephew of the same name, who died a minor in June 1665, after which date Pepys speaks of him by his title. In February 1666 he married Lady Anne Compton, eldest daughter of Spencer, Earl of Northampton. He was afterwards, for some years, governor of Tangier, of which he published an account. He died 9th January 1668.

brother Harvey's<sup>1</sup> security for it, and that my Lord will lend it him, for which I am sorry.

7th. This morning, I got unexpectedly the Reserve for Mr. Cooper to be master of, which was only by taking an opportunity time to motion it, which is one good effect of my being constant at the office, that nothing passes without me; and I have the choice of my own time to propose anything I would have.

8th. At five, by water to Woolwich, there to see the manner of tarring, and looking to see the several proceedings of making of cordage, and other things relating to that sort of works, much to my satisfaction. Dined with Mr. Falconer; thence we walked, talking very good discourse all the way to Greenwich, and I do find most excellent discourse from him. Among other things, his rule of suspecting every man that proposes anything to him to be a knave; or at least to have some ends of his own in it. Being led thereto by the story of Sir John Millicent,<sup>2</sup> that would have had a patent from King James for every man to have had leave to have given him a shilling; and that he might take it of every man that had a mind to give it; and being assured that that was a fair thing, but what needed he a patent for it, and what he would do to them that would not give him, he answered, he would not force them; but that they should come to the Council of State to give a reason why they would not. Another rule is a proverb that he hath been taught, which is, that a man that cannot sit still in his chamber, (the reason of which I did not understand him), and he that cannot say no (that is, that is of so good a nature that he cannot deny anything, or cross another in doing anything), is not fit for business. The last of which is a very great fault of mine, which I must amend. Thence by boat: I being hot, he put the skirt of his cloak about me; and, it being rough, he told me the passage of a Frenchman through London Bridge,<sup>3</sup> where, when he saw the great fall, he begun to cross himself and say his prayers in the greatest fear in the world; and soon as he was over, he swore, 'Morable! c'est le plus grand plaisir du monde,' being the most like a French humour

<sup>1</sup> Sir Daniel Harvey is the person alluded to.

<sup>2</sup> He is described in the baronetages as of Barham in Cambridgeshire.

<sup>3</sup> The fall of water at the ebb tide was great, and to pass at that time was called 'Shooting the bridge.' It was very hazardous for small boats. The ancient mode, even in Henry VIII's time, of going to the Tower and Greenwich, was to land at the Three Cranes, in Upper Thames Street, suffer the barges to shoot the bridge, and to enter them again at Billingsgate.

in the world. To Deptford, and there surprised the Yard, and called them to a muster, and discovered many abuses.

9th. To my office, whither comes Cooper, and did a good morning's work upon the rigging. Mr. Coventry and I alone sat at the office all the morning upon business. And so to dinner to Trinity House, and thence by his coach towards White Hall; but there being a stop at the Savoy,<sup>1</sup> we 'light and took water, and my Lord Sandwich being out of town, we parted there. Writing to my brother John to dissuade him from being Moderator of his year, which I hear is proffered him, of which I am very glad. Comes Cooper, and he and I by candle-light at my model, being willing to learn as much of him as is possible before he goes.

10th. (Lord's day.) I walked to St. Dunstan's, the church being now finished; and here I heard Dr. Bates, who made a most eloquent sermon; and I am sorry I have hitherto had so low an opinion of the man, for I have not heard a neater sermon a great while, and more to my content. So to Tom's, where Dr. Fairbrother, newly come from Cambridge, met me, and Dr. Thomas Pepys. I framed myself as pleasant as I could, but my mind was another way. My uncle Fenner told me the new service-book,<sup>2</sup> which is now lately come forth, was laid upon their desk at St. Sepulchre's for Mr. Gouge<sup>3</sup> to read; but he laid it aside, and would not meddle with it: and I perceive the Presbyters do all prepare to give over all against Bartholomew-tide. Mr. Herring, being lately turned out at St. Bride's, did read the psalm to the people while they sung at Dr. Bates's, which methought is a strange turn. After dinner to St. Bride's, and there heard one Carpenter, an old man, who, they say, hath been a Jesuit priest, and is come over to us; but he preaches very well. So home and hear that Mr. Calamy hath taken his farewell this day of his people, and that others will do so the next Sunday. Mr. Turner,<sup>4</sup> the draper, I hear, is knighted, made Alderman, and pricked for Sheriff, with Sir Thomas Bluddel,<sup>5</sup> for the next year, by the King, and so are called, with great honour, the King's Sheriffs.

<sup>1</sup> The Savoy Palace in the Strand.

<sup>2</sup> The Common Prayer Book now in use.

<sup>3</sup> Thomas Gouge, an eminent Presbyterian minister, who had the church of St. Sepulchre during the Commonwealth, and abandoned it on the Act of Uniformity coming into force.

<sup>4</sup> Sir William Turner, Lord Mayor of London, 1669.

<sup>5</sup> A mistake for Bludworth, who had been colonel of the Orange Regiment of the trained bands, and lord mayor in 1666.

11th. Dean Fuller tells me that his niece, that sings so well, whom I have longed to see, is married to one Mr. Boys, a wholesale man at the Three Crowns, in Cheapside. Cooper came and read his last lecture to me upon my model, and so bid me good-bye, he being to go tomorrow to Chatham to take charge of the ship I have got him. My house is now quite tiled.

12th. Up early at my office, and I find all people beginning to come to me. Among others Mr. Deane,<sup>1</sup> the Assistant of Woolwich, who I find will discover to me the whole abuse that His Majesty suffers in the measuring of timber, of which I shall be glad.

13th. Up early, and to my office. By and by we met on purpose to enquire into the business of the flagmakers, where I am the person that do chiefly manage the business against them on the King's part; and I do find it the greatest cheat that I have yet found; they having eightpence per yard allowed them by pretence of a contract, where no such thing appears; and it is threepence more than was formerly paid, and than I now offer the Board to have them done. To Lambeth; and there saw the little pleasure-boat in building by the King, my Lord Brouncker,<sup>2</sup> and the Virtuoso's of the town, according to new lines, which Mr. Pett cries up mightily; but how it will prove we shall soon see.

14th. Commissioner Pett and I being invited, went by Sir John Winter's coach, sent for us, to the Mitre in Fenchurch Street, to a venison-pasty; where I found him a very worthy man; and good discourse, most of which was concerning the Forest of Dean, and the timber there, and iron-works with their great antiquity, and the vast heaps of cinders which they find, and are now of great value, being necessary for the making of iron at this day; and without which they cannot work: with the age of many trees there left, at a great fall in Edward the Third's time, by the name of forbid-trees, which at this day are called vorbid trees.

15th. Up very early, and up about seeing how my work proceeds, and am pretty well pleased therewith; especially my wife's closet will be very pretty. At noon to the Change, and there hear of some Quakers that are seized on, that would have blown up the

<sup>1</sup> Anthony Deane, afterwards knighted, and M.P. for Harwich; a Commissioner of the Navy, 1672.

<sup>2</sup> William Brouncker, second Lord Brouncker, viscount of Castle Lyons, in Ireland; created M.D. in 1647 at Oxford; Keeper of the Great Seal to the queen; a commissioner of the Admiralty; and master of St. Catherine's Hospital. He was a man of considerable talents, and the first president of the Royal Society. *O.b.* 1684, aged sixty-four.

prison in Southwark, where they are put: so to the Swan, in Old Fish Street, where Mr. Brigden and his father-in-law, Blackbury, of whom we had bought timber in the office, but have not dealt well with us, did make me a fine dinner only to myself; and after dinner comes in a juggler, which showed us very pretty tricks. I seemed very pleasant, but am no friend to the man's dealings with us in the office. I went to Church-yard, to my book-seller's; and there I hear that next Sunday will be the last of a great many Presbyterian ministers in town, who, I hear, will give up all. I pray God the issue may be good, for the discontent is great. My mind well pleased with a letter that I found at home from Mr. Coventry, expressing his satisfaction in a letter I writ last night and sent him this morning to be corrected by him, in order to its sending down to all the Yards as a charge to them.

17th. (Lord's day.) This being the last Sunday that the Presbyterians are to preach, unless they read the new Common Prayer, and renounce the Covenant, I had a mind to hear Dr. Bates's farewell sermon; and so walked to St. Dunstan's, where, it not being seven o'clock yet, the doors were not open; and so I went and walked an hour in the Temple garden, reading my vows, which it is a great content to me to see how I am a changed man in all respects for the better, since I took them, which the God of Heaven continue to me, and make me thankful for. At eight o'clock I went and crowded in at a back door among others, the church being half full almost before any doors were open publicly, which is the first time that I have done so these many years; and so got into the gallery, beside the pulpit, and heard very well. His text was, 'Now the God of Peace——;' the last Hebrews, and the 20th verse: he making a very good sermon, and very little reflections in it to anything of the times. I was very well pleased with the sight of a fine lady that I have often seen walk in Gray's Inn Walks. To Madam Turner's, and dined with her. She had heard Parson Herring take his leave; though he, by reading so much of the Common Prayer as he did, hath cast himself out of the good opinion of both sides. After dinner to St. Dunstan's again; and the church quite crowded before I came, which was just at one o'clock; but I got into the gallery again, but stood in a crowd. Dr. Bates pursued his text again very well; and only at the conclusion told us, after this manner: 'I do believe that many of you do expect that I should say something to you in reference to the time, this being the last time that possibly I may appear here.

You know it is not my manner to speak anything in the pulpit that is extraneous to my text and business; yet this I shall say, that it is not my opinion, fashion, or humour, that keeps me from complying with what is required of us; but something, after much prayer, discourse, and study, yet remains unsatisfied and commands me herein. Wherefore, if it is my unhappiness not to receive such an illumination as should direct me to do otherwise, I know no reason why men should not pardon me in this world, and am confident that God will pardon me for it in the next.' And so he concluded. Parson Herring read a psalm and chapters before sermon; and one was the chapter in the Acts, where the story of Ananias and Sapphira is. And after he had done, says he, 'This is just the case of England at present. God, He bids us to preach, and men bid us not to preach; and if we do we are to be imprisoned and further punished. All that I can say to it is that I beg your prayers, and the prayers of all good Christians, for us.' This was all the exposition he made of the chapter, in these very words, and no more. I was much pleased with Bates's manner of bringing in the Lord's Prayer after his own; thus, 'In whose comprehensive words we sum up all our imperfect desires, saying, "Our Father,"' &c. I hear most of the Presbyters took their leaves today, and that the City is much dissatisfied with it. I pray God keep peace among us, and make the Bishops careful of bringing in good men in their rooms, or else all will fly a-pieces; for bad ones will not go down with the City.

18th. About seven o'clock took horse, and rode to Bow, and there stayed at the King's Head, and eat a breakfast of eggs, till Mr. Deane<sup>1</sup> of Woolwich came, and he and I rid into Waltham Forest, and there we saw many trees of the King's a-hewing; and he showed me the whole mystery of off-square,<sup>2</sup> wherein the King is abused in the timber that he buys, which I shall with much

<sup>1</sup> Anthony Deane, afterwards knighted, and M.P. for Harwich; a Commissioner of the Navy, 1672.

<sup>2</sup> 'Off-square' is evidently a mistake, in the shorthand manuscript, for 'half-square,' which is explained by the following extract from W. Leybourn's *Complete Surveyor*, 3rd edition, London, 1674, folio:

'Before I proceed, I must needs detect one grand and too common an error; for most artificers, when they meet with squared timber whose breadth and depth are unequal, they usually add the breadth and depth together, and take the half for a mean square, and so proceed. This indeed though it be always an error, yet it is not so great when the difference of the breadth and depth is not much; but, if the difference be great, the error is very obnoxious either to buyer or seller.'

pleasure be able to correct. After we had been a good while in the wood, we rode to Ilford, and there, while dinner was getting ready, he and I practised measuring of the tables and other things, till I did understand measure of timber and board very well. By and by, being sent for, comes Mr. Cooper, our officer in the Forest, and did give me an account of things there, and how the country is backward to come in with their carts. While I am here, Sir W. Batten passed by in his coach, homewards from Colchester, where he had been seeing his son-in-law Lemon, that lies a-dying; but I would take no notice of him, but let him go. By and by I rode to Barking, and there saw the place where they ship this timber for Woolwich; and so Deane and I home again, and parted at Bow, and I home just before a great shower of rain, as God would have it. I find Deane a pretty able man, and, I think, able to do the King service; but, I think, more out of envy to the rest of the officers of the yard, of whom he complains much, than true love, more than others, to the service. He would fain seem a modest man, and yet will commend his own work and skill, and vie with other persons, especially the Petts, but I let him alone to hear all he will say.

19th. At the office; and Mr. Coventry did tell us of the duel between Mr. Jermyn,<sup>1</sup> nephew to my Lord St. Albans, and Colonel Giles Rawlings, the latter of whom is killed, and the first mortally wounded, as it is thought. They fought against Captain Thomas Howard, my Lord Carlisle's brother, and another unknown;<sup>2</sup> who, they say, had armour on that they could not be hurt, so that one of their swords went up to the hilt against it. They had horses ready, and are fled. But what is most strange, Howard sent one challenge, but they could not meet, and then another and did meet yesterday at the old Pall Mall at St. James's, and he would not till the last tell Jermyn what the quarrel was; nor do anybody know. The Court is much concerned in this fray, and I am glad of it; hoping that it will cause some good laws against it. After sitting, Sir G. Carteret did tell me how he had spoke of me to my Lord Chancellor; and that if my Lord Sandwich would ask my Lord Chancellor, he should know what he had said of me to him to my advantage.

<sup>1</sup> Henry Jermyn, a younger nephew of the Earl of St. Albans. He was created Baron Jermyn of Dover 1685, and died in 1708, *s.p.*

<sup>2</sup> Lord Dillon's son, apparently Charles, eldest son of James, fourth Viscount Dillon.

20th. To my Lord Sandwich, whom I found in bed. Among other talk, he do tell me that he hath put me into commission with a great many great persons in the business of Tangier, which is a very great honour to me, and may be of good concernment to me. By and by comes in Mr. Coventry to us, whom my Lord tells that he is also put into the commission, and that I am there, of which he said he was glad; and did tell my Lord that I was indeed the life of this office, and much more to my commendation beyond measure. And that, whereas before he did bear me respect for his sake, so he do it now much more for my own; which is a great blessing to me, Sir G. Carteret having told me what he did yesterday concerning his speaking to my Lord Chancellor about me: so that on all hands, by God's blessing, I find myself a very rising man. By and by comes my Lord Peterborough in, with whom we talked a good while, and he is going tomorrow toward Tangier again. I perceive there is yet good hopes of peace with Guyland,<sup>1</sup> which is of great concernment to Tangier. Meeting Mr. Townsend, he would needs take me to Fleet Street, to one Mr. Barwell, squire saddler to the King, and there we and several other Wardrobe-men dined. We had a venison pasty, and other good, plain, and handsome dishes—the mistress of the house, a pretty well-carriaged woman, and a fine hand she hath; and her maid a pretty brown lass.

21st. To Mr. Rawlinson's, where my uncle Wight and my aunt, and some neighbour couples, were at a very good venison pasty. Hither come, after we were set down, a most pretty young lady (only her hands were not white nor handsome), which pleased well, and I found her to be sister to Mrs. Anne Wight. We were good company, and had a very pretty dinner.

22d. About three o'clock this morning I waked with the noise of the rain, having never in my life heard a more violent shower; and then the cat was locked in the chamber, and kept a great mewling, and leaped upon the bed, which made me I could not sleep a great while. Then to sleep, and about five o'clock rose, and about eight o'clock went down to Deptford, and then with Mr. Davis did look over most of his stores. By the same token in the great storehouse, while Captain Badily was talking to us, one from a trap-door above let fall unawares a coil of cable, that it was 10,000 to one it had not broke Captain Badily's neck, it came so near him, but did him no hurt. To Westminster Hall,

<sup>1</sup> A Moorish usurper, who had put himself at the head of an army for the purpose of attacking Tangier.



and there I heard that old Mr. Hales<sup>1</sup> did lately die suddenly in an hour's time. Here I met with Will Bowyer, and had a promise from him of a place to stand tomorrow at his house to see the show. Thence to my Lord's, and thither sent for Mr. Creed, and then to his lodging at Clerke's, the confectioner's, where he did give me a little banquet, and I had liked to have begged a parrot for my wife, but he hath put me in a way to get a better from Steven-ton at Portsmouth.

23d. Mr. Coventry and I did walk together a great while in the garden, where he did tell me his mind about Sir G. Carteret's having so much the command of the money, which must be removed; and indeed it is the bane of all our business. He observed to me also how Sir W. Batten begins to struggle and to look after his business. I also put him upon getting an order from the Duke for our inquiries into the Chest, which he will see done. Mr. Creed and I walked down to the Steelyard, and so all along Thames Street, but could not get a boat: I offered eight shillings for a boat to attend me this afternoon, and they would not, it being the day of the Queen's coming to town from Hampton Court. So we fairly walked it to White Hall, and through my Lord's lodgings we got into White Hall garden, and so to the Bowling-green, and up to the top of the new Banqueting House there, over the Thames, which was a most pleasant place as any I could have got; and all the show consisted chiefly in the number of boats and barges; and two pageants, one of a King and another of a Queen with her Maids of Honour sitting at her feet very prettily; and they tell me the Queen is Sir Richard Ford's daughter. Anon came the King and Queen in a barge under a canopy, with 10,000 barges and boats, I think, for we could see no water for them, nor discern the King nor Queen. And so they landed at White Hall Bridge, and the great guns on the other side went off. But that which pleased me best was, that my Lady Castlemaine stood over against us upon a piece of White Hall, where I glutted myself with looking on her. But methought it was strange to see her Lord and her upon the same place walking up and down without taking notice one of another, only at first entry he put off his hat, and she made him a very civil salute, but afterwards took no notice one of another; but both of them now and then would take their child, which the nurse held in her arms, and dandle it. One thing more; there happened a scaffold below to fall, and we

<sup>1</sup> John Hales of Eton.

feared some hurt, but there was none; but she of all the great ladies only run down among the common rabble to see what hurt was done, and did take care of a child that received some little hurt, which methought was so noble. Anon there came one there booted and spurred, that she talked long with; and by and by, she being in her hair, she put on his hat, which was but an ordinary one, to keep the wind off; but methinks it became her mightily, as everything else do. The show being over, I went away, not weary with looking on her, and to my Lord's lodgings, where my brother Tom and Dr. Thomas Pepys were to speak with me: so I walked with them in the garden, and was very angry with them both for their going out of town without my knowledge; but they told me the business, which was to see a gentlewoman for a wife for Tom, of Mr. Cooke's providing, worth £500, of good education, her name Hobell, and lives near Banbury—demands £40 per annum jointure. Tom likes her, and, they say, had a very good reception, and that Cooke hath been very serviceable therein, and that she is committed to old Mr. Young, of the Wardrobe's, tuition. My Lord and I had half an hour's private discourse about the discontents of the times, which we concluded would not come to anything of difference, though the Presbyters would be glad enough of it; but we do not think religion will so soon cause another war. Then to his own business. Then we fell to talk of Navy business; and he concludes, as I do, that he needs not put himself upon any more voyages abroad to spend money, unless a war comes; and that by keeping his family awhile in the country, he shall be able to gather money. Here we broke off, and I bid him good-night, and so, with much ado, the streets being, at nine o'clock at night, crammed with people going home to the City, for all the borders of the river had been full of people, as the King had come, to a miracle, got to the Palace Yard, and there took boat, and so to the Old Swan, and so walked home, and to bed very weary.

24th. (Lord's day.) To church, where I all alone, and found Will Griffin and Thomas Hewett got into a pew next to our backs, where our maids sit, but when I came they went out, so forward some people are to outrun themselves. Here we had a lazy, dull sermon. My brother Tom came to me, talking about his late journey and his mistress; and, for what he tells me, it is like to do well. To church again, where Mr. Mills making a sermon upon confession, he did endeavour to pull down auricular confession,

but did set it up by his bad arguments against it, and advising people to come to him to confess their sins, when they had any weight upon their consciences, as much as is possible, which did vex me to hear. Walked to my uncle Wight's: here I stayed supper, and much company there was; among others, Dr. Burnet,<sup>1</sup> Mr. Cole the lawyer, Mr. Rawlinson, and Mr. Sutton. Among other things, they tell me that there hath been a disturbance in a church in Friday Street; a great many young people knotting together and crying out 'Porridge!' <sup>2</sup> often and seditiously in the church, and they took the Common Prayer Book, they say, away; and, some say, did tear it; but it is a thing which appears to me very ominous. I pray God avert it.

25th. Up early, and away by water to Woolwich, where I stayed seeing a cable of 14 inches laid, in which there was good variety. Then to Mr. Falconer's, and there eat a bit of roast meat off the spit; and so away to the yard, and there, among other things, mustered the yard, and did things that I see people do begin to value me, and that I shall be able to be of command in all matters.

27th. Dined with Sir W. Batten. Among other stories, he told us of the Mayor of Bristol's reading a pass with the bottom upwards; and a barber that could not read, that flung a letter in the kennel, when one come to desire him to read the superscription, saying, 'Do you think I stand here to read letters?' This day my hogshead of sherry I have sold to Sir W. Batten, and am glad of my money instead of my wine.

29th. Up betimes and among my workmen, finding my presence to carry on the work both to my mind and with more haste. I did begin tonight with Mr. Lewes to look into the nature of a purser's account, and the business of victualling, in which there is a great variety; but I find I shall understand it, and be able to do service there also.

30th. At noon I had news that Sir W. Pen would be in town from Ireland, which I much wonder at, and it troubled me exceedingly what to do for a lodging, and more what to do with my goods, that are all in his house; but at last I resolved to let them lie there till Monday, and got a lodging upon Tower Hill.

31st. (Lord's day.) News is brought me that Sir W. Pen is come. Made my monthly accounts, and find myself worth in money

<sup>1</sup> A physician, who died of the plague.

<sup>2</sup> Porridge was the nickname given by the Dissenters to the Book of Common Prayer.

about £686 19s. 2½d., for which God be praised, I now saving money, and my expenses being very little. My wife is still in the country: my house all in dirt; but my work in a good forwardness, and will be much to my mind at last. To Mr. Rawlinson's, and there supped with him. Our discourse of the discontents that are abroad, among and by reason of the Presbyters. Some were clapped up today, and strict watch is kept in the City by the trainbands, and letters of a plot are taken. God preserve us! for all these things bode very ill.

September 1st. With Sir W. Batten and Sir W. Pen by coach to St. James's, this being the first day of our meeting there by the Duke's order; but when we come, we found him going out by coach with his Duchess, and he told us he was to go abroad with the Queen today, to Durdans,<sup>1</sup> it seems, to dine with my Lord Berkeley, where I have been very merry when I was a little boy; so we went and stayed a little at Mr. Coventry's chamber, and I to my Lord Sandwich's, who is gone to wait upon the King and Queen today.

3d. To my office, and about eight o'clock I went over to Redriffe, and walked to Deptford, where I found Mr. Coventry and Sir W. Pen. Here we stayed till noon, and by that time paid off the Breda, and then to dinner at the tavern. After dinner by water to the office, and there we met and sold the Weymouth, Success, and Fellowship hulks, where pleasant to see how backward men are at first to bid; and yet, when the candle is going out, how they bawl and dispute afterwards who bid the most first. And here I observed one man cunninger than the rest, that was sure to bid the last man, and to carry it; and, enquiring the reason, he told me that, just as the flame goes out, the smoke descends, which is a thing I never observed before, and by that he do know the instant when to bid last, which is very pretty. Mr. Coventry told us how the Fanatics and the Presbyters, that did intend to rise about this time, did choose this day as the most auspicious to them in their endeavours against monarchy: it being fatal twice to the King, and the day of Oliver's death. But, blessed be God! all is likely to be quiet, I hope. Dr. Fairbrother tells me, what I heard confirmed since, that it was fully resolved by the King's new Council that an Indulgence should be granted the Presbyters; but upon the Bishop of London's<sup>2</sup> speech (who is now one of the most powerful men in England with the King), their minds were wholly

<sup>1</sup> Lord Berkeley's seat, near Epsom.

<sup>2</sup> Gilbert Sheldon.

turned. And it is said that my Lord Albemarle did oppose him most; but that, I do believe, is only in appearance. He told me also that most of the Presbyters now begin to wish they had complied, now they see that no Indulgence will be granted them, which they hoped for; and that the Bishop of London hath taken good care that places are supplied with very good and able men, which is the only thing that will keep all quiet.

4th. By water betimes to the Tower and so home, where I shifted myself, being to dine abroad; and so being also trimmed, which is a thing I have very seldom done of late, we met and sat all the morning, and at noon we all to the Trinity House, where we treated, very dearly, I believe, the officers of the Ordnance; where was Sir W. Compton and the Lieutenant of the Tower. We had much and good music, which was my best entertainment. Sir William Compton I heard talk, with great pleasure, of the difference between the fleet now and in Queen Elizabeth's days; where, in '88, she had but 36 sail, great and small, in the world; and ten rounds of powder was their allowance at that time against the Spaniard. After Sir W. Compton and Mr. Coventry and some of the best of the rest were gone, I grew weary of staying with Sir Williams both, and the more for that my Lady Batten and her crew, at least half-a-score, came into the room, and I believe we shall pay size for it; but 'tis very pleasant to see her in her hair under her hood, and how by little and little she would fain be a gallant; but, Lord! the company she keeps about her are like herself, that she may be known by them what she is.

5th. Up by break of day, and by water to Woolwich; in my way saw the yacht lately built by our Virtuosos (my Lord Brouncker and others, with the help of Commissioner Pett also) set out from Greenwich with the little Dutch bezan, to try for mastery; and before they got to Woolwich the Dutch beat them half a mile; and I hear this afternoon, that, in coming home it got above three miles; which all our people are glad of. To Mr. Bland's, the merchant, by invitation; where I found all the officers of the Customs, very grave fine gentlemen, and I am very glad to know them; viz.: Sir Job Harvey, Sir John Wolstenholme,<sup>1</sup> Sir John Jacob,<sup>2</sup> Sir Nicholas Crisp, Sir John Harrison, and Sir John

<sup>1</sup> Sir John Wolstenholme, created a baronet, 1664. An intimate friend of Lord Clarendon's, and collector outward for the Port of London: *ob.* 1679.

<sup>2</sup> Sir John Jacob, of Bromley, Middlesex; created a baronet 1664, for his loyalty and zeal for the royal family: *ob.* 1666.

Shaw: <sup>1</sup> very good company. And among other pretty discourse some was of Sir Jerome Bowes, Ambassador from pretty Queen Elizabeth to the Emperor of Russia; <sup>2</sup> who, because some of the noblemen there would go up the stairs to the Emperor before him, he would not go up till the Emperor had ordered those two men to be dragged downstairs, with their heads knocking upon every stair till they were killed. And when he was come up they demanded his sword of him before he entered the room. He told them, if they would have his sword they should have his boots too. And so caused his boots to be pulled off, and his night-gown and night-cap, and slippers to be sent for; and made the Emperor stay till he could go in his night-dress, since he might not go as a soldier. And lastly, when the Emperor in contempt, to show his command of his subjects, did command one to leap from the window down, and broke his neck in the sight of our Ambassador, he replied that his mistress did set more by, and did make better use of, the necks of her subjects: but said that, to show what her subjects would do for her, he would, and did, fling down his gauntlet before the Emperor; and challenged all the nobility there to take it up in defence of the Emperor against his Queen: for which, at this very day, the name of Sir Jerome Bowes is famous and honoured there. I this day heard that Mr. Martin Noel <sup>3</sup> is knighted by the King, which I much wonder at; but yet he is certainly a very useful man.

6th. Lay long, that is till 6 and past, before I rose; so up and to my office. Sir John Minnes, both Sir Williams, and I to the Trinity House, where we had at dinner a couple of venison pasties, of which I eat but little, being almost cloyed, having been at five pasties in three days.

7th. To White Hall Chapel, where I heard a good sermon of the Dean of Ely's, <sup>4</sup> upon returning to the old ways, and a most excellent anthem, with symphonies between, sung by Captain

<sup>1</sup> Sir John Shaw, a Farmer of the Customs, was created a baronet in 1665, for his services in lending the king large sums of money during his exile: *ob.* 1680.

<sup>2</sup> In 1583. The emperor was Ivan IV, 'The Terrible.'

<sup>3</sup> We know nothing further about Sir Martin, except that he was a scrivener, and that Pepys records his death of the plague, in 1665. His son, of the same name, was knighted in November 1665.

<sup>4</sup> Francis Wilford, D.D., Master of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, made Dean of Ely, 20th May 1662. He died in July 1667, being then vice-chancellor, and was buried in the chapel of his college.

Cooke. Home with Mr. Fox and his lady; and there dined with them. Most of our discourse was what ministers are flung out that will not conform: and the care of the Bishop of London that we are here supplied with very good men. Meeting Mr. Pierce, the surgeon, he took me into Somerset House, and there carried me into the Queen-mother's presence-chamber, where she was, with our Queen sitting on her left hand, whom I never did see before; and though she be not very charming, yet she hath a good, modest, and innocent look, which is pleasing. Here I also saw Madame Castlemaine, and, which pleased me most, Mr. Crofts,<sup>1</sup> the King's bastard, a most pretty spark of about fifteen years old, who, I perceive, do hang much upon my Lady Castlemaine, and is always with her; and, I hear, the Queens both of them are mighty kind to him. By and by in comes the King, and anon the Duke and his Duchess; so that, they being all together, was such a sight as I never could almost have happened to see with so much ease and leisure. They stayed till it was dark, and then went away; the King and his Queen, and my Lady Castlemaine and young Crofts, in one coach, and the rest in other coaches. Here were great stores of great ladies, but very few handsome. The King and Queen were very merry; and he would have made the Queen-mother believe that his Queen was with child, and said that she said so. And the young Queen answered, 'You lie'; which was the first English word that I ever heard her say: which made the King good sport; and he would have taught her say in English, 'Confess and be hanged.'

8th. With Mr. Coventry to the Duke; who, after he was out of his bed, did send for us in; and, when he was quite ready, took us into his closet, and there told us that he do intend to renew the old custom for the Admirals to have their principal officers to meet them once a week, to give them an account what they have done that week; which I am glad of: and so the rest did tell his Royal Highness that I could do it best for the time past. And so I produced my short notes, and did give him an account of all that we have of late done; and proposed to him several things for his commands, which he did give us, and so dismissed us.

9th. At my office betimes, and at noon Mr. Coventry, Sir J. Minnes, Mr. Pett, and myself by water to Deptford. At the pay of a ship. After dinner returned again to the office, and there met

<sup>1</sup> James, son of Charles II, by Lucy Waters, of Haverfordwest who bore the name of Crofts till he was created Duke of Monmouth in 1662.

several tradesman to know of them their lowest rates that they will take for their several provisions, for I do resolve to know that, and to buy no dearer, that so when we know the lowest rate, it shall be the Treasurer's fault and not ours that we pay dearer. This afternoon Sir John Minnes showed us how I have blinded all his lights and stopped up his garden door, which do vex me so much that I could not sleep for the thoughts of losing the privilege of the leads and other things which in themselves are small and not worth half the trouble. The more fool am I, and I must labour against it for shame, especially I that used to preach up Epictetus's rule of τὰ ἐφ' ἡμῖν καὶ τὰ οὐκ ἐφ' ἡμῖν.

10th. Up, and to my house, and there contrived a way how Sir John Minnes shall come into the leads, and yet I save part of the closet I hoped for, which, if it will not please him, I am a madman to be troubled at it.

11th. My brother Tom this night came to show me a civil letter sent him from his mistress. I am pleased well enough with the business.

12th. At my office all the morning, Mr. Lewis teaching me to understand the method of making up purser's accounts, which is very needful for me and very hard. This day, by letters from my father, I hear that Captain Ferrers, who is with my Lord in the country, was at Brampton, with Mr. Creed, to see him: and that a day or two ago, being provoked to strike one of my Lord's footmen, the footman drew his sword, and hath almost cut the fingers of one of his hands off; which I am very sorry for: but this is the vanity of being apt to command and strike.

13th. We sat all the morning, and met again in the afternoon to set accounts even between the King and the masters of ships hired to carry provisions to Lisbon.

14th. (Lord's day.) By water to White Hall, by the way hearing that the Bishop of London had given a very strict order against boats going on Sundays, and as I came back again, we were examined by the masters of the company, in another boat, but I told them who I was. To White Hall chapel, where sermon almost done, and I heard Captain Cooke's new music. This the first day of having viols and other instruments to play a symphony between every verse of the anthem; but the music more full than it was the last Sunday, and very fine it is. But yet I could discern Captain Cooke to overdo his part at singing, which I never did before. Thence up into the Queen's presence, and there saw the



Queen again as I did last Sunday, and some fine ladies with her; but, by my troth, not many. Thence to Sir G. Carteret's, and find him to have sprained his foot and is lame, but yet hath been at chapel, and my Lady much troubled for one of her daughters that is sick. I dined with them, and a very pretty lady, their kinswoman, with them. My joy is, that I think I have good hold on Sir George and Mr. Coventry.

15th. By water with Sir William Pen to White Hall; and, with much ado, was fain to walk over the piles through the bridge, while Sir W. Batten and Sir J. Minnes were aground against the bridge, and could not in a great while get through. At White Hall we hear that the Duke of York is gone a-hunting today; and so we returned: they going to the Duke of Albemarle's, where I left them after I had observed a very good picture or two there.

16th. My wife writes me from the country that she is not pleased there with my father nor mother nor any of her servants, and that my boy is turned a very rogue. I have £30 to pay to the cavaliers: then a doubt about my being forced to leave all my business here, when I am called to the court at Brampton; and, lastly, my law businesses, which vex me to my heart what I shall be able to do next term, which is near at hand.

17th. Mr. Moore and I to Paul's School, to wait upon Mr. Crumlum who we take very luckily, where there was also an old fellow student of Mr. Crumlum's, one Mr. Newell, of whom he made so much and of me, that the truth is he with kindness did drink more than I believe he used to do, and did begin to be a little impertinent, that though I honour the man, and he do declare abundance of learning and worth, yet I confess my opinion is much lessened of him; and therefore let it be a caution to myself not to love drink, since it has such an effect upon others of greater worth in my own esteem.

18th. At noon, Sir G. Carteret, Mr. Coventry, and I by invitation to dinner to Sheriff Meynell's,<sup>1</sup> the great moneyman; he, Alderman Backwell, and much noble and brave company, with the privilege of their rare discourse, which is great content to me above all other things in the world; and after a great dinner and much discourse, we took leave. Among other discourses, speaking concerning the great charity used in Catholic countries, Mr.

<sup>1</sup> Alderman Francis Meynell was a goldsmith and banker in London, and then one of the sheriffs. He was the third son of Godfrey Meynell, of Wilington, in Derbyshire, and died in 1666.

Ashburnham did tell us that this last year, there being great want of corn in Paris, and so a collection made for the poor, there was two pearls brought in, nobody knew from whom, till the Queen, seeing them, knew whose they were, but did not discover it, which were sold for 200,000 crowns.

19th. Up betimes and to my office, and at nine o'clock I went alone to Deptford, and then Woolwich yard. After dinner to pay again, and so till nine at night, my great trouble being that I was forced to begin an ill practice of bringing down the wages of servants, for which people did curse me, which I do not love. At night, after I had eaten a cold pullet, I walked by brave moonshine, with three or four armed to guard me, to Redriffe: it being now a joy to my heart to think of the condition that I am now in, that people should of themselves provide this for me, unspoke to. I hear this walk is dangerous to walk alone by night, and much robbery committed here.

20th. Tonight my barber sent me his man to trim me, who did live in King's Street in Westminster lately, and tells me that three or four that I knew in that street, tradesmen, are lately fallen mad, and some of them dead, and the others continue mad. They live all within a door or two one of another.

21st. (Lord's day.) Got up betimes and walked to St. James's, and there to Mr. Coventry, and sat an hour with him, and I do perceive he do speak his whole mind to me. Thence to the Park. The Queen coming by in her coach, going to her chapel at St. James's, the first time it hath been ready for her, I crowded after her, and I got up to the room where her closet is; and there stood and saw the fine altar, ornaments, and the friars in their habits, and the priests come in with their fine copes and many other fine things. I heard their music too; which may be good, but it did not appear so to me, neither as to their manner of singing, nor was it good concord to my ears, whatever the matter was. The Queen very devout: but what pleased me best was to see my dear Lady Castlemaine, who, though a Protestant, did wait upon the Queen to chapel. By and by, after mass was done, a friar with his cowl did rise up and preach a sermon in Portugese; which I not understanding, did go away, and to the King's chapel, but that was done; and so up to the Queen's presence-chamber, where she and the King was expected to dine: but she staying at St. James's, they were forced to remove the things to the King's presence; and there he dined alone, and I with Mr. Fox very finely;

but I see I must not make too much of that liberty, for my honour sake only—not but that I am very well received.

22d. Up betimes among my workmen, hastening to get things ready against my wife's coming. Walked to Greateorex's, and there with him did overlook many pretty things, new inventions, and have bespoke a weather-glass of him. Thence to my Lord Crewe's, and dined with the servants, he having dined; and so, after dinner, up to him, and sat an hour talking with him of public, and my Lord's private businesses, with much content.

23d. Sir G. Carteret told me how in most cabarets in France they have writ upon the walls in fair letters to be read, 'Dieu te regarde,' as a good lesson to be in every man's mind, and have also, as in Holland, their poor's box; in both which places at the making all contracts and bargains they give so much, which they call God's penny.

24th. To my Lord Crewe's, and there dined alone with him; and, among other things, he do advise me by all means to keep my Lord Sandwich from proceeding too far in the business of Tangier. First, for that he is confident the King will not be able to find money for the building the Mole; and next, for that it is to be done, as we propose it, by the reducing of the garrison; and then, either my Lord must oppose the Duke of York, who will have the Irish regiment under the command of Fitzgerald continued, or else my Lord Peterborough, who is concerned to have the English continued; and he, it seems, is gone back again merely upon my Lord Sandwich's encouragement. Thence to Mr. Wotton, the shoe-maker's, and there bought a pair of boots—cost me 30s.; and he told me how Bird <sup>1</sup> hath lately broke his leg, while he was fencing in 'Aglaura' <sup>2</sup> upon the stage; and that the new theatre of all will be ready against term. I hear that I have the name of good-natured man among the poor people that come to the office.

25th. This evening I sat awhile at Sir W. Batten's with Sir J. Minnes, where I did hear how the woman, formerly nurse to Mrs. Lemon (Sir W. Batten's daughter), her child was torn to pieces by two dogs at Walthamstow this week, and is dead, which is very strange.

27th. My wife's chamber put into a good readiness against her coming, which she did at night; for Will did, by my leave to go, meet her upon the road, and at night did bring me word she was come to my brother's, by my order. So I went thither to her.

<sup>1</sup> Should be Nicholas Burt, the actor.

<sup>2</sup> A tragi-comedy by Sir John Suckling.

Being come, I found her and her maid and dog very well, and herself grown a little fatter than she was. I was very well pleased to see her, only I do perceive there has been falling out between my mother and she, and a little between my father and she; but I hope all is well again, and I perceive she likes Brampton House and seat better than ever I did myself, and tells me how my Lord hath drawn a plot of some alterations to be made there, and hath brought it up, which I saw, and like well. I perceive my Lord and Lady have been very kind to her.

28th. (Lord's day.) Waked early, and fell talking one with another with great pleasure of my house at Brampton and that here, and other matters. She tells me what a rogue my boy is, and strange things he has been found guilty of, which vexes me, but most of all the unquiet life that my mother makes my father and herself lead through her want of reason. At last I rose, and with Tom to the French church at the Savoy, and there they have the Common Prayer Book read in French, and, which I never saw before, the minister do preach with his hat off, I suppose in further conformity with our Church.

29th. (Michaelmas day.) This day my oaths for drinking of wine and going to plays are out; and so I do resolve to take a liberty today, and then to fall to them again. To Mr. Coventry's, and so with him and Sir W. Pen up to the Duke, where the King came also, and stayed till the Duke was ready. It being Collard-day, we had no time to talk with him about any business. So we parted, and I to Tom's, and there taking up my wife, maid, dog, and him, did carry them home. I sent for some dinner, Mrs. Margaret Pen being by, to whom I had spoke to go along with us to a play this afternoon, and then to the King's Theatre, where we saw 'Midsummer's Night's Dream,' which I had never seen before, nor shall ever again, for it is the most insipid, ridiculous play that ever I saw in my life. Home, where I find Mr. Deane of Woolwich hath sent me the model he had promised me; but it so far exceeds my expectations, that I am sorry almost he should make such a present to no greater a person; but I am exceedingly glad of it, and shall study to do him a courtesy for it.

30th. To the Duke's playhouse, where we saw 'The Duchess of Malfi' <sup>1</sup> well performed, but Betterton and Ianthe <sup>2</sup> to admiration. Strange to see how easily my mind do revert to its former practice of loving plays and wine; but this night I have again bound myself

<sup>1</sup> A tragedy by John Webster.

<sup>2</sup> Mrs. Betterton.

to Christmas next. I have also made up this evening my monthly balance, and find that, notwithstanding the loss of £30 to be paid to the loyal and necessitous cavaliers by Act of Parliament, yet I am worth about £680, for which the Lord God be praised. My condition at present is this: I have long been building, and my house, to my great content, is now almost done. My Lord Sandwich has lately been in the country, and very civil to my wife, and hath himself spent some pains in drawing a plot of some alterations in our house there, which I shall follow as I get money. As for the office, my late industry hath been such, as I am become as high in reputation as any man there, and good hold I have of Mr. Coventry and Sir G. Carteret, which I am resolved, and it is necessary for me, to maintain, by all fair means. Things are all quiet, but the King poor, and no hopes almost of him being otherwise, by which things will go to rack, especially in the Navy. The late outing of the Presbyterian clergy, by their not renouncing the Covenant as the Act of Parliament commands, is the greatest piece of state now in discourse. But, for aught I see, they are gone out very peaceably, and the people not so much concerned therein as was expected.

October 2d. At night, hearing that there was a play at the Cockpit, and my Lord Sandwich, who came to town last night, at it, I do go thither, and by very great fortune did follow four or five gentlemen who were carried to a little private door in a wall, and so crept through a narrow place, and came into one of the boxes next the King's, but so as I could not see the King or Queen, but many of the fine ladies, who yet are not really so handsome generally as I used to take them to be, but that they are finely dressed. Then we saw 'The Cardinal,'<sup>1</sup> a tragedy I had never seen before, nor is there any great matter in it. The company that came in with me into the box were all Frenchmen, that could speak no English; but, Lord! what sport they made to ask a pretty lady that they got among them, that understood both French and English, to make her tell them what the actors said.

3rd. At my office and with my workmen till noon, and then dined with my wife upon herrings, the first I have eat this year. In the evening comes Captain Ferrers. He brought me a letter from my father that appoints the day for the court at Brampton to be the 13th of this month; but I perceive he has kept the letter in his pocket these three days, so that if the day had been sooner, I

<sup>1</sup> A tragi-comedy by James Shirley.

might have been spilt. So that it is a great folly to send letters of business by any friend that require haste.

4th. Examining the particulars of the miscarriage of the Satisfaction, sunk the other day on the Dutch coast through the negligence of the pilot. Dined with my wife, and then to talk chiefly about her learning to dance against her going next year into the country, which I am willing she shall do.

5th. (Lord's day.) I to church; and this day the parson has got one to read with a surplice on. I suppose himself will take it up hereafter, for a cunning fellow he is as any of his coat.

6th. Sir W. Pen and I early to St. James's by water, where, Mr. Coventry finding the Duke in bed but not very well, we did not stay, but to White Hall and there took boat and down to Woolwich. We fell to reading of a book, which I saw the other day at my Lord Sandwich's, intended for the late King, finely bound up, a treatise concerning the benefit the Hollanders make of our fishing; but whereas I expected great matters from it, I find it a very impertinent [book], and though some things good, yet so full of tautologies, that we were weary of it. At Woolwich we mustered the yard, and then to the Hart to dinner, and then to the Rope-yard; thence to Deptford and wakened the officers there; so walked to Redriffe, and thence to White Hall with Mr. Coventry. Home, and there weary went to supper, and then to my office to set down my journal of this day, and so home and to bed.

7th. To my Lord's, and there I left money for Captain Ferrers to buy me two bands.

8th. To my Lord Sandwich's, and among other things, to my extraordinary joy, he did tell me how much I was beholding to the Duke of York, who did yesterday of his own accord tell him that he did thank him for one person brought into the Navy, naming myself, and much more to my commendation, which is the greatest comfort and encouragement that ever I had in my life, and do owe it all to Mr. Coventry's goodness and ingenuity. At night by coach to my Lord's again, but he is at Whitehall with the King, before whom the puppet plays I saw this summer in Coventgarden are acted this night. Hither this night my scallop,<sup>1</sup> bought and got made by Captain Ferrers's lady, is sent, and I brought it home—a very neat one. It cost me about £3, and £3 more I have given him to buy me another. I do find myself much bound to

<sup>1</sup> A lace band, the edges of which were indented with segments of circles, so as to resemble a scallop-shell.

go handsome, which I shall do in linen, and so the other things may be all the plainer. I came home late on foot, my boy carrying a link, and so eat a bit and to bed, my head full of ordering of businesses against my journey tomorrow.

9th. Up early about my business to get me ready for my journey. But first to the office, where we sat all the morning, and I bid them adieu for a week, having the Duke's leave got me by Mr. Coventry, to whom I did give thanks for my news yesterday of the Duke's words to my Lord Sandwich concerning me, which he took well; and do tell me so freely his love and value of me, that my mind is now in as great a state of quiet, as to my interest in the office, as I could ever wish to be. Between one and two o'clock got on horseback at our back gate, with my man Will with me, both well mounted on two grey horses. We got to Ware before night; and so I resolved to ride on to Puckeridge, which we did, though the way was bad and the evening dark before we got thither, by help of company riding before us; among others, a gentleman that took up at the same inn, the Falcon, with me, his name Mr. Brian, with whom I supped, and was very good company, and a scholar. He tells me, that it is believed the Queen is with child, for that the coaches are ordered to ride very easily through the streets.

10th. Up, and between eight and nine mounted again; but my feet so swelled with yesterday's pain, that I could not get on my boots, which vexed me to the blood, but was forced to pay 4s. for a pair of old shoes of my landlord's, and so rid in shoes to Cambridge; the way so good that I got very well thither, and set up at the Bear: and there being spied in the street passing through the town, my cousin Angier came to me, and I must needs to his house; and there found Dr. Fairbrother, with a good dinner, a barrel of good oysters, a couple of lobsters, and wine. But, above all, telling me that this day there is a Congregation for the choice of some officers in the University, he after dinner gets me a gown, cap, and hood, and carries me to the Schools, where Mr. Pepper, my brother's tutor and this day chosen Proctor, did appoint a M.A. to lead me into the Regent House, where I sat with them, and did vote by subscribing papers thus: 'Ego Samuel Pepys eligo Magistrum Bernardum Skelton'<sup>1</sup> (and, which was more strange, my old schoolfellow and acquaintance, and who afterwards did

<sup>1</sup> Afterwards agent in Holland for James II, who made use of him to inveigle over to England the Duke of Monmouth.

take notice of me, and we spoke together) 'alterum è taxatoribus hujus Academiae in annum sequentem.' The like I did for one Briggs, for the other Taxor, and for other officers, as the Vice-Proctor, (Mr. Covell) for Mr. Pepper, and which was the gentleman that did carry me into the Regent House. This being done, and the Congregation dissolved by the Vice-Chancellor, I did with much content return to my cousin Angier's. Thence to Trinity Hall with Dr. John Pepys, who tells me that [his] brother Roger has gone out of town to keep a Court; and so I was forced to go to Impington, to take such advice as my old uncle and his son Claxton could give me. By and by after supper comes in, unlooked for, my cousin Roger, with whom I discoursed largely, and in short he gives me good counsel, but tells me plainly that it is my best way to study a composition with my uncle Thomas, for that law will not help us, and that it is but a folly to flatter ourselves.

11th. Up betimes, and after a little breakfast, and a very poor one, like our supper, and such as I cannot feed on, because of my she-cousin Claxton's gouty hands; and after Roger had carried me up and down his house and orchards, to show me them, I mounted, and rode to Huntingdon, and so to Brampton, where I found my father and two brothers, my mother and sister. I walked up and down the house and garden, and find my father's alterations very handsome. So to dinner, where there being nothing but a poor breast of mutton, and that ill-dressed, I was much displeased, there being Mr. Cooke there, who I invited and for whom I was concerned to make much of. I told my father and mother of it, and so had it very well mended for the time after, though I am very glad to see them live so frugally. Rode to Hinchinbroke (Will with me), and there to my Lady's chamber and saw her, but stayed not long.

12th. (Lord's day.) Made myself fine with Captain Ferrers's lace band, being loth to wear my own new scallop, it is so fine; and after the barber had done with us, to church, where I saw most of the gentry of the parish; among others, Mrs. Hanbury, a proper lady, and Mr. Bernard and his Lady, with her father, my late Lord St. John,<sup>1</sup> who looks now like a very plain, grave man. Mr. Wells<sup>2</sup> preached a pretty good sermon, and they say he is pretty well in his wits again.

<sup>1</sup> Oliver St. John, one of Cromwell's Lords, and Chief Justice; and therefore, after the Restoration, properly called 'My late Lord.'

<sup>2</sup> The Rev. Jeremiah Wells, curate of All Hallows, Barking, in 1676. Pepys afterwards procured him a naval chaplaincy.



13th. Up to Hinchinbroke, and there, with Mr. Shepley, did look all over the house, and I do, I confess, like well of the alterations, and do like the staircase; but there being nothing done to make the outside more regular and modern, I am not satisfied with it, but do think it to be too much to be laid out upon it. Thence he to St. Ives Market, and I to Sir Robert Bernard's for council, having a letter from my Lord Sandwich to that end. He do promise to put off my uncle's admittance, if he can fairly. With my father took a melancholy walk to Portholme, seeing the country maids milking their cows there, they being there now at grass, and to see with what mirth they come all home together in pomp with their milk, and sometimes they have music go before them. So back home again.

14th. Up, and did digest into a method all I could say in our defence; and so about nine o'clock to the court at the Lordship, where the jury was called; and, there being vacancies, they would have had my father, in respect to him, to have been one of the Homage, but he thought fit to refuse it, he not knowing enough the customs of the town. They being sworn, and the charge given them, they fell to our business, finding the heir-at-law to be my uncle Thomas: but Sir Robert did tell them that he had seen how the estate was devised to my father by my uncle's will, according to the custom of the Manor, proposing some difficulty about the half-acre of land which is given the heir-at-law according to custom, which did put me into great fear, lest it might not be in my uncle's possession at his death. But the steward, as he promised me, did find pretensions very kindly and readily to put off their admittance, by which I find they are much defeated, and if ever, I hope, will now listen to a treaty and agreement with us, at our meeting at London: so they took their leaves of the steward and ourt, and went away. So my father and I home with great content to dinner; my mind now as full against the afternoon business, which we sat upon after dinner at the court, and did sue out a recovery, and cut off the entail; and my brothers there, to join therein. And my father and I admitted to all the lands; he for life, and I for myself and heirs in reversion. I did with most complete joy of mind go from the court with my father home, and in a quarter of an hour did get on horseback, with my brother Tom, Cooke, and Will, all mounted, and, without eating or drinking, take leave of my father, mother, Pall (to whom I did give 10s., but have shown no kindness since I came, for I find her

so very ill-natured, that I cannot love her, and she so cruel an hypocrite, that she can cry when she pleases), and John and I away, calling in at Hinchinbroke, and taking leave in three words of my Lady and the young ladies; and so by moonlight most bravely all the way to Cambridge, whither we came at about nine o'clock, and took up at the Bear.

15th. Waked very early; and when it was time, did call up Will, and we rose, and music (with a bandore for the bass) did give me a levet;<sup>1</sup> and so we got ready; and while breakfast was providing, I went forth and showed Mr. Cooke King's College Chapel, Trinity College, and St. John's College Library; and that being done, to our inn again, where I met Dr. Fairbrother. He told us how the room we were in was the room where Cromwell and his associated officers did begin to plot and act their mischiefs in these counties. Took leave of all, and begun our journey about nine o'clock, and came to Ware about three o'clock in the afternoon, the ways being everywhere but bad; but, finding our horses in good case, we even made shift to reach London, though both of us very weary. Found all things well, there happening nothing since our going to my discontent in the least degree; which do so please me, that I cannot but bless God for my journey, observing a whole course of success from the beginning to the end of it.

16th. I rose in good temper, finding a good chimney-piece made in my upper dining-room chamber, and the dining-room wainscoat in a good forwardness. I hear Mr. Moore is in a way of recovery. Sir H. Bennet<sup>2</sup> made Secretary of State in Sir Edward Nicholas's stead; not known whether by consent or not.

17th. To Creed's chamber, and there sat a good while, and drank chocolate. Here I am told how things go at Court: that the young men get uppermost, and the old serious lords are out of favour; that Sir H. Bennet being brought into Sir Edward Nicholas's place, Sir Charles Berkeley<sup>3</sup> is made Privy Purse; a most vicious person, and one whom Mr. Pierce, the surgeon, did tell me that he offered his wife £300 per annum to be his mistress. He

<sup>1</sup> A blast of trumpets, intended as a *réveille*.

<sup>2</sup> Created Baron of Arlington, 1663, and Viscount Thetford and Earl of Arlington, 1672; he was also K.G., and chamberlain to the king: *ob.* 1685.

<sup>3</sup> Created Lord Berkeley of Rathdown, and Viscount Fitzharding (Irish honours) soon afterwards, and, in 1664, Baron Bottetourt, and Earl of Falmouth, in England. He was the second son of Sir Charles Berkeley, of Bruton.

also told me that none in Court hath more the King's ear now than Sir Charles Berkeley, and Sir H. Bennet, and my Lady Castlemaine, whose interest is now as great as ever; and that Mrs. Haselrigge, the great beauty, is now brought to bed, and lays it to the King or the Duke of York.<sup>1</sup> He tells me, also, that my Lord St. Albans is like to be Lord Treasurer: all which things do trouble me much.

19th. (Lord's day.) Put on my first new lace-band; and so neat it is, that I am resolved my great expense shall be lace-bands, and it will set off anything else the more. So walked to my brother's, where I met Mr. Cooke, and do find that he and Tom have promised a jointure of £50 to his mistress, and say that I did give my consent that she should be jointured in £30 per annum for Startlow, and the rest to be made up out of her portion. At which I was stark mad, and very angry the business should be carried with so much folly and against my mind and all reason. To see Mr. Moore, who recovers well; and his doctor coming to him—one Dr. Merritt<sup>2</sup>—we had some of his very good discourse of anatomy and other things, very pleasant. I am sorry to hear that the news of the selling of Dunkirk is taken so generally ill, as I find it is among the merchants; and other things, as removal of officers at Court, good for worse; and all things else made much worse in their report among people than they are. And this night, I know not upon what ground, the gates of the City ordered to be kept shut, and double guards everywhere. Indeed, I do find everybody's spirit very full of trouble; and the things of the Court and Council very ill taken; so as to be apt to appear in bad colours, if there should ever be a beginning of trouble, which God forbid!

20th. In Sir J. Minnes's coach, with him and Sir W. Batten, to White Hall, where now the Duke is come again to lodge: and to Mr. Coventry's little new chamber there. And by and by up to the Duke, who was making himself ready; and there young Killigrew did so commend 'The Villain,' a new play made by Tom Porter, and acted only on Saturday at the Duke's house, as if there never had been any such play come upon the stage. The same yesterday was told me by Captain Ferrers; and this morning afterwards by Dr. Clerke, who saw it. After I had done with the Duke, with Commissioner Pett to Mr. Lely's, the great painter,

<sup>1</sup> The child was owned by neither of the royal brothers.

<sup>2</sup> Christopher Merritt, M.D., a native of Gloucestershire author of several works on medicine and natural history: *ob.* 1695.

who came forth to us; but, believing that I came to bespeak a picture, he prevented us by telling us that he should not be at leisure these three weeks; which methinks is a rare thing. And then to see in what pomp his table was laid for himself to go to dinner; and here, among other pictures, saw the so much desired by me picture of my Lady Castlemaine, which is a most blessed picture; and one that I must have a copy of. From thence I took my wife by coach to the Duke's house, and there was the house full of company; but whether it was in over-expecting, or what, I know not, but I was never less pleased with a play in my life. Though there was good singing and dancing, yet no fancy in the play; but something that made it less contenting was my conscience, that I ought not to have gone by my vow, and, besides, my business commended me elsewhere. But, however, as soon as I came home I did pay my crown to the poor's box, according to my vow, and so no harm as to that is done, but only business lost and money lost, and my old habit of pleasure awakened. Dunkirk, I am confirmed, is absolutely sold; for which I am very sorry.

21st. To the office, and there all the morning, and in the middle of our sitting, my workmen setting about the putting up of my rails upon my leads, Sir J. Minnes did stay them and fell a-swearing, which I took no notice of but was vexed, and am still to the very heart for it, for fear it should put him upon taking the closet and my chamber from me. But it is my very great folly to be so much troubled at these trifles, more than at the loss of £100, or things of greater concernment. By water with Mr. Smith to Mr. Lechmere,<sup>1</sup> the Counsellor at the Temple, about Field's business; and he tells me plainly that, there being a verdict against me, there is no help for it, but it must proceed to judgment. It is £30 damage to me for my joining with others in committing Field to prison, we being not Justices of the Peace in the City, though in Middlesex; this troubled me, but I hope the King will make it good to us. To Mr. Smith, the scrivener, upon Ludgate-hill, to whom Mrs. Butler do commit her business concerning her daughter and my brother. He tells me her daughter's portion is but £400, at which I am more troubled than before; and they find fault that his house is too little.

22d. To my Lord Sandwich's, who receives me now more and more kindly, now he sees that I am respected in the world; and is

<sup>1</sup> Nicholas Lechmere, knighted and made a Baron of the Exchequer, 1689: *ob.* 1701.

my most noble patron. To Mr. Smith's, and there by appointment met Mrs. Butler, with whom I plainly discoursed, and she with me. I find she will give but £400, and no more, and is not willing to do that, without a jointure, which she expects, and I will not grant for that portion. I find her a very discreet, sober woman, and her daughter, I understand and believe, is a good lady; and if portions did agree, though she finds fault with Tom's house and his bad imperfection in his speech, I believe we should well agree in other matters. Home, being first trimmed by Benier, who, being acquainted with all the players, do tell me that Betterton is not married to Ianthe, as they say; but, also, that he is a very sober, serious man, and studious, and humble, following of his studies, and is rich already with what he gets and saves. This night was buried, as I hear by the bells, at Barking Church, my poor Morena,<sup>1</sup> whose sickness being desperate, did kill her poor father; and he being dead for sorrow, she could not recover nor desire to live, but from that time do languish more and more, and so is now dead and buried.

24th. Dined with my wife upon a most excellent dish of tripes of my own directing, covered with mustard as I have heretofore seen them done at my Lord Crewe's, of which I made a very great meal, and sent for a glass of wine for myself. Mr. Pierce, the surgeon, tells me how ill things go at Court: that the King do show no countenance to any that belong to the Queen; nor, above all, to such English as she brought over with her, or hath here since, for fear they should tell her how he carries himself to Mrs. Palmer [Lady Castlemaine]; insomuch, that though he has a promise, and is sure of being made her surgeon, he is at a loss what to do in it, whether to take it or no, since the King's mind is so altered and favour to all her dependents, whom she is fain to let go back into Portugal (though she brought them from their friends against their wills, with promise of preferment), without doing anything for them. That her own physician did tell him within these three days that the Queen do know how the King orders things, and how he carries himself to my Lady Castlemaine and others, as well as anybody; but though she hath spirit enough, yet seeing that she do no good by taking notice of it, for the present she forbears it in policy; of which I am very glad. But I do pray God keep us in peace: for this, with other things, do give great discontent to all people.

<sup>1</sup> Elizabeth, daughter of John Dickens.

25th. Up and to the office, and there with Mr. Coventry sat all the morning, only we two, the rest being absent or sick. Dined at home with my wife upon a good dish of neat's feet and mustard.

26th. (Lord's day.) Put on my new scallop, which is very fine. To church, and there saw the first time Mr. Mills in a surplice; but it seemed absurd for him to pull it over his ears in the reading-pew, after he had done, before all the church, to go up to the pulpit, to preach without it. Home, and dined, and Mr. Sympron, my joiner that do my dining-room, and my brother Tom with me to a delicate fat pig. Tom takes his disappointment of his mistress to heart; but all will be well again in a little time. Then to church again, and heard a simple Scot preach most tediously. All this day soldiers going up and down the town, there being an alarm, and many Quakers and others clapped up; but, I believe, without any reason: only they say in Dorsetshire there hath been some rising discovered. After supper, making up my monthly account to myself. I find myself, by my expense in bands and clothes this month, abated a little of my last, and that I am worth £679 still; for which God be praised. So home and to bed with quiet mind, blessed be God, but afraid of my candle's going out, which makes me write this slubberingly.

27th. To my Lord Sandwich, who nowadays calls me into his chamber, and alone did discourse with me about the jealousy that the Court have of people's rising; wherein he do much dislike my Lord Monk's being so eager against a company of poor wretches, dragging them up and down the street; but would have him rather to take some of the greatest ringleaders of them, and punish them; whereas, this do but tell the world the King's fears and doubts. For Dunkirk, he wonders any wise people should be so troubled thereat, and scorns all their talk against it, for that he says it was not Dunkirk, but the other places that did and would annoy us, though we had that, as much as if we had it not. He also took notice of the new Ministers of State, Sir H. Bennet and Sir Charles Berkeley, their bringing in, and the high game that my Lady Castlemaine plays at Court. Afterwards he told me of poor Mr. Spong, that being with other people examined before the King and Council (they being laid up as suspected persons; and it seems Spong is so far thought guilty as they intend to pitch upon him to put to the rack or some other torture), he do take knowledge of my Lord Sandwich, and said that he was well known to Mr. Pepys.

But my Lord knows, and I told him, that it was only in matter of music and pipes, but that I thought him to be a very innocent fellow; and indeed I am very sorry for him. After my Lord and I had done in private we went out, and with Captain Cuttance and Bunn did look over their draft of a bridge for Tangier, which will be brought by my desire to our office by them tomorrow. Thence to Westminster Hall, and there walked along with Mr. Creed; and then to the great half-a-crown ordinary, at the King's Head, near Charing Cross, where we had a most excellent neat dinner and very high company, and in a noble manner. He showed me our commission, wherein the Duke of York, Prince Rupert, Duke of Albemarle, Lord Peterborough, Lord Sandwich, Sir G. Carteret, Sir William Compton, Mr. Coventry, Sir R. Ford, Sir William Rider, Mr. Cholmeley, Mr. Povy, myself, and Captain Cuttance, in this order, are joined for the carrying on the service of Tangier, which I take for a great honour to me. He told me what great faction there is at Court; and, above all, what is whispered, that young Crofts is lawful son to the King, the King being married to his mother.<sup>1</sup> How true this is, God knows; but I believe the Duke of York will not be fooled in this of three crowns. Thence to White Hall, and walked long in the galleries, till, as they are commanded to all strange persons, one came to tell us, we not being known, and being observed to walk there four or five hours (which was not true, unless they count my walking there in the morning), he was commanded to ask who we were; which being told, he excused his question, and was satisfied. These things speak great fear and jealousies. So to the Exchange: among other things, observing one very pretty Exchange lass, with her face full of black patches, which was a strange sight. At Sir W. Batten's I met Mr. Mills, who tells me that he could get nothing out of the maid hard by, that did poison herself, before she died, but that she did it because she did not like herself, nor anything she did a great while. It seems she was well-favoured enough, but crooked, and this is all she could be got to say, which is very strange.

29th. (Lord Mayor's day.) Sir G. Carteret, who had been at the examining most of the late people that are clapped up, do say that he do not think that there hath been any great plotting among them, though they have a good will to it; and their condition is so poor, and silly, and low, that they do not fear them at all.

<sup>1</sup> Lucy Waters.

30th. To my Lord Sandwich, who was up in his chamber and all alone, and did acquaint me with his business: which was, that our old acquaintance, Mr. Wade, in Axe Yard, hath discovered to him £7000 hid in the Tower; of which he was to have two for discovery, my Lord himself two, and the King the other three, when it was found: and that the King's warrant runs for me on my Lord's part, and one Mr. Lee for Sir Harry Bennet, to demand leave of the Lieutenant of the Tower for to make search. After he had told me the whole business I took leave, and at noon comes Mr. Wade with my Lord's letter. So we consulted for me to go first to Sir H. Bennet, who is now with many of the Privy Councillors at the Tower examining of their late prisoners, to advise with him to begin. So I went; and the guard at the Tower Gate making me leave my sword at the gate, I was forced to stay so long in the alehouse hard by, till my boy run home for my cloak, that my Lord Mayor that now is, Sir John Robinson, Lieutenant of the Tower, with all his company, was gone with their coaches to his house in Mincing Lane. So my cloak being come, I walked thither: and there, by Sir G. Carteret's means, did presently speak with Sir H. Bennet, who did give me the King's warrant for the paying of £2000 to my Lord and other two to the discoverers. After a little discourse dinner came in; and I dined with them. There was my Lord Mayor, my Lord Lauderdale, Mr. Secretary Morris (to whom Sir H. Bennet would give the upper hand), Sir William Compton, Sir G. Carteret, and myself, and some other company; and a brave dinner. After dinner Sir H. Bennet did call aside the Lord Mayor and me, and did break the business to him, who did not, nor durst, appear the least averse to it, but did promise all assistance forthwith to set upon it. So Mr. Lee and I to our office, and there walked till Mr. Wade and one Evett, his guide, did come, and W. Griffin, and a porter with his pick-axes, &c.: and so they walked along with us to the Tower, and Sir H. Bennet and my Lord Mayor did give us full power to fall to work. So our guide demands a candle, and down into the cellars he goes, enquiring whether they were the same that Barkstead<sup>1</sup> always had. We went into several little cellars, and then went out a-doors to view, and to the Cold Harbour; but none did answer so well to the marks which was given him to find it by as one arched vault, where, after a great deal of counsel whether to

<sup>1</sup> John Barkstead, one of the regicides, Lieutenant of the Tower under Cromwell.



set upon it now or delay for better and more full advice, to digging we went till almost eight o'clock at night, but could find nothing. But, however, our guides did not at all seem discouraged; for that they being confident that the money is there they look for, but having never been in the cellars, they could not be positive to the place, and therefore will inform themselves more fully, now they have been there, of the party that do advise them. So, locking the door after us, we left work to-night, and up to the Deputy Governor, my Lord Mayor and Sir H. Bennet, with the rest of the company, being gone an hour before; and he do undertake to keep the key of the cellars, that none shall go down without his privy. But, Lord! to see what a young simple fantastic coxcomb is made Deputy Governor, would make one mad; and how he called out for his night-gown of silk, only to make a show to us: and yet for half an hour I did not think he was the Deputy Governor, and so spoke not to him about the business, but waited for another man; but at last I broke our business to him; and he promising his care, we parted. And Mr. Lee and I by coach to White Hall, where I did give my Lord Sandwich a full account of our proceedings, and some encouragement to hope for something hereafter. I would not forget two passages of Sir J. Minnes's at yesterday's dinner. The one, that to the question how it comes to pass that there are no boars seen in London, but many sows and pigs, it was answered, that the constable gets them a-nights. The other, Thomas Killigrew's way of getting to see plays when he was a boy. He would go to the Red Bull, and when the man cried to the boys, 'Who will go and be a devil, and he shall see the play for nothing?' then would he go in and be a devil upon the stage, and so get to see plays.

31st. Thus ends this month, I and my family in good health, but weary heartily of dirt, but now in hopes within two or three weeks to be out of it. My head troubled with much business, but especially my fear of Sir J. Minnes claiming my bed-chamber of me, but I hope now that it is almost over, for I perceive he is fitting his house to go into it the next week. I thank God I have no crosses, but only much business to trouble my mind with. In all other things, as happy a man as any in the world, for the whole world seems to smile upon me; and if my house were done that I could diligently follow my business, I would not doubt to do God and the King and myself good service. And all I do impute almost wholly to my late temperance, since my making of my vows

against wine and plays, which keeps me most happily and contentfully to my business; which God continue! Public matters are full of discontent, what with the sale of Dunkirk, and my Lady Castlemaine, and her faction at Court; though I know not what they would have more than to debauch the King, whom God preserve from it! And then great plots are talked to be discovered, and all the prisons in town full of ordinary people taken from their meeting-places last Sunday. But for certain some plots there hath been, though not brought to a head.

November 1st. With Mr. Creed to the Trinity House to a great dinner there, by invitation, and much company. It seems one Captain Evans makes his Elder Brother's dinner today. To my office, to meet Mr. Lee again, from Sir H. Bennet. And he and I, with Wade and his intelligencer and labourers, to the Tower cellars, to make one trial more; where we stayed two or three hours, and dug a great deal all under the arches, as it was now most confidently directed, and so seriously, and upon pretended good grounds, that I myself did truly expect to speed; but we missed of all: and so we went away the second time like fools. And to our office; and I, by appointment, to the Dolphin tavern, to meet Wade and the other, Captain Evett, who now do tell me plainly, that he that do put him upon this is one that had it from Barkstead's own mouth, and was advised with by him, just before the King's coming in, how to get it out, and had all the signs told him how and where it lay, and had always been the great confidant of Barkstead, even to the trusting him with his life and all he had. So that he did much convince me that there is good ground for what we go about. But I fear it may be that Barkstead did find conveyance of it away, without the help of this man, before he died; but he is resolved to go to the party once more, and then to determine what we shall do further.

2d. (Lord's day.) Lay long with pleasure talking with my wife, in whom I never had greater content, blessed be God! than now—she continuing with the same care and thrift and innocence, so long as I keep her from occasions of being otherwise, as ever she was in her life, and keeps the house as well. To church, where Mr. Mills preached a very ordinary sermon.

3d. To White Hall, to the Duke's; but found him gone a-hunting. Thence to my Lord Sandwich, from whom I receive every day more and more signs of his confidence and esteem of me. Here I met with Pierce, the surgeon, who tells me that my

Lady Castlemaine is with child; but though it be the King's, yet her Lord being still in town, and sometimes seeing of her, though never to eat together or cohabit, it will be laid to him. He tells me also how the Duke of York is smitten in love with my Lady Chesterfield <sup>1</sup> (a virtuous lady, daughter to my Lord of Ormond), and so much, that the Duchess of York hath complained to the King and her father about it, and my Lady Chesterfield is gone into the country for it. At all which I am sorry; but it is the effect of idleness, and having nothing else to employ their great spirits upon. At night to my office and did business; and there came to me Mr. Wade and Evett, who have been again with their prime intelligencer, a woman, I perceive: and though we have missed twice, yet they bring such an account of the probability of the truth of the thing, though we are not certain of the place, that we shall set upon it once more; and I am willing and hopeful in it. So we resolved to set upon it again on Wednesday morning; and the woman herself will be there in a disguise, and confirm us in the place.

4th. This morning, we had news by letters that Sir Richard Stayner is dead at sea in the *Mary*, which is now come into Portsmouth from Lisbon; which we are sorry for, he being a very stout seaman.

5th. My Lady Batten did send to speak with me, and told me very civilly that she did not desire, nor hoped I did, that anything should pass between us but what was civil, though there was not the neighbourliness between her and my wife that was fit to be, and so complained of my maid's mocking of her. When she called 'Nan' to her maid within her own house my maid Jane in the garden overheard her and mocked her, and of my wife's speaking unhandsomely of her; to all which I did give her a very respectful answer, such as did please her, and am sorry indeed that this should be, though I do not desire there should be any acquaintance between my wife and her. But I promised to avoid such words and passages for the future. At night I called up my maids and schooled Jane, who did answer me so humbly and drolly about it, that, though I seemed angry, I was much pleased with her and my wife also.

7th. Being by appointment called upon by Mr. Lee, he and I to the Tower to make our third attempt upon the cellar. And

<sup>1</sup> Lady Elizabeth Butler, daughter of James Butler, first Duke of Ormond, wife of Philip Stanhope, second Earl of Chesterfield: *ob.* 1665.

now privately the woman, Barkstead's great confidant, is brought, who do positively say that this is the place which he did say the money was hid in, and where he and she did put up the £50,000<sup>1</sup> in butter-firkins; and the very day that he went out of England did say that neither he nor his would be the better for that money, and therefore wishing that she and hers might. And so left us, and we full of hope did resolve to dig all over the cellar, which by seven o'clock at night we performed. At noon we sent for a dinner, and upon the head of a barrel dined very merrily, and to work again. But at last we saw we were mistaken; and, after digging the cellar quite through and removing the barrels from one side to the other, we were forced to pay our porters and give over our expectations, though I do believe there must be money hid somewhere by him, or else he did delude this woman in hopes to oblige her to further serving him, which I am apt to believe. By coach to White Hall, and at my Lord's lodgings, hearing that Mrs. Sarah is married, I did joy her and kiss her, she owning of it; and it seems it is to a cook. I am glad she is disposed of, for she grows old and is very painful, and one I have reason to wish well for her old service to me.

9th. (Lord's day.) Walked to my brother's, where my wife is, calling at many churches, and then to the Temple, hearing a bit there too, and observing that in the streets and churches the Sunday is kept in appearance as well as I have known it at any time. After dinner to see Mr. Moore, who is pretty well, and he and I to St. Gregory's, where I escaped a great fall down the stairs of the gallery: so into a pew there, and heard Dr. Ball<sup>2</sup> make a very good sermon, though short of what I expected.

10th. A little to the office, and so with Sir J. Minnes, Sir W. Batten, and myself by coach to White Hall, to the Duke, who, after he was ready, did take us into his closet. Thither came my Lord General Monk, and did privately talk with the Duke about having the Life-guards pass through the City today only for show and to fright people, for I perceive there are great fears abroad; for all which I am troubled and full of doubt that things will not go well. He being gone, we fell to the business of the Navy. Among other things, how to pay off this fleet that is now come from Portugal; the King of Portugal sending them home, he having no

<sup>1</sup> *Sic* in manuscript.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Ball was then rector of St. Mary Woolchurch, and in 1665 Master of the Temple.

more use for them, which we wonder at, that his condition should be so soon altered: and our landmen also are coming back, being almost starved in that poor country. To Westminster Hall, where full of term, and here met my cousin Roger Pepys, who is all for a composition with my uncle Thomas. Thence to my Lord Crewe's, and dined with him and his brother—I know not his name—where very good discourse: among others, of France's intention to make a patriarch of his own, independent from the Pope, by which he will be able to cope with the Spaniard in all councils, which hitherto he has never done. My Lord Crewe told us how he heard my Lord of Holland<sup>1</sup> say, that, being Ambassador about the match with the Queen-mother that now is, the King of France insisted upon a dispensation from the Pope, which my Lord Holland making a question of, as he was commanded to yield to nothing to the prejudice of our religion, says the King of France,<sup>2</sup> 'You need not fear that, for if the Pope will not dispense with the match, my Bishop of Paris shall.' By and by come in great Mr. Swinfen,<sup>3</sup> the Parliament-man, who among other discourse of the rise and fall of families, told us of Bishop Bridgeman,<sup>4</sup> father of Sir Orlando, who lately hath bought a seat anciently of the Levers, and then the Ashtons;<sup>5</sup> and so he hath in his great hall window, having repaired and beautified the house, caused four great places to be left for coats of arms. In one he hath put the Levers, with this motto, 'Olim.' In another, the Ashtons, with this, 'Heri.' In the next, his own, with this, 'Hodie.' In the fourth, nothing but this motto, 'Cras nescio cujus.' To my brother's, and taking up my wife, carried her to Charing Cross, and there showed her the Italian motion, much after the nature of what I showed her a while since in Covent Garden. Their puppets here are somewhat better, but their motions not at all. The town, I hear, is full of discontents, and all know of the King's new bastard, by Mrs. Haslerigge, and, as far as I can hear, will never be contented with Episcopacy, they are so cruelly set for Presbytery; and the Bishops carry themselves so high, that they are never likely to gain anything upon them.

11th. All the morning sitting at the office, and then to dinner

<sup>1</sup> Henry Rich, second son of Robert, first Earl of Warwick. He had been created Lord Kensington before the embassy here alluded to, and was afterwards advanced to the earldom of Holland, 24th September 1624. He was beheaded by the Parliament in 1649.

<sup>2</sup> Louis XIII, in 1624.

<sup>3</sup> John Swinfen, M.P. for Tamworth.

<sup>4</sup> John Bridgeman, Bishop of Chester.

<sup>5</sup> Ashton Hall, in Lancashire.

with my wife, and so to the office again till late at night. Toward the evening I, as I have done for three or four nights, studying something of arithmetic, which do please me well to see myself come forward.

12th. By my wife's appointment came two young ladies,<sup>1</sup> sisters, acquaintances of my wife's brothers', who are desirous to wait upon some ladies, and proffer their service to my wife. The youngest indeed hath a good voice and sings very well, besides other good qualities, but I fear hath been bred up with too great liberty for my family, and I fear greater inconveniences of expenses and my wife's liberty will follow, which I must study to avoid till I have a better purse; though, I confess, the gentlewoman, being pretty handsome and singing, makes me have a good mind to her. To the Dolphin tavern, near home, by appointment, and there met with Wade and Evett, and have resolved to make a new attempt upon another discovery, in which God give us better fortune than in the other; but I have great confidence that there is no cheat in these people, but that they go upon good grounds, though they have been mistaken in the place of the first. A little before and after we were in bed we had much talk and difference between us about my wife's having a woman, which I seemed much angry at, that she should go so far in it without consideration or my being consulted.

13th. Up and began our discontent again and sorely angered my wife, who indeed do live very lonely; but I do perceive that it is want of work that do make her and all other people think of ways of spending their time worse. And this I owe to my building, that do not admit of her undertaking anything of work, because the house has been and is still so dirty. I to my office all the morning and dined with discontent with my wife at noon; and so to my office, and there this afternoon we had our first meeting upon our commission of inspecting the Chest:<sup>2</sup> Sir Francis Clerke,<sup>3</sup> Mr. Heath, Attorney of the Duchy, Mr. Prinn, Sir W. Rider, Captain Cooke, and myself. Our first work was to read

<sup>1</sup> The two Gosnells.

<sup>2</sup> The Chest at Chatham was originally planned by Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkins in 1588, after the defeat of the Armada; the seamen voluntarily agreed to have 'defalked' out their wages certain sums to form a fund for relief. The property became considerable, as well as the abuses, and in 1802 the Chest was removed to Greenwich. In 1817 the stock amounted to £300,000 Consols.

<sup>3</sup> M.P. for Rochester, and knighted there by Charles II, 28th May 1660.

over the Institution, which is a decree in Chancery in the year 1617, upon an inquisition made at Rochester about that time into the revenues of the Chest, which had then, from the year 1588 or 1590, by the advice of the Lord High Admiral and principal officers then being, by consent of the seamen, been settled, paying sixpence per month, according to their wages then, which was then but 10s., which is now 24s. We adjourned to a fortnight hence. This afternoon my wife in her discontent sent me a letter, which I am in a quandary what to do, whether to read it or not, but I purpose not, but to burn it before her face, that I may put a stop to more of this nature. But I must think of some way, either to find her somebody to keep her company, or to set her to work, and by employment to take up her thoughts and time. Home to supper, and there was very sullen to my wife, and so went to bed and to sleep (though with much ado, my mind being troubled) without speaking one word to her.

14th. She began to talk in the morning and to be friends, believing all this while that I had read her letter, which I perceive by her discourse was full of good counsel, and relating the reason of her desiring a woman, and how little charge she did intend it to be to me. So I begun and argued it as full and plain to her, and she to reason it highly to me, to put her away, and take one of the Bowyers if I did dislike her, that I did resolve when the house is ready she shall try her for a while.

15th. All the morning at the office, dined with my wife pleasantly, then among my painters, and by and by went to my Civil Lawyers about my uncle's suit; and so home again and saw my painters make an end of my house this night, which is my great joy.

16th. (Lord's day.) After long talking pleasantly with my wife, up and to church. So home and to dinner. Seeing many strangers and coaches coming to our church, and finding that it was a sermon to be preached by a probationer for the Turkey Company, I returned thither. And several Turkey merchants filled all the best pews (and some in ours) in the church, but a most pitiful sermon it was upon a text in Zechariah.

17th. To the Duke's today, but he is gone a-hunting. At home I found my wife dressing, by appointment, by her woman that I think is to be; and her other sister here today with her. After dinner, talking with my wife, and making Mrs. Gosnell sing; and then, there being no coach to be got, by water to White Hall; but Gosnell not being willing to go through bridge, we were

forced to land and take water again and put her and her sister ashore at the Temple. I am mightily pleased with her humour and singing. At White Hall by appointment; Mr. Creed carried my wife and I to the Cockpit, and we had excellent places, and saw the King, Queen, Duke of Monmouth, his son, and my Lady Castlemaine, and all the fine ladies; and 'The Scornful Lady' well performed. They had done by eleven o'clock; and, it being fine moonshine, we took coach and home, but could wake nobody at my house, and so were fain to have my boy get through one of the windows, and so opened the door, and called up the maids, and went to supper and to bed.

18th. At noon I dined at Sir W. Batten's, Sir John Minnes being here; and he and I very kind, but every day expect to pull a crow with him about our lodgings. My wife came home having been abroad to-day, laying out above £12 in linen, and a copper, and a pot, and bedstead, and other household stuff, which troubles me also, so that my mind to-night is very heavy and divided. Late at my office, drawing up a letter to my Lord Treasurer, which we have been long about.

20th. After dinner to the Temple, to Mr. Thurland;<sup>1</sup> and thence to my Lord Chief Baron, Sir Edward Hale's,<sup>2</sup> and take with me Mr. Thurland to his chamber, where he told us that Field will have the better of us; and that we must study to make up the business as well as we can, which do much vex and trouble us; but I am glad the Duke is concerned in it.

21st. Within all day long, helping to put up my hangings in my house in my wife's chamber, to my great content. To speak to Sir J. Minnes at his lodgings, where I found many great ladies, and his lodgings made very fine indeed. To supper and to bed: this night having first put up a spitting-sheet, which I find very convenient. This day come the King's pleasure-boats from Calais with the Dunkirk money, being 400,000 pistoles.

22d. This morning, from some difference between my wife and Sarah, her maid, my wife and I fell out cruelly, to my great discontent. But I do see her so set against the wench, whom I take to be a most extraordinary good servant, that I was forced for the

<sup>1</sup> Edward Thurland, M.P. for Reigate, afterwards knighted, and a Baron of the Exchequer.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Orlando Bridgeman, noticed 10th October 1660, was then Chief Baron of the Exchequer, and was succeeded, in 1666, by Matthew Hale, *sergeant-at-law*: there is, consequently, some mistake.



wench's sake to bid her get her another place, which shall cost some trouble to my wife, however, before I suffer to be. This day I bought the book of country dances against my wife's woman Gosnell comes, who dances finely; and there meeting Mr. Playford,<sup>1</sup> he did give me his Latin songs of Mr. Dering's, which he lately printed. This day, Mr. Moore told me, that for certain the Queen-mother is married to my Lord St. Albans, and he is like to be made Lord-Treasurer. News that Sir J. Lawson hath made up a peace now with Tunis and Tripoli, as well as Algiers, by which he will come home very highly honoured.

23d. (Lord's day.) To church to hear Mr. Mills. In the afternoon to church again, and heard drowsy Mr. Graves. To Sir W. Batten's, and heard how Sir R. Ford's daughter is married to a fellow without friends' consent, and the match carried on and made up at Will Griffin's, our doorkeeper. I talked to my brother today, who desires me to give him leave to look after his mistress still; and he will not have me put to any trouble or obligation in it, which I did give him leave to do. I hear to-day how old rich Audley is lately dead, and left a very great estate, and made a great many poor families rich, not all to one. Among others, one Davis, my old schoolfellow at Paul's, and since a bookseller in Paul's Church-yard; and it seems do forgive one man £60,000, which he had wronged him of, but names not his name; but it is well known to be the scrivener in Fleet Street, at whose house he lodged. There is also this week dead a poulterer in Gracechurch Street, which was thought rich, but not so rich, that hath left £800 per annum, taken in other men's names, and 40,000 Jacobs in gold.

24th. Sir J. Minnes, Sir W. Batten, and I, going forth toward White Hall, we hear that the King and Duke are come this morning to the Tower to see the Dunkirk money. So we by coach to them, and there went up and down all the magazines with them; but methought it was but poor discourse and frothy that the King's companions, young Killigrew among the rest, had with him. We saw none of the money; but Mr. Slingsby<sup>2</sup> did show the King, and I did see, the stamps of the new money that is now to be made by Blondeau's fashion, which are very neat, and like the King. Thence the King to Woolwich, though a very cold day; and the Duke to White Hall, commanding us to come after him;

<sup>1</sup> John Playford, a seller of musical instruments and books, near the Temple church.

<sup>2</sup> Henry Slingsby, Master of the Mint.

and in his closet, my Lord Sandwich being there, did discourse with us about getting some of this money to pay off the fleets and other matters. By coach, my cousin Thomas Pepys going along with me, homeward, and I set him down by the way; but, Lord! how he did endeavour to find out a ninepence to club with me for the coach, and for want was forced to give me a shilling, and how he still cries 'Gad!' and talks of Popery coming in, as all the Fanatics do, of which I was ashamed.

25th. Great talk among people how some of the Fanatics do say that the end of the world is at hand, and that next Tuesday is to be the day. Against which, whenever it shall be, good God fit us all.

26th. All day long till twelve o'clock at night getting my house in order, my wife putting up the red hangings and bed in her woman's chamber and study, which is now very pretty.

27th. At my waking, I found the tops of the houses covered with snow, which is a rare sight, that I have not seen these three years. To the office, where we sat till noon; when we all went to the next house upon Tower Hill, to see the coming by of the Russia Ambassador; for whose reception all the City train-bands do attend in the streets, and the King's Life-guards, and most of the wealthy citizens in their black velvet coats, and gold chains, which remain of their gallantry at the King's coming in, but they stayed so long that we went down again to dinner. And after I had dined, I heard they were coming, and so I walked to the Conduit in the Carrefour,<sup>1</sup> at the end of Gracechurch Street and Cornhill; and there (the spouts thereof running very near me upon all the people that were under it), I saw them pretty well go by. I could not see the Ambassador in his coach; but his attendants in their habits and fur caps very handsome, comely men, and most of them with hawks upon their fists to present to the King. But, Lord! to see the absurd nature of Englishmen that cannot forbear laughing and jeering at everything that looks strange.

28th. A very hard frost; which is news to us after having none almost these three years. By ten o'clock to Ironmongers' Hall, to the funeral of Sir Richard Stayner.<sup>2</sup> Here we were, all the officers of the Navy, and my Lord Sandwich, who did discourse with us about the fishery, telling us of His Majesty's resolution to give £200 to every man that will set out a buss;<sup>3</sup> and advising

<sup>1</sup> Carrefour, or *Quatre-Voies*, whence Caifax at Oxford.

<sup>2</sup> He was buried at Greenwich.

<sup>3</sup> A small sea-vessel used by the Dutch for the herring fishery.

about the effects of this encouragement, which will be a very great matter certainly. Here we had good rings, and by and by were to take coach; and I being got in with Mr. Creed into a four-horse coach, which they came and told us were only for the mourners, I went out, and so took this occasion to go home.

29th. To the office; and this morning came Sir G. Carteret to us, being the first time since his coming from France: he tells us that the silver which is received for Dunkirk did weigh 120,000 weight. To my Lord's, where my Lord and Mr. Coventry, Sir William Darcy,<sup>1</sup> one Mr. Parham, a very knowing and well-spoken man in this business, with several others, did meet about stating the business of the fishery, and the manner of the King's giving of this £200 to every man that shall set out a new-made English buss by the middle of June next. In which business we had many fine pretty discourses; and I did here see the great pleasure to be had in discoursing of public matters with men that are particularly acquainted with this or that business. Having come to some issue, wherein a motion of mine was well received, about sending these invitations from the King to all the fishing-ports in general, with limiting so many busses to this and that port, before we know the readiness of subscribers, we parted; and I walked home all the way, in my way calling upon my cousin Turner and Mr. Calthrop at the Temple, for their consent to be my arbitrators, which they are willing to. My wife and I pretty pleasant, for that her brother brings word that Gosnell, which my wife and I in discourse do pleasantly call our Marmotte, will certainly come next week, without fail, which God grant may be for the best.

30th. (Lord's day.) To church in the morning, and Mr. Mills made a pretty good sermon. Dined alone with my wife to-day with great content, my house being quite clean from top to bottom. In the afternoon I to the French church here in the city, and stood in the aisle all the sermon, with great delight hearing a very admirable sermon from a very young man, upon the article in our creed, in order of catechism, upon the Resurrection. To visit Sir W. Pen, who continues still bed-ridden. Here was Sir W. Batten, and his lady, and Mrs. Turner, and I very merry, talking of the confidence of Sir R. Ford's new-married daughter, though she married so strangely lately; yet appears at church as brisk as can be, and takes place of her elder sister, a maid. To make up my monthly accounts, and I do find that, through the fitting of my

<sup>1</sup> Third son of Sir Conyers Darcy.

house this month, I have spent in that and kitchen £50 this month: so that now I am worth but £660, or thereabouts. This day I first did wear a muff, being my wife's last year's muff; and now I have bought her a new one, this serves me very well. Thus ends this month in great frost: myself and family all well, but my mind much disordered about my uncle's law business, being now in an order of being arbitrated between us, which I wish to God it were done. I am also somewhat uncertain what to think of my going about to take a woman-servant into my house, in the quality of a woman for my wife. My wife promises it shall cost me nothing but her meat and wages, and that it shall not be attended with any other expenses, upon which terms I admit of it; for that it will, I hope, save me money in having my wife go abroad on visits and other delights; so that I hope the best, but am resolved to alter it if matters prove otherwise than I would have them. Public matters in an ill condition of discontent against the height and vanity of the Court, and their bad payments; but that which troubles most is the Clergy, which will never content the City, which is not to be reconciled to Bishops; the more the pity that differences must still be. Dunkirk newly sold, and the money brought over; of which we hope to get some to pay the Navy; which, by Sir J. Lawson's having despatched the business in the Straits by making peace with Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, and so his fleet will also shortly come home, will now every day grow less, and so the King's charge be abated; which God send!

December 1st. With Sir John Minnes and Sir W. Batten to White Hall to the Duke's chamber, and there discoursed of matters of the Navy; and here Mr. Coventry did do me the great kindness to take notice to the Duke of my pains in making a collection of all contracts about masts, which have been of great use to us. To my Lord Sandwich's, to Mr. Moore; and then over the Park, where I first in my life, it being a great frost, did see people sliding with their skates,<sup>1</sup> which is a very pretty art, to Mr. Coventry's chamber to St. James's, where we all met to a venison pasty, Major Norwood being with us, whom they did play upon for his surrendering of Dunkirk. Here we stayed till three or four o'clock; and so to the Council Chamber, where there met the Duke of York, Prince Rupert, Duke of Albemarle, my Lord Sandwich, Sir William Compton, Mr. Coventry, Sir J. Minnes, Sir R. Ford,

<sup>1</sup> Skating was introduced by the Cavaliers who had been with Charles II in Holland.

Sir W. Rider, myself, and Captain Cuttance, as Commissioners for Tangier. And after our Commission was read by Mr. Creed, who, I perceive, is to be our secretary, we did fall to discourse of matters: as, first, the supplying them forthwith with victuals; then the reducing it to make way for the money, which upon their reduction is to go to the building of the Mole; and so to other matters, ordered against next meeting. This done, we broke up, and I to the Cockpit, with much crowding and waiting, where I saw 'The Valiant Cid'<sup>1</sup> acted—a play I have read with great delight, but is a most dull thing acted, which I never understood before, there being no pleasure in it, though done by Betterton, and by Ianthe, and another fine wench that is come in the room of Roxalana;<sup>2</sup> nor did the King or Queen once smile all the whole play, nor any of the whole company seem to take any pleasure, but what was in the greatness and gallantry of the company. Thence to my Lord's, and with a link walked home by twelve o'clock, knocked up my boy, and put myself to bed.

2d. Before I went to the office my wife and I had another falling out about Sarah, against whom she has a deadly hate, I know not for what, nor can I see but she is a very good servant. Then to the office, and then to dinner with my wife at home; and after dinner did give Jane a very serious lesson, against we take her to be our chamber-maid, which I spoke so to her that the poor girl cried and did promise to be very dutiful and careful.

3d. Called up by Commissioner Pett, and with him by water, much against my will, to Deptford, and after drinking a warm morning draught, with Mr. Wood and our officers measuring all the morning his New England masts. That done, to the Globe, and so by water with Mr. Pett home again, all the way reading his Chest accounts, in which I did see things which did not please me: as his allowing himself £300 for one year's looking to the business of the Chest, and £150 per annum for the rest of the years. But I found no fault to him himself, but shall when they come to be read at the Board. We did also call at Limehouse to view two busses that are building, that being a thing we are now very hot upon. Our call was to see what dimensions they are of, being 50 feet by the keel and about 60 tons. Home, and did a little business, and so taking Mr. Pett by the way, we walked to the

<sup>1</sup> Translated from the well-known *Cid* of Corneille.

<sup>2</sup> Elizabeth Davenport appears to have left the stage, Pepys always afterwards speaking of the 'new Roxalana,' whom he once calls Mrs. Norton.

Temple, in our way seeing one of the Russia Ambassador's coaches go along, with his footmen not in liveries, but their country habits; one of one colour and another of another, which was very strange.

5th. Up, it being snow and hard frost, and being up I did call Sarah, who do go away to-day or to-morrow. I paid her her wages and gave her 10s. myself, and my wife 5s. to give her. The wench cried, and I was ready to cry too, but to keep peace I am content she should go. This being done, I walked towards Guildhall, thither being summoned by the Commissioners for the Lieutenancy; but they sat not this morning. So, meeting in my way W. Swan, I took him to a house thereabouts, and gave him a morning draught of buttered ale; he telling me much of his Fanatic stories, as if he were a great zealot, when I know him to be a very rogue. But I do it for discourse, and to see how things stand with him and his party, who, I perceive, have great expectation that God will not bless the Court nor Church, as it is now settled, but they must be purified. The worst news he tells me is, that Mr. Chetwind is dead, my old and most ingenious acquaintance. He is dead, worth £3,000, which I did not expect, he living so high as he did always, and neatly. He hath given W. Symons his wife £300, and made Will one of his executors. Home, and there I find Gosnell come, who, my wife tells me, is like to prove a pretty companion, of which I am glad, and in the evening do entertain myself with my wife and her, who sings exceeding well, and I shall take great delight in her.

7th. (Lord's day.) To church this morning with my wife, which is the first time she hath been at church since her going to Brampton, and Gosnell attending her, which was very graceful. In the afternoon I thought to go to the French church; but finding the Dutch congregation there, and then finding the French congregation's sermon begun in the Dutch, I returned home, and up to our gallery, where I found my wife and Gosnell; and after a drowsy sermon, we all three to my aunt Wight's, where great store of her usual company, and here we stayed a pretty while talking—I differing from my aunt, as I commonly do, in our opinion of the handsomeness of the Queen, which I oppose mightily, saying, that if my nose be handsome, then is hers, and such like: and so with my wife only to see Sir W. Pen, who is now got out of his bed, and sits by the fireside.

8th. Up, and carrying Gosnell by coach, set her down at Temple Bar. By the way she was telling me how Balty did tell

her that my wife did go every day in the week to Court and plays, and that she should have liberty of going abroad as often as she pleased, and many other lies, which I am vexed at, and I doubt the wench did come in some expectation of, which troubles me. Then into the Park, to see them slide with their skates, which is very pretty. And so to the Duke's, where the Committee for Tangier met: and here we sat down all with him at a table, and had much discourse about the business. Home by coach, where I find my wife troubled about Gosnell, who brings word that her uncle, Justice Jiggins, requires her to come three times a week to him, to follow some business that her mother entrusts her withal, and that, unless she may have that leisure given her, he will not have her take any place; for which we are both troubled, but there is no help for it: I am somewhat contented therewith, and shall make my wife so, who, poor wretch, I know will consider of things.

9th. After sitting all the morning in hopes to have Mr. Coventry dine with me, he was forced to go to White Hall. After dinner stayed in all the afternoon, being vexed in my mind about the going away of Sarah this afternoon, who cried mightily, and so was I ready to do, and Jane did also; and then anon went Gosnell away, which did trouble me too; though, upon many considerations, it is better that I am rid of the charge. All together makes my house appear very lonely. My wife and I melancholy to bed.

10th. To the office with Sir J. Minnes, in his coach; but so great a snow that we could hardly pass the streets. Then to the Dolphin, where Sir J. Minnes, Sir W. Batten, and I did treat the Auditors of the Exchequer—Auditors Wood and Beale—and hither come Sir G. Carteret to us. We had a good dinner cost us £5 and 6s., whereof my share 26s., and after dinner did discourse of our salaries and other matters, which I think now they will allow. Thence home, and there I found our new cook-maid, Susan, come, who is recommended to us by my wife's brother, for which I like her never the better; but being a well-looking lass, I am willing to try, and Jane begins to take upon her as a chamber-maid.

11th. Mr. Creed dined with me, and we sat all the afternoon together, discoursing of ways to get money, which I am now giving myself wholly up to.

12th. From a very hard frost, when I wake, I find a very great thaw, and my house overflown with it, which vexed me.

13th. We sat, Mr. Coventry and I, Sir G. Carteret being gone;

and among other things, Field and Stint did come and received the £41 given him by the judgment against me and Harry Kem; and we did also sign bonds in £500 to stand to the award of Mr. Porter and Smith for the rest; which, however, I did not sign to till I got Mr. Coventry to go up with me to Sir W. Pen; and he did promise me before him to bear his share in what should be awarded, and both concluded that Sir W. Batten would do no less.

14th. (Lord's day.) To the King's chapel, where I heard the service, and so to my Lord's, and there Mr. Howe and Paget, the counsellor, an old lover of music. We sang some psalms of Mr. Lawes, and played some symphonies between, till night, that I was sent for to Mr. Creed's lodging, and there was Captain Ferrers and his lady and W. Howe and I; we supped very well, and good sport in discourse. After supper I was sent for to my Lord, with whom I stayed talking about his, and my own, and the public affairs, with great content, he advising me as to my own choosing of Sir R. Bernard for umpire in the businesses between my uncle and us, that I would not trust to him upon his direction, for he did not think him a man to be trusted at all; and so bid him good-night, and to Mr. Creed's again; Mr. Moore, with whom I intended to have lain, lying physically without sheets; and there, after some discourse, to bed, and lay ill, though the bed good, my stomach being sick all night with my too heavy supper.

15th. To the Duke, and followed him into the Park, where, though the ice was broken and dangerous, yet he would go slide upon his skates, which I did not like, but he slides very well. So back to his closet, whither my Lord Sandwich comes, and there Mr. Coventry and we three had long discourse together about the matters of the Navy; and, indeed, I find myself more and more obliged to Mr. Coventry, who studies to do me all the right he can in everything to the Duke. Thence walked a good while up and down the galleries; and among others, met with Dr. Clerke, who in discourse tells me, that Sir Charles Berkeley's greatness is only his being pimp to the King and to my Lady Castlemaine. And yet, for all this, that the King is very kind to the Queen, who, he says, is one of the best women in the world. Strange how the King is bewitched to this pretty Castlemaine. I walked up and down the galleries, spending my time upon the pictures, till the Duke and the Committee for Tangier met, the Duke not staying with us, where the only matter was to discourse with my Lord



Rutherford,<sup>1</sup> who is this day made Governor of Tangier, for I know not what reasons; and my Lord of Peterborough to be called home: which, though it is said it is done with kindness, I am sorry to see a Catholic Governor sent to command there, where all the rest of the officers almost are such already. But God knows what the reason is! and all may see how slippery places all courtiers stand in. Thence home, in my way calling upon Sir John Berkenhead,<sup>2</sup> to speak about my assessment of £42 to the Loyal Sufferers; which, I perceive, I cannot help; but he tells me I have been abused by Sir R. Ford which I shall hereafter make use of, when it shall be fit. Thence called at the Major-General's, Sir R. Browne, about my being assessed arms to the militia; but he was abroad; and so driving through the back side of the shambles in Newgate Market, my coach plucked down two pieces of beef into the dirt, upon which the butchers stopped the horses, and a great rout of people in the street, crying that he had done him 40s. and £5 worth of hurt; but, going down, I saw that he had done little or none; and so I gave them a shilling for it, and they were well contented: and so home, and there to my Lady Batten's who tells me she hath just now a letter from Sir William, how that he and Sir J. Minnes did very narrowly escape drowning on the road, the waters are so high; but is well. But, Lord! what a hypocrite-like face she made to tell it me.

16th. To dinner, thinking to have had Mr. Coventry, but he could not go with me; and so I took Captain Murford, of whom I do hear what the world says of me; that all do conclude Mr. Coventry and Pett and me to be of a knot; and that we do now carry all things before us; and much more in particular of me, and my studiousness, &c., to my great content. To White Hall, to Secretary Bennet's, and agreed with Mr. Lee to set upon our new adventure at the Tower tomorrow. I went by coach to my brother's, where I met Sarah, my late maid, who told me, out of good will to me, for she loves me dearly, that I would beware of my wife's brother, for he is begging or borrowing of her and often. I do observe so much goodness and seriousness in the maid, that if she had anything in the world I would commend her for a wife

<sup>1</sup> Andrew, created Baron Rutherford, 1661, Earl of Teviot, 1663; successively Governor of Dunkirk and Tangier, where he was killed by the Moors in 1663.

<sup>2</sup> Sir John Berkenhead, F.R.S., a political author, held in some esteem, M.P. for Wilton, 1661, and knighted the following year. Master of the Faculty Office and Court of Requests: *ob.* 1679.

for my brother Tom. After much discourse and her professions of love to me and all my relations, I bade her good-night and did kiss her. So by coach home.

17th. This morning come Mr. Lee, Wade, and Evett, intending to have gone upon our new design to the Tower; but, it raining and the work being to be done in the open garden, we put it off to Friday next.

18th. Mr. Coventry inviting himself to my house to dinner, of which I was proud; but my dinner being a leg of mutton and two capons, they were not done enough, which did vex me; but we made shift to please him, I think; but I was, when he was gone, very angry with my wife and people. This afternoon came my wife's brother and his wife. She is a most little and yet, I believe, pretty old girl: not handsome, nor has anything in the world pleasing; but, they say, she plays mighty well on the bass viol.

19th. Up and by appointment with Mr. Lee, Wade, Evett, and workmen, to the Tower, and with the Lieutenant's leave set them to work in the garden, in the corner against the main guard, a most unlikely place. It being cold, Mr. Lee and I did sit all the day till three o'clock by the fire in the Governor's house, I reading a play of Fletcher's, being 'A Wife for a Month,' wherein no great wit or language. Having done, we went to them at work, and having wrought below the bottom of the foundation of the wall, I bid them give over, and so all our hopes ended. Home and to bed, a little displeased with my wife, who, poor wretch, is troubled with her lonely life, which I know not how, without great charge, to help as yet, but I will study how to do it.

20th. To the office, and thence with Mr. Coventry in his coach to St. James's, with great content and pride to see him treat me so friendly; and dined with him, and so to White Hall together, where we met upon the Tangier Commission, and discoursed many things thereon: but little will be done before my Lord Rutherford comes there, as to the fortification or Mole. That done, my Lord Sandwich and I walked together a good while in the matted gallery, he acquainting me with his late inquiries into the Wardrobe business to his content; and tells me how things stand. And that the first year was worth about £3,000 to him, and the next about as much; so that, at this day, if he were paid, it will be worth about £7,000 to him. But it contents me, above all things, to see him trust me as his confidant: so I bid him

good-night, he being to go into the country, to keep his Christmas, on Monday next.

21st. (Lord's day.) To White Hall, and there to chapel, and from thence upstairs, and up and down the house and galleries on the King's and Queen's side, and so through the garden to my Lord's lodgings, where there was Mr. Gibbons, Madge, Mallard, and Paget; and by and by comes in my Lord Sandwich, and so we had great store of good music. By and by comes in my simple Lord Chandos,<sup>1</sup> who, my Lord Sandwich being gone out to Court, began to sing psalms, but so dully that I was weary of it. At last we broke up; and by and by comes in my Lord Sandwich again, and he and I to talk together about his businesses, and so he to bed, and I and Mr. Creed and Captain Ferrers fell to a cold goose pie of Mrs. Sarah's, heartily.

22d. To my Lord's, who is getting himself ready for his journey to Hinchinbroke. I walked to Mr. Coventry's chamber, where I found him gone out into the Park with the Duke, so I shifted myself into a riding-habit, and followed him through White Hall, and in the Park Mr. Coventry's people having a horse ready for me, so fine a one that I was almost afraid to get upon him, but I did, and found myself more feared than hurt; and followed the Duke, who, with some of his people, among others Mr. Coventry, was riding out. And with them to Hyde Park; where Mr. Coventry asking leave of the Duke, he bid us go to Woolwich. So he and I to the water-side, and our horses coming by the ferry, we by oars over to Lambeth, and from thence, with brave discourse by the way, rode to Woolwich, where we put in practice my new way of the Call-book, which will be of great use. Here, having stayed a good while, we got up again, and brought night home with us, and foul weather. Home, and presently shifted myself, and so had the barber come; and my wife and I to read Ovid's 'Metamorphoses,' which I brought her home from Paul's Churchyard tonight.

23d. To make up my accounts, and find that my ordinary housekeeping comes to £7 a month, which is a great deal. By and by comes Dr. Pierce, who tells me that my Lady Castlemaine's interest at Court increases, and is more and greater than the Queen's; that she hath brought in Sir H. Bennet, and Sir Charles Berkeley; but that the Queen is a most good lady, and takes all with the greatest meekness that may be. He tells me, too, that

<sup>1</sup> William Brydges, seventh Lord Chandos: *ob.* 1676.

Mr. Edward Montagu is quite broke at Court with his repute and purse; and that he lately was engaged in a quarrel against my Lord Chesterfield: but that the King did cause it to be taken up. He tells me, too, that the King is much concerned in the Chancellor's sickness, and that the Chancellor is as great, he thinks, as ever he was with the King. He also tells me what the world says of me, that Mr. Coventry and I do all the business of the office almost: at which I am highly proud.

24th. Took money in my pocket to pay many reckonings today in the town, so my bookseller's, and paid at another shop £4 10s. for Stephen's 'Thesaurus Græcæ Linguæ,' given to Paul's School. To my Lord Crewe's, and dined alone with him. I understand there are great factions at Court, and something he said that did imply a difference like to be between the King and the Duke, in case the Queen should not be with child: I understand, about this bastard.<sup>1</sup> After this, and much other discourse of the sea, and breeding young gentlemen to the sea. I went away, and homeward. Met Mr. Creed at my bookseller's, in Paul's Church-yard, who takes it ill my letter last night to Mr. Povy, wherein I accuse him of the neglect of the Tangier boats, in which I must confess I did not do altogether like a friend; but however, it was truth, and I must own it to be so, though I fall wholly out with him for it. This evening Mr. Gauden sent me, against Christmas, a great chine of beef and three dozen tongues. I did give 5s. to the man that brought it, and half-crown to the porters. This day, also, the parish-clerk brought the general bill of mortality, which cost me half-crown more.

25th. (Christmas day.) With my boy walked, it being a most brave, cold, and dry frosty morning, and had a pleasant walk to White Hall, where I intended to have received the Communion with the family, but I came a little too late. So I walked up into the house, and spent my time looking over pictures, particularly the ships in King Henry the VIIIth's voyage to Boulogne; marking the great difference between their build then and now. By and by down to the chapel again, where Bishop Morley<sup>2</sup> preached upon the song of the Angels, 'Glory to God on high, on earth peace, and good will towards men.' Methought he made but a poor sermon, but long, and, reprehending the mistaken jollity of the Court for

<sup>1</sup> Shortly afterwards created Duke of Monmouth.

<sup>2</sup> George Morley, Bishop of Winchester, to which see he was translated from Worcester in 662: *ob.* 1684.

the true joy that shall and ought to be on these days, he particularized concerning their excess in plays and gaming, saying that he whose office it is to keep the gamesters in order and within bounds, serves but for a second rather in a duel, meaning the groom-porter. Upon which it was worth observing how far they are come from taking the reprehensions of a bishop seriously, that they all laugh in the chapel when he reflected on their ill actions and courses. He did much press us to joy in these public days of joy, and to hospitality; but one that stood by whispered in my ear that the Bishop do not spend one groat to the poor himself. The sermon done, a good anthem followed with viols, and the King came down to receive the Sacrament. But I stayed not, but calling my boy from my Lord's lodgings, and giving Sarah some good advice, by my Lord's order, to be sober and look after the house, I walked home again with great pleasure, and there dined by my wife's bed-side with great content, having a mess of brave plum-porridge and a roasted pullet for dinner, and I sent for a mince pie abroad, my wife not being well to make any herself yet.

26th. Up, my wife to the making of Christmas pies all day, and I abroad to several places. To the Wardrobe. Hither come Mr. Battersby; and we falling into discourse of a new book of drollery in verse, called 'Hudibras,' I would needs go find it out, and met with it at the Temple: cost me 2s. 6d. But when I came to read it, it is so silly an abuse of the Presbyter Knight going to the wars, that I am ashamed of it; and by and by meeting at Mr. Townsend's at dinner, I sold it to him for 18d. To the Duke's house, and saw 'The Villain.' Here I was better pleased with the play than I was at first, understanding the design better than I did. Here I saw Gosnell and her sister at a distance, and could have found in my heart to have accosted them, but thought it not prudent. Home, and found my wife busy among her pies, but angry for some saucy words that her maid Jane has given her, which I will not allow of, and therefore will give her warning to be gone. As also we are both displeased for some slight words that Sarah, now at Sir W. Pen's, hath spoke of us, but it is no matter. We shall endeavour to join the lion's skin to the fox's tail. Also vexed at my boy for his staying playing abroad when sent of errands.

27th. With my wife to the Duke's Theatre, and saw the second part of 'Rhodes,' done with the new Roxalana; which do it rather

better in all respects for person, voice, and judgment, than the first Roxalana. Not so well pleased with the company at the house today, which was full of citizens—there hardly being a gentle man or woman in the house. Home, and I to my study making up my monthly accounts, which is now fallen again to £630 or thereabouts, which not long since was £680, at which I am sorry, but I trust in God I shall get it up again, and in the meantime will live sparingly.

28th. (Lord's day.) With my wife to church, and coming out, went out both before my Lady Batten, he not being there, which I believe will vex her. After dinner my wife to church again, and I to the French church, where I heard an old man make a tedious long sermon, till they were fain to light candles to baptize the children by.

29th. To Westminster Hall, where I stayed reading at Mrs. Mitchell's shop, and sent for half a pint of sack for her. She told me what I heard not of before, the strange burning of Mr. de Laun, a merchant's house, in Lothbury, and his lady, Sir Thomas Allen's daughter, and her whole family; not one thing, dog nor cat, escaping; nor any of the neighbours almost hearing of it till the house was quite down and burnt. How this should come to pass, God knows, but a most strange thing it is! Hither came Jack Spicer to me, and I took him to the Swan, where Mr. Herbert did give me my breakfast of cold chine of pork; and here Spicer and I talked of Exchequer matters, and how the Lord Treasurer hath now ordered all moneys to be brought into the Exchequer, and hath settled the King's revenue, and given to every general expense proper assignments; to the Navy £200,000 and odd. He also told me of the great vast trade of the goldsmiths in supplying the King with money at dear rates. Thence to White Hall, and got up to the top galleries in the Banqueting-house, to see the audience of the Russia Ambassadors; which took place after long waiting and fear of the falling of the gallery, it being so full and part of it being parted from the rest, for nobody to come up, merely from the weakness thereof: and very handsome it was. After they had come in, I went down and got through the crowd almost as high as the King and the Ambassadors, where I saw all the presents, being rich furs, hawks, carpets, cloths of tissue, and sea-horse teeth. The King took two or three hawks upon his fist, having a glove on, wrought with gold, given him for the purpose. The son of one of the Ambassadors was in the richest suit for pearl and tissue

that ever I did see, or shall, I believe. After they and all the company had kissed the King's hand, then the three Ambassadors and the son, and no more, did kiss the Queen's. One thing more I did observe, that the chief Ambassador did carry up his master's letters in state before him on high; and as soon as he had delivered them he did fall down to the ground, and lay there a great while. After all was done the company broke up; and I spent a little while walking up and down the gallery seeing the ladies, the two Queens, and the Duke of Monmouth with his little mistress,<sup>1</sup> which is very little, and like my brother-in-law's wife. Sat late talking with my wife about our entertaining Dr. Clerke's lady and Mrs. Pierce shortly, being in great pain that my wife hath never a winter gown, being almost ashamed of it that she should be seen in a taffeta one, when all the world wears moire; but we could not come to any resolution what to do therein, other than to appear as she is.

30th. Up and to the office, whither Sir W. Pen came, the first time that he has come downstairs since his late great sickness of the gout. Calling in at Mr. Rawlinson's, he stopped me to dine with him and two East India officers of ships and Howell our turner. With the officers I had good discourse, particularly of the people at the Cape of Good Hope, of whom they of their own knowledge do tell me these one or two things: viz. that they never sleep lying, but always sitting upon the ground; that their speech is not so articulate as ours, but yet they understand one another well; that they paint themselves all over with the grease the Dutch sell them (who have a fort there) and soot. Visited Mrs. Ferrers, and stayed talking with her a good while, there being a little, proud, ugly, talking lady there, that was much crying up the Queen-mother's Court at Somerset House above our own Queen's; there being before her no allowance of laughing and the mirth that is at the other's; and indeed it is observed that the greatest Court nowadays is there. Thence to White Hall, where I carried my wife to see the Queen in her presence-chamber; and the maids of honour and the young Duke of Monmouth playing at cards. Some of them, and but a few, were very pretty; though all well dressed in velvet gowns. Thence to my Lord's lodgings, where Mrs. Sarah did make us my Lord's bed, and Mr. Creed being sent for, sat playing at cards till it was late, and so good night, and with great pleasure to bed.

31st. Lay pretty long in bed and then I up and to Westminster

<sup>1</sup> Lady Anne Scott.

Hall, and so to the Swan sending for Mr. W. Bowyer, and there drank my morning draught and had some of his simple discourse. Among other things he tells me how the difference comes between his fair cousin Butler and Colonel Dillon, upon his opening letters of her brother's from Ireland, complaining of his knavery, and forging others to the contrary; and so they are long ago quite broke off. Thence to a barber's, and so to my wife, and at noon took her to Mrs. Pierce's by invitation to dinner. We were pretty merry, but I confess I am wedded from the opinion of Mrs. Pierce's beauty upon discovery of her naked neck to-day, being undressed when we came in. Mr. Povy and I to White Hall; he carrying me thither on purpose to carry me into the ball this night before the King. He brought me first to the Duke's chamber, where I saw him and the Duchess at supper; and thence into the room where the ball was to be, crammed with fine ladies, the greatest of the Court. By and by comes the King and Queen, the Duke and Duchess, and all the great ones: and after seating themselves, the King takes out the Duchess of York; and the Duke the Duchess of Buckingham; the Duke of Monmouth my Lady Castlemaine; and so other lords other ladies: and they danced the Branle. After that, the King led a lady a single Coranto; and then the rest of the lords, one after another, other ladies: very noble it was, and great pleasure to see. Then to country dances, the King leading the first, which he called for; which was, says he, 'Cuckolds all awry,' the old dance of England. Of the ladies that danced, the Duke of Monmouth's mistress, and my Lady Castlemaine, and a daughter of Sir Harry de Vic's,<sup>1</sup> were the best. The manner was, when the King dances, all the ladies in the room, and the Queen herself, stand up; and indeed he dances rarely, and much better than the Duke of York. Having stayed here as long as I thought fit, to my infinite content, it being the greatest pleasure I could wish now to see at Court, I went home, leaving them dancing.

Thus ends this year, with great mirth to me and my wife. Our condition being thus: We are at present spending a night or two at my Lord's lodgings at White Hall. Our home at the Navy Office which is, and hath a pretty while been, in good condition,

<sup>1</sup> Sir Henry de Vic, of Guernsey, Bart., had been twenty years resident for Charles II at Brussels, and was Chancellor of the Order of the Garter, and in 1662 became Comptroller of the Duke of York's Household, with a salary of £400. He died in 1672, and was buried in Westminster Abbey.



finished and made very convenient. My family is myself and wife; William, my clerk; Jane, my wife's upper maid, but, I think, growing proud and negligent upon it: we must part, which troubles me; Susan, our cook-maid, a pretty willing wench, but no good cook; and Wayneman, my boy, who I am now turning away for his naughty tricks. Our late maid Sarah going from us to live with Sir W. Pen do trouble me, though I love the wench, so that we do make ourselves a little strange to him and his family for it, and resolved to do so. The same we are for other reasons to Lady Batten and hers. By my last year's diligence in my office, blessed be God! I am come to a good degree of knowledge therein; and am acknowledged so by all the world, even the Duke himself, to whom I have a good access: and by that, and by my being Commissioner with him for Tangier, he takes much notice of me; and I doubt not but, by the continuance of the same endeavours, I shall in a little time come to be a man much taken notice of in the world, specially being come to so great an esteem with Mr. Coventry. Public matters stand thus: The King is bringing, it is said, his family, and Navy, and all other his charges, to a less expense. In the meantime, himself following his pleasures more than with good advice he would do; at least, to be seen to all the world to do so. His dalliance with my Lady Castlemaine being public, every day, to his great reproach; and his favouring of none at Court so much as those that are the confidants of his pleasure, as Sir H. Bennet and Sir Charles Berkeley; which, good God! put it into his heart to mend, before he makes himself too much contemned by his people for it! The Duke of Monmouth is in so great splendour at Court, and so dandled by the King, that some doubt that, if the King should have no child by the Queen, which there is yet no appearance of, whether he would not be acknowledged for a lawful son; and that there will be a difference follow upon it between the Duke of York and him; which God prevent! My Lord Chancellor is threatened by people to be questioned, the next sitting of the Parliament, by some spirits that do not love to see him so great: but certainly he is a good servant to the King. The Queen-mother is said to keep too great a Court now; and her being married to my Lord St. Albans is commonly talked of; and that they had a daughter between them in France; how true, God knows. The Bishops are high, and go on without any diffidence in pressing uniformity; and the Presbyters seem silent in it, and either conform or lay down, though

without doubt they expect a turn, and would be glad these endeavours of the other Fanatics would take effect, there having been a plot lately found, for which four have been publicly tried at the Old Bailey and hanged. My Lord Sandwich is still in good esteem, and now keeping his Christmas in the country; and I in good esteem, I think, as any man can be, with him. Mr. Moore is very sickly, and I doubt will hardly get over his late fit of sickness, that still hangs on him. In fine, for the good condition of myself, wife, family, and estate, in the great degree that it is, and for the public state of the nation, so quiet as it is, the Lord God be praised!

## 1663

January 1st. To White Hall, where I spent a little time walking among the courtiers, which I perceive I shall be able to do with great confidence, being now beginning to be pretty well known among them. Among other discourse, Mrs. Sarah tells us how the King sups at least four times every week with my Lady Castlemaine; and most often stays till the morning with her, and goes home through the garden all alone privately, and that so as the very sentries take notice of it and speak of it. She tells me that about a month ago Lady Castlemaine quickened at my Lord Gerard's<sup>1</sup> at dinner, and cried out that she was undone; and all the lords and men were fain to quit the room, and women called to help her. In fine, I find that there is nothing almost but bawdry at Court from top to bottom, and, if it were fit, I could instance, but it is not necessary: only they say my Lord Chesterfield, Groom of the Stole to the Queen, is either gone or put away from Court upon the score of his lady's having smitten the Duke of York, so as that he is watched by the Duchess of York, and his lady is retired into the country upon it. How much of this is true God knows, but it is common talk. After dinner, to the Duke's house, where we saw 'The Villain' again; and the more I see it, the more I am offended at my first undervaluing the play, it being very good and pleasant, and yet a true and allowable tragedy. The house was

<sup>1</sup> Charles Gerard, created Baron Gerard of Brandon, 8th November 1645, Gentleman of the Bedchamber to Charles II, and Captain of his Guards; advanced to the earldom of Macclesfield 1679, and died 1694.

full of citizens, and so the less pleasant, but that I was willing to make an end of my gaddings, and to set to my business all the year again to-morrow. Here we saw the old Roxalana<sup>1</sup> in the chief box, in a velvet gown, as the fashion is, and very handsome, at which I was glad.

2d. To see Sir W. Pen, who is fallen sick again. I stayed awhile talking to him, and so to my office, practising arithmetic.

4th. (Lord's day.) Up and to church, where a lazy sermon. At dinner my wife did propound my having of my sister Pall again to be her woman, since one we must have, hoping that in that quality possibly she may prove better than she did before, it being a very great trouble to me that I should have a sister of so ill a nature, that I must be forced to spend money upon a stranger, when it might better be upon her, if she were good for anything. To Mr. Hunt's, and there was most prettily and kindly entertained by him and her, who are two so good peoples as I hardly know any, and so neat, and kind to one another.

5th. To the Duke, who himself told me that Sir J. Lawson was come home to Portsmouth from the Straits, with great renown among all men, and, I perceive, mightily esteemed at Court by all. The Duke did not stay long in his chamber, but to the King's chamber, whither, by and by, the Russia Ambassadors come; who, it seems, have a custom that they will not come to have any treaty with our or any King's Commissioners, but they will themselves see at the time the face of the King himself, be it forty days one after another; and so they did today only go in and see the King; and so out again to the Council Chamber. The Duke returned to his chamber, and so to his closet, where Sir G. Carteret, Sir J. Minnes, Sir W. Batten, Mr. Coventry, and myself attended him about the business of the Navy; and, after much discourse and pleasant talk, he went away. Creed and I to my wife, and to the Cockpit, where we saw 'Claracilla,' a poor play, done by the King's house (but neither the King nor the Queen were there, but only the Duke and Duchess, who did show some impertinent, and, methought, unnatural dalliances there, before the whole world, such as kissing and leaning upon one another); but to my very little content—they not acting in any degree like the Duke's people. Home, and to supper and apples and ale, and to bed with great pleasure, blessed be God!

6th. (Twelfth day.) Creed and I to St. Paul's Church-yard, to

<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Davenport.

my booksellers, and then into St. Paul's church, and there finding Elborough, my old schoolfellow at Paul's, now a parson, whom I know to be a silly fellow, I took him out and walked with him, making Mr. Creed and myself sport with talking with him, and thence to the Exchange where we met with Major Thomson. He tells me, and so do others, that Dr. Calamy is this day sent to Newgate for preaching, Sunday was se'nnight, without leave, though he did it only to supply the place; when otherwise the people must have gone away without ever a sermon, they being disappointed of a minister: but the Bishop of London will not take that as an excuse. Thence into Wood Street, and there bought a fine table for my dining-room, cost me 50s.; and while we were buying it, there was a scare-fire in an alley over against us, but they quenched it. To the Duke's house, and there saw 'Twelfth Night' acted well, though it be but a silly play, and not related at all to the name or day. Home, and found all well, only myself somewhat vexed at my wife's neglect in leaving of her scarf, waistcoat, and night-dressings in the coach today, that brought us from Westminster; though, I confess, she did give them to me to look after. I believe it might be as good as 25s. loss or thereabouts.

7th. To my office all the morning, signing the Treasurer's ledger, and then eat a mouthful of pie at home to stay my stomach, and so with Mr. Waith by water to Deptford, and there, among other things, viewed old pay-books, and found that the commanders did never heretofore receive pay for the rigging time, but only for sea-time, contrary to what Sir J. Minnes and Sir W. Batten told the Duke the other day. I also searched all the ships in the Wet Dock for fire, and found all in good order, it being very dangerous for the King that so many of his ships lie together there. I was among the canvas in stores also, with Mr. Harris the sail-maker, and learned the difference between one sort and another. So by water home again, where my wife tells me stories how she hears that by Sarah's going to live at Sir W. Pen's all our affairs of my family are made known and discoursed of there, and theirs by my people, which do trouble me much; and I shall take a time to let Sir W. Pen know how he has dealt in taking her without our full consent.

8th. Up pretty early, and sent my boy to the carrier's with some wine for my father, and my muff to my mother, sent as from my wife. But before I sent my boy out I beat him for a lie he

told me. Dined at home; and there being the famous new play acted the first time to-day, which is called 'The Adventures of Five Hours,' at the Duke's house, being, they say, made or translated by Colonel Tuke,<sup>1</sup> I did long to see it; and so we went; and though early, were forced to sit almost out of sight at the end of one of the lower forms, so full was the house. And the play, in one word, is the best, for the variety and the most excellent continuance of the plot to the very end, that ever I saw, or think ever shall, and all possible, not only to be done in the time, but in most other respects very admittable, and without one word of ribaldry; and the house, by its frequent plaudits, did show their sufficient approbation. So home, with much ado in an hour getting a coach home, and now resolving to set up my rest as to plays till Easter, if not Whitsuntide next, excepting plays at Court.

9th. Waking in the morning, my wife begun to speak again of the necessity of keeping somebody to bear her company; for her familiarity with her other servants is it that spoils them all, and other company she hath none, which is too true, and called for Jane to reach her out of her trunk (giving her the keys to that purpose) a bundle of papers, and pulls out a paper, a copy of what a pretty while since she had wrote in a discontent to me, which I would not read, but burned. She now read it, and it was so piquant, and wrote in English, and most of it true, of the retiredness of her life and how unpleasant it was, that, being wrote in English and so in danger of being met with and read by others, I was vexed at it and desired her and then commanded her to tear it. When she desired to be excused it, I forced it from her and tore it, and withal took her other bundle of papers from her, and leaped out of the bed and clapped them into the pocket of my breeches, that she might not get them from me; and having got on my stockings and breeches and gown, I pulled them out one by one and tore them all before her face, though it went against my heart to do it, she crying and desiring me not to do it. But such was my passion and trouble to see the letters of my love to her, and my Will (wherein I had given her all I have in the world when I went to sea with my Lord Sandwich) to be joined with a paper of so much disgrace to me and dishonour, if it should have been found by anybody. Having torn them all, saving a bond of my uncle Robert's

<sup>1</sup> Sir George Tuke, of Cressing Temple, in Essex, John Evelyn's cousin. The play was taken from the original of the Spanish poet, Calderon. Evelyn saw it on the same occasion.

and our marriage licence and the first letter that ever I sent her, I took up the pieces and carried them into my chamber, and there, after many disputes with myself, having picked up the pieces of the paper she read to-day, and of my Will, I burned all the rest, and so went out to my office troubled in mind. Hither comes Major Tolhurst, one of my old acquaintances in Cromwell's time, and sometime of our club, to see me, and I could do no less than carry him to the Mitre, Tolhurst telling me the manner of their collieries in the North. We broke up, and I home to dinner. And to see my folly, as discontented as I am, when my wife came I could not forbear smiling all dinner till she began to speak bad words again, and then I began to be angry, and so to my office. There coming a letter to me from Mr. Pierce, the surgeon, by my desire appointing his and Dr. Clerke's coming to dine with me next Monday, I went to my wife and agreed upon matters; and at last, for my honour, am forced to make her presently a new moire gown to be seen by Mrs. Clerke, which sets my wife and I to friends again; though I and she never were as heartily angry in our lives as today almost, and I doubt the heartburning will not soon be over, and the truth is I am sorry for the tearing of so many poor loving letters of mine from sea and elsewhere to her.

10th. Mr. Creed sat with me till late talking very good discourse, as he is full of it, though a cunning knave in his heart, at least not to be too much trusted.

11th. (Lord's day.) Lay long talking pleasant with my wife, then up and to church, and after a pitiful sermon of the young Scot, home to dinner. All the afternoon writing orders to myself to have ready against tomorrow, that I might not appear negligent to Mr. Coventry.

12th. With Mr. Creed to the King's Head ordinary, but people being set down, we went to two or three places; at last found some meat at a Welsh cook's at Charing Cross, and here dined and our boys. After dinner to the 'Change to buy some linen for my wife, and going back met our two boys. Mine had struck down Creed's boy in the dirt, with his new suit on, and the boy taken by a gentlewoman into a house to make clean but the poor boy was in a pitiful taking and pickle, but I basted my rogue soundly. Thence to my Lord's lodgings. I found my Lord within, and he and I went out through the garden towards the Duke's chamber, to sit upon the Tangier matters; but a lady called to my Lord out of my Lady Castlemaine's lodging, telling him that the King was

there and would speak with him. My Lord could not tell me what to say at the Committee to excuse his absence, but that he was with the King; nor would suffer me to go into the Privy Garden, which is now a through passage and common, but bid me go through some other way, which I did; so that I see he is a servant of the King's pleasures too, as well as business. To my Lady Batten's, and sat with her awhile; but I did it out of design to get some oranges for my feast tomorrow of her, which I did. So home, and found my wife's new gown come home, and she mightily pleased with it. But I appeared very angry that there were no more things got ready against tomorrow's feast, and in that passion set up long, and went discontented to bed.

13th. My poor wife rose by five o'clock in the morning, before day, and went to market and bought fowls and many other things for dinner, with which I was highly pleased, and the chine of beef was down also before six o'clock, and my own jack, of which I was doubtful, do carry it very well. Things being put in order and the cook come, I went to the office where we sat till noon and then broke up, and I home, whither by and by comes Dr. Clerke and his lady, his sister, and a she-cousin, and Mr. Pierce and his wife, which was all my guests. I had for them, after oysters, at first course, a hash of rabbits, a lamb, and a rare chine of beef. Next, a great dish of roasted fowl, cost me about 30s., and a tart, and then fruit and cheese. My dinner was noble and enough. I had my house mighty clean and neat; my room below with a good fire in it; my dining-room above, and my chamber being made a withdrawing-chamber; and my wife's a good fire, also. I find my new table very proper, and will hold nine or ten people well, but eight with great room. At supper, had a good sack posset and cold meat, and sent my guests away about ten o'clock at night, both them and myself highly pleased with our management of this day; and indeed their company was very fine, and Mrs. Clerke a very witty, fine lady, though a little conceited and proud. I believe this day's feast will cost me near £5.

14th. Numbering and examining part of my sea-manuscript with great pleasure, my wife sitting working by me.

15th. Mr. Coventry to dine with me, I having a wild goose roasted and a cold chine of beef and a barrel of oysters; and then he and I to fit ourselves for horseback, he having brought me a horse; and so to Deptford, the ways being very dirty. Did our main business, which was to examine the proof of our new way

of the Call-books, which we think will be of great use. And so I home with his horse, leaving him to go over the fields to Lambeth.

16th. Mr. Battersby, the apothecary, coming to see me, I called for the cold chine of beef and made him eat and drink wine, and talked, there being with us Captain Brewer, the painter, who tells me how highly the Presbyters do talk in the coffee-houses still, which I wonder at.

17th. Took Creed to the Duke's playhouse, where we did see 'The Five Hours' entertainment again, which indeed is a very fine play, though, through my being out of order, it did not seem so good as at first; but I could discern it was not any fault in the play. To the China alehouse, and there drank a bottle or two, and so home.

18th. (Lord's day.) Up, and after the barber had done I went to church; and after dinner to church again, and heard a dull drowsy sermon, and so home and to my office, perfecting my vows again for the next year, which I have now done and sworn to in the presence of Almighty God. Then to Sir W. Pen's to see how he do, and find him pretty well and ready to go abroad again.

19th. To wait on my Lord Sandwich, whom I found not very well, and Dr. Clerke with him. He is feverish, and hath sent for Mr. Pierce to let him blood. Then to the Duke, and in his closet discoursed as we use to do, and then broke up. Singled out Mr. Coventry into the Matted Gallery, and there I told him the complaints I meet every day about our Treasurer's or his people's paying no money but at the goldsmiths' shops, where they are forced to pay fifteen, or twenty sometimes, per cent for their money, which is a most horrid shame, and that which must not be suffered. Nor is it likely that the Treasurer—at least, his people—will suffer Maynell the goldsmith to go away with £10,000 per annum, as he do now get, by making people pay after this manner for their money. To Mr. Povy's, where really he made a most excellent and large dinner, of their variety, even to admiration, he bidding us, in a frolic, to call for what we had a mind, and he would undertake to give it us; and we did for prawns, swan, venison, after I had thought the dinner was quite done, and he did immediately produce it, which I thought great plenty, and he seems to set off his rest in this plenty, and the neatness of his house, which he after dinner showed me, from room to room, so beset with delicate pictures; and, above all, a piece of perspective in his closet



in the low parlour, his stable, where was some most delicate horses, and the very racks painted and mangers, with a neat leaden painted cistern, and the walls done with Dutch tiles, like my chimneys. But still, above all things, he bid me go down into his wine-cellar, where, upon several shelves, there stood bottles of all sorts of wine, new and old, with labels pasted upon each bottle, and in the order and plenty as I never saw books in a bookseller's shop; and herein, I observe, he puts his highest content, and will accordingly commend all that he hath; but still they deserve to be so. Here dined with me Dr. Whore and Mr. Scawen. To my Lord Chancellor's, where the King was to meet my Lord Treasurer, &c., many great men, to settle the revenue of Tangier. I stayed talking awhile there, but the King not coming, I walked to my brother's. This day by Dr. Clerke I was told the occasion of my Lord Chesterfield's going and taking his lady, my Lord Ormond's daughter, from Court. It seems he not only hath been long jealous of the Duke of York, but did find them two talking together, though there were others in the room, and the lady by all opinions a most good, virtuous woman. He, the next day, of which the Duke was warned by somebody that saw the passion my Lord Chesterfield was in the night before, went and told the Duke how much he did apprehend himself wronged, in his picking out his lady of the whole Court to be the subject of his dishonour; which the Duke did answer with great calmness, not seeming to understand the reason of complaint, and that was all that passed: but my Lord did presently pack his lady into the country in Derbyshire, near the Peak; which is become a proverb at Court, to send a man's wife to the Devil's arse a' Peak when she vexes him.

21st. Commissioner Pett and I to Deptford. Dined at Mr. Ackworth's, where a pretty dinner, and she a pretty, modest woman; but, above all things, we saw her Rock, which is one of the finest things done by a woman that ever I saw. I must have my wife to see it. On board the *Elias*, and found the timber brought by her from the forest of Dean to be exceeding good.

22d. Mr. Dixon came to dine with me, to give me an account of his success with Mr. Wheatly, for his daughter for my brother; and, in short, is that his daughter cannot fancy my brother, because of his imperfection in his speech, which I am sorry for, but there the business must die, and we must look out for another. With the rest of the officers to Mr. Russell's burial, where we had wine

and rings, and a great and good company of aldermen and the livery of the Skinners' Company. We went to St. Dunstan's in the East church, where a sermon, but I stayed not. So to my Lord's, and there find him not sick, but expecting his fit tonight of an ague. Here we were very busy about getting provisions sent forthwith to Tangier.

23d. Mr. Grant and I to a coffee-house, where Sir J. Cutler<sup>1</sup> was; and he did fully make out that the trade of England is as great as ever it was, only in more hands; and that of all trades there is a greater number than ever there was, by reason of men taking more prentices. His discourse was well worth hearing. Coming by Temple Bar, I bought 'Audley's Way to be Rich,' a serious pamphlet, and some good things worth my minding. Meeting Sir W. Batten, turned back again to a coffee-house, and there drunk more, and hear much discourse, but little to be learned, but of a design in the North of a rising, which is discovered, among some men of conditions, and they sent for up. To dinner to Sir W. Batten's to a cod's head, and after to see Sir W. Pen, where was Sir J. Lawson and his lady and daughter, which is pretty enough. To business pretty late finishing the margining of my navy-manuscript.

24th. To the office all the morning, then to the Exchange to look out for a ship for Tangier. So to dinner at home, and then down to Redriffe to see a ship hired for Tangier, and found her ready to sail.

25th. (Lord's day.) I understand the King of France is upon consulting his divines upon the old question, what the power of the Pope is? and do intend to make war against him, unless he do right him for the wrong his Ambassador received;<sup>2</sup> and banish the Cardinal Imperial; by which I understand is not meant the Cardinal belonging or chosen by the Emperor, but the name of

<sup>1</sup> Citizen and grocer of London; stigmatized by Pope for his avarice.

<sup>2</sup> On 20th August, the Duc de Créquy, then French ambassador at Rome, was insulted by the Corsican armed police, and the Pope Alexander VII at first refused reparation for the affront offered to the French. Louis ordered the Papal Nuncio forthwith to quit France; he seized upon Avignon, and his army prepared to enter Italy. Alexander found it necessary to submit. In fulfilment of a treaty signed at Pisa in 1664, Cardinal Chigi, the Pope's nephew, came to Paris, to tender the Pope's apology to Louis. The guilty individuals were punished; the Corsicans banished for ever from the Roman States; and in front of the guard-house which they had occupied a pyramid was erected, bearing an inscription, which embodied the Pope's apology. This pyramid Louis permitted Clement IX to destroy on his accession.

his family is Imperiali.<sup>1</sup> To my Lord, who had his ague-fit last night, and I stayed talking with him an hour alone in his chamber, about sundry public and private matters. Among others, he wonders what the project should be of the Duke's going down to Portsmouth again now with his lady, at this time of the year: it being no way, we think, to increase his popularity, which is not great; nor yet safe to do it, for that reason, if it would have any such effect. Captain Ferrers tells me of my Lady Castlemaine's and Sir Charles Berkeley being the great favourites at Court, and growing every day more and more so; and that upon a late dispute between my Lord Chesterfield, that is the Queen's Lord Chamberlain, and Mr. Edward Montagu, her Master of the Horse, who should have the precedence in taking the Queen's upper hand abroad out of the house, which Mr. Montagu challenges, it was given to my Lord Chesterfield. So that I perceive he goes down the wind in honour as well as everything else, every day. A messenger is come, that tells us how Colonel Honeywood, who was well yesterday at Canterbury, was flung by his horse in getting up, and broke his skull, and so is dead.<sup>2</sup>

26th. By water with Sir W. Batten to Whitehall. Here I met with Monsieur Raby, who is lately come from France. He tells me that my Lord Hinchingbroke and his brother do little improve there, and are much neglected in their habits and other things; but I do believe he hath a mind to go over as their tutor, and so I am not apt to believe what he says therein. But I had a great deal of very good discourse with him concerning the difference between the French and the Pope, and the occasion, which he told me very particularly, and to my great content; and of most of the chief affairs of France, which I did enquire; and that the King is a most excellent Prince, doing all business himself; and that it is true he hath a mistress, Mademoiselle La Vallière, one of the Princess Henriette's women, that he courts for his pleasure every other day, but not so as to make him neglect his public affairs. He tells me how the King do carry himself nobly to the relations of the dead Cardinal,<sup>3</sup> and will not suffer one pasquil to come forth against

<sup>1</sup> Lorenzo Imperiali, of Genoa. He had been appointed Governor of Rome by Innocent X, in 1654, and he had acted in that capacity at the time of the tumult.

<sup>2</sup> Colonel Henry Honeywood, of Little Archer's Court, River, Kent, who had taken up arms against Charles I. He was the son of Arthur Honeywood, of Lincoln's Inn and Maidstone, and had sepulchre at Christ Church, Canterbury.

<sup>3</sup> Cardinal Mazarin.

him; and that he acts by what directions he receive from him before his death. Mr. Gauden and I to settle the business of the Tangier victualling, which I perceive none of them yet have hitherto understood but myself.

27th. I have news this day from Cambridge that my brother hath had his bachelor's cap put on; but that which troubles me is, that he hath the pain of the stone, it beginning just as mine did.

28th. To my Lord Sandwich's, whom I find missing his ague fit to-day, and is pretty well, playing at dice, and by this means I see how time and example may alter a man; he being now acquainted with all sorts of pleasures and vanities, which heretofore he never thought of, nor loved, nor, it may be, hath allowed, with Ned Pickering and his page Loud. To Wotton's, the shoemaker, and there bought another pair of new boots, and here I drank with him and his wife—a pretty woman, they broaching a vessel of cyder a-purpose for me. So home, and there found my wife come home, and seeming to cry; for, bringing home in a coach her new ferrandin waistcoat,<sup>1</sup> in Cheapside a man asked her whether that was the way to the Tower; and, while she was answering him another, on the other side, snatched away her bundle out of her lap, and could not be recovered, but ran away with it, which vexes me cruelly, but it cannot be helped. So to my office, and there till almost twelve at night with Mr. Lewis, learning to understand the manner of a purser's account, which is very hard and little understood by my fellow officers, and yet mighty necessary.

29th. Dined with Mr. Coventry, the first time that ever I did yet, and am sorry for doing it now, because of obliging me to do the like to him again.

30th. A solemn fast for the King's murder, and we were forced to keep it more than we would have done, having forgot to take any victuals into the house. I to church in the forenoon, and Mr. Mills made a good sermon upon David's heart sinning him for cutting off the garment of Saul. I find that I am got no further than £640, but I have had great expenses this month. My manuscript is brought home handsomely bound, to my full content; and now I think I have a better collection in reference to the Navy, and shall have by the time I have filled it, than any of my predecessors.

<sup>1</sup> *Ferrandin*, which was sometimes spelt *farendon*, was a stuff made of silk mixed with some other material, like what is now called poplin.

31st. To dinner late, and not very good, only a rabbit not half roasted, which made me angry with my wife. In the evening examining my wife's letter, intended to my Lady, and another to Mademoiselle, they were so false spelt, that I was ashamed of them, and took occasion to fall out about them with my wife, and so she wrote none.

February 1st. (Lord's day.) To my Lord Sandwich. Many discourses we had; but, among others, how Sir R. Bernard is turned out of his Recordership of Huntingdon by the Commissioners for Regulation, &c., at which I am troubled, because he, thinking it is done by my Lord Sandwich, will act some of his revenge, it is likely, upon me in my business, so that I must cast about me to get some other counsel to rely upon. Alone with my wife and Jane, did fall to tell her what I did expect would become of her since, after so long being my servant, she had carried herself so as to make us willing to put her away, and desired God to bless her, but bid her never to let me hear what became of her, for that I could never pardon ingratitude. This day Creed and I, walking in White Hall garden, did see the King coming privately from my Lady Castlemaine's, which is a poor thing for a Prince to do; and so I expressed my sense of it to Creed in terms which I should not have done, but that I believe he is trusty in that point.

2d. After paying Jane her wages, I went away, because I could hardly forbear weeping, and she cried, saying it was not her fault that she went away, and indeed it is hard to say what it is, but only her not desiring to stay, that she go now. With Sir J. Minnes and Sir W. Batten to the Duke; and after discourse as usual with him in his closet, I went to my Lord's: the King and the Duke being gone to chapel, it being a Collar-day, Candlemas-day; where I stayed with him until towards noon, there being Jonas Moore talking about some mathematical businesses. With Mr. Coventry down to his chamber, where he did tell me how he did make it not only his desire, but as his greatest pleasure, to make himself an interest by doing business truly and justly, though he thwarts others greater than himself, not striving to make himself friends by addresses; and by this he thinks and observes he do live as contentedly, now he finds himself secured from fear of want, and, take one time with another, as void of fear or cares, or more, than they that, as his own terms were, have quicker pleasures and sharper agonies than he. At my cousin Roger's chamber I met Madam

Turner, she and her daughter having been at the play today at the Temple, it being a revelling time with them. Thence called at my brother's, who is at church, at the burial of young Cumberland—a lusty young man.

3rd. Creed dined with me, and Mr. Ashwell, with whom after dinner I di-coursed concerning his daughter coming to live with us.

4th. To Paul's School, it being Apposition-day there. I heard some of their speeches, and they were just as schoolboys' used to be, of the seven liberal sciences; but I think not so good as ours were in our time. Thence to Bow Church, to the Court of Arches, where a judge sits, and his proctors about him in their habits, and their pleadings all in Latin. Here I was sworn to give a true answer to my uncle's libels. And back again to Paul's School, and went up to see the head forms posed in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew; but I think they do not answer in any so well as we did, only in geography they did pretty well. Dr. Wilkins<sup>1</sup> and Outram<sup>2</sup> were examiners. So down to the school, where Dr. Crumlum did me much honour by telling many what a present I had made to the school, showing my Stephanus in four volumes, cost me £4 10s. He also showed us upon my desire an old edition of the grammar of Colet's, where his epistle to the children is very pretty; and in rehearsing the creed it is said 'born of the clean Virgin Mary.' Thence with Mr. Elborough to a cook's shop to dinner, but I found him a fool, as he ever was, or worse. Home, where I found our new maid Mary.

5th. To dinner, and found it so well done, above what I did expect from my maid Susan, now Jane is gone, that I did call her in and give her sixpence.

6th. To Lincoln's Inn Fields; and it being too soon to go to dinner, I walked up and down and looked upon the outside of the new theatre building in Covent Garden, which will be very fine. And so to a bookseller's in the Strand, and there bought 'Hudibras' again, it being certainly some ill humour to be so against that which all the world cries up to be the example of wit; for which I am resolved once again to read him, and see whether I can find it or no. To Mr. Povy's, and there found them at dinner, and dined

<sup>1</sup> John Wilkins, afterwards Bishop of Chester.

<sup>2</sup> William Outram, D.D., Prebendary of Westminster. *ob.* 1679; one of the ablest and best of the Conformists, eminent for his piety and charity, and an excellent preacher.

there—there being, among others, Mr. Williamson,<sup>1</sup> Latin secretary, who, I perceive, is a pretty knowing man and a scholar, but, it may be, thinks himself to be too much so. To the Temple, to my cousin Roger Pepys, where met us my uncle Thomas and his son; and, after many high demands, we at last came to a kind of agreement upon very hard terms, which are to be prepared in writing against Tuesday next. So home, and being called by a coachman who had a fare in him, he carried me beyond the Old Exchange, and there set down his fare, who would not pay him what was his due because he carried a stranger with him, and so after wrangling he was fain to be content with 6*d.*, and being vexed, the coachman would not carry me home a great while, but set me down there for the other 6*d.*; but with fair words he was willing to it, and so I came home.

7th. To my office, whither Mr. Coventry came to confer about preparing an account of the extraordinary charge of the Navy since the King's coming, more than is properly to be applied and called the Navy charge. Making my Alphabet to my new Navy book, very pretty.

8th. (Lord's day.) Up, and, it being a very great frost, I walked to White Hall to chapel, where there preached little Dr. Duport,<sup>2</sup> of Cambridge, upon Josiah's words: 'But I and my house, we will serve the Lord.' But he made the most flat dead sermon that ever I heard, and very long beyond his hour, which made it worse. Thence with Mr. Creed to the King's Head ordinary. After dinner, Sir Thomas Willis<sup>3</sup> and another stranger, and Creed and I, fell a-talking; they of the errors and corruption of the Navy and great expense thereof, not knowing who I was, which, at last, I did undertake to confute, and disabuse them: and they took it very well, and I hope it was to good purpose, they being Parliament-men. Creed and I and Captain Ferrers to the Park, and there walked finely, seeing people slide, we talking all the while; and

<sup>1</sup> Joseph Williamson, Keeper of the State-Paper Office at White Hall, and in 1663 made Under-Secretary of State, and was knighted in 1672. In 1674 he became Secretary of State, which appointment he filled four years. He represented Thetford or Rochester in different parliaments, and was in 1677–80 president of the Royal Society. *Ob.* 1701.

<sup>2</sup> James Duport, D.D., Dean of Peterborough, 1664, and Master of Magdalene College, Cambridge, 1668: *ob.* 1679.

<sup>3</sup> Sir Thomas Willis possessed some property at Ditton, in Cambridgeshire, where he was buried, in 1705, in his ninety-first year. In 1679 he had been put out of the Commission of the Peace for that county, for concurring with the Fanatic party in opposing the court.

Captain Ferrers telling me, among other Court passages, how, about a month ago, at a ball at Court, a child was dropped by one of the ladies in dancing, but nobody knew who, it being taken up by somebody in their handkercher. The next morning all the Ladies of Honour appeared early at Court for their vindication, so that nobody could tell whose this mischance should be. But it seems Mrs. Wells <sup>1</sup> fell sick that afternoon, and hath disappeared ever since, so that it is concluded it was her. Another story was how my Lady Castlemaine, a few days since, had Mrs. Stuart <sup>2</sup> to an entertainment, and at night began a frolic that they two must be married—and married they were, with ring and all other ceremonies of church service, and ribbons and a sack posset in bed, and flinging the stocking; but, in the close, it is said that my Lady Castlemaine, who was the bridegroom, rose, and the King came and took her place. This is said to be very true. Another story was how Captain Ferrers and W. Howe both have often, through my Lady Castlemaine's window, seen her go to bed, and Sir Charles Berkeley in her chamber. The little Duke of Monmouth, it seems, is ordered to take place of all Dukes, and so do follow Prince Rupert now, before the Duke of Buckingham, or any else.

9th. Could not rise and go to the Duke, but keep my bed and by the apothecary's advice, Mr. Battersby, I am to sweat soundly, it being some disorder given the blood, but by what I know not, unless it be by my late quantities of Danzig gherkins that I have eaten. Sir J. Minnes would not have me take anything from the apothecary, but from him, his Venice treacle being better than the others, which I did consent to and did anon take and fell into a great sweat and slept pretty well.

10th. In the morning most of my disease, that is, itching and pimples, were gone. This evening Sir W. Warren came himself to the door and left a letter and box for me and went his way. His letter mentions his giving me and my wife a pair of gloves; but, opening the box, we found a pair of plain white gloves for my hand, and a fair state-dish of silver, and cup with my arms ready

<sup>1</sup> Winifred Wells, who has been considered as one of Charles's mistresses; but the 'petite disgrâce,' as Hamilton styles it, here related, occurred to another of the queen's maids of honour, Mary Kirk, sister to the Countess of Oxford.

<sup>2</sup> Frances Teresa, eldest daughter of Walter Stuart, third son of the first Lord Blantyre, one of the greatest beauties at the court of Charles II, became the third wife of Charles Lennox, sixth Duke of Lennox, and fourth Duke of Richmond. She died 15th October 1702, without issue, having survived her husband thirty years.



cut upon them, worth, I believe, about £18, which is a very noble present, and the best I ever had yet. So, after some contentful talk with my wife, she to bed and I to rest.

11th. At night my wife read Sir H. Vane's trial to me, and I find it a very excellent thing, worth reading, and him to have been a very wise man.

12th. To the office. Home to dinner, there came my wife's brother and brought Mary Ashwell with him, whom we find a very likely person to please us. Then came an old man from Mr. Pory to give me some advice about his experiences in the stone, his chief remedy being Castile soap in a posset.

13th. Mr. Cole, our timber-merchant, sent me five couple of ducks. Dined upon one couple today. To my office, where late upon business; Mr. Bland sitting with me, talking of my Lord Windsor's being come home from Jamaica, unlooked for; which makes us think that these young Lords are not fit to do any service abroad, though it is said that he could not have his health there, but hath razed a fort of the King of Spain upon Cuba, which is considerable, or said to be so, for his honour. This day I bought the second part of Dr. Bates's 'Elenchus.' This evening my wife had a great mind to choose Valentines against to-morrow, but I would not because of getting charge both to me for mine and to them for her, which did not please her.

14th. My uncle Thomas, and his sons both, and I, did meet at my cousin Roger's, and there sign and seal to an agreement, and with great seeming love parted.

15th. (Lord's day.) Stayed at home hanging up in my green chamber my picture of the Sovereign. So to dinner to three more ducks and two teals, my wife and I. To bed talking long with my wife, and teaching her things in astronomy.

16th. To Westminster Hall, and there find great expectation what the Parliament will do, when they come two days hence to sit again, in matters of religion. The great question is, whether the Presbyters will be contented to let the Papists have the same liberty of conscience with them, or no, or rather be denied it themselves: and the Papists, I hear, are very busy in designing how to make the Presbyters consent to take their liberty, and to let them have the same with them, which some are apt to think they will. It seems a priest was taken in his vests officiating somewhere in Holborn the other day, and was committed by Secretary Morris, according to law; and they say the Bishop of London do give him

thanks for it. At the Solicitor-General's I found Mr. Cholmeley, and Creed reading to him the agreement about the contract for the Mole at Tangier, which is done at 13s. the cubical yard, though upon my conscience not one of the Committee, besides the parties concerned, do understand what they do therein, whether they give too much or too little.

17th. To my office, my wife being gone to Chelsea with her brother and sister and Mrs. Lodum, to see the wassail at the school where Mary Ashwell is. To my Lord Sandwich, whom I found at cards with Pickering; but he made an end soon; and so, all alone, he told me he had a great secret to tell me, such as no flesh knew but himself, nor ought; which was this: that yesterday morning, Eschar, Mr. Edward Montagu's man, did come to him from his master with some of the Clerks of the Exchequer, for my Lord to sign to their books for the Embassy money;<sup>1</sup> which my Lord very civilly desired not to do till he had spoke with his master himself. In the afternoon, my Lord and my Lady Wright being at cards in his chamber, in comes Mr. Montagu; and, desiring to speak with my Lord at the window in his chamber, he began to charge my Lord with the greatest ingratitude in the world: that he, that had received his earldom, Garter, £4000 per annum, and whatever he has in the world, from him, should now study him all the dishonour that he could: and so fell to tell my Lord that if he should speak all that he knew of him, he could do so and so. In a word, he did rip up all that could be said that was unworthy, and in the basest terms they could be spoken in. To which my Lord answered with great temper, justifying himself, but endeavouring to lessen his heat, which was a strange temper in him, knowing that he did owe all he hath in the world to my Lord, and that he is now all that he is by his means and favour. But my Lord did forbear to increase the quarrel, knowing that it would be to no good purpose for the world to see a difference in the family; but did allay him so as that he fell to weeping. And after much talk (among other things, Mr. Montagu telling him that there was a fellow in the town, naming me, that had done ill offices, and that if he knew it to be so, he would have him cudgelled), my Lord did promise him that, if upon account he saw that there was not many tradesmen unpaid, he would sign the books; but if there was, he could not bear with taking too great a debt upon him. So this day he sent him an account and a letter assuring him there was not

<sup>1</sup> That to Portugal, respecting the royal marriage.

above £200 unpaid; and so my Lord did sign to the Exchequer books. Upon the whole, I understand fully what a rogue he is, and how my Lord do think and will think of him for the future; telling me that thus he has served his father, my Lord Manchester, and his whole family, and now himself; and, which is worst, that he hath abused, and in speeches every day do abuse, my Lord Chancellor, whose favour he hath lost; and hath no friend but Sir H. Bennet, and that (I knowing the rise of the friendship) only from the likeness of their pleasures and acquaintance and concernments they have in the same matters of lust and baseness; for which God forgive them! But he do flatter himself, from promises of Sir H. Bennet, that he shall have a pension of £2000 per annum, and be made an earl. My Lord told me he expected a challenge from him, but told me there was no great fear of him, for there was no man lies under such an imputation as he do in the business of Mr. Cholmeley, who, though a simple, sorry fellow, do brave him, and struts before him with the Queen, to the sport and observation of the whole Court. He did keep my Lord at the window, thus reviling and braving him above an hour, my Lady Wright being by; but my Lord tells me she could not hear every word, but did well know what their discourse was; she could hear enough to know that. So that he commands me to keep it as the greatest secret in the world, and bids me beware of speaking words against Mr. Montagu, for fear I should suffer by his passion thereby. After he had told me thus I took coach and home, and played on the viol, which I have not done this long time before upon any instrument; and at last I to my office, being fearful of being too much taken with music, for fear of returning to my old dotage thereon. Mr. Pickering tells me the story is very true of a child being dropped at the ball at Court; and that the King had it in his closet a week after, and did dissect it; and making great sport of it, said that, in his opinion, it must have been a month and three hours old; and that, whatever others think, he hath the greatest loss (it being a boy, as he says), that hath lost a subject by the business. He tells me too, that the other story, of my Lady Castlemaine's and Stuart's marriage, is certain, and that it was in order to the King's coming to Stuart, as is believed generally. He tells me that Sir H. Bennet is a Catholic, and how all the Court almost is changed to the worse since his coming in, they being afraid of him. And that the Queen-mother's Court is now the greatest of all; and that our own Queen hath little or no company

come to her, which I know also to be very true, and am sorry to see it.

18th. Mr. Hater and I alone at the office, finishing our account of the extra charge of the Navy, not properly belonging to the Navy, since the King's coming in to Christmas last; and, all extra things being abated, I find that the true charge of the Navy to that time hath been after the rate of £374,743 a year. I made an end by eleven o'clock at night. This day the Parliament met again, after their long prorogation; but I know not anything what they have done, being within doors all day.

19th. My eyes begin to fail me, looking so long by candle-light upon white paper.

20th. By water with Commissioner Pett to Deptford, and there looked over the yard; and so to the town, and there dined. Then to the yard at Mr. Ackworth's discoursing with the officers of the yard about their stores of masts. The pleasure boat was come down to fetch us back. It carried us to Cuckold's Point, and so by oars to the Temple.

21st. To the office, where Sir J. Minnes, most of the rest being at the Parliament-house, all the morning answering petitions and other business. Towards noon there comes a man, as if upon ordinary business, and shows me a writ from the Exchequer, called a Commission of Rebellion, and tells me that I am his prisoner in Field's business; which, methought, did strike me to the heart, to think that we could not sit in the middle of the King's business. I told him how and where we were employed, and bid him have a care; and perceiving that we were busy, he said he would, and did withdraw for an hour: in which time Sir J. Minnes took coach and to Court, to see what he could do from thence: and our solicitor against Field came by chance, and told me that he would go and satisfy the fees of the Court, and would end the business. So he went away about that, and I staved in my closet, till by and by the man and four more of his fellows came to know what I would do; and I told them to stay till I heard from the King or my Lord Chief Baron, to both whom I had now sent. With that they consulted, and told me that if I would promise to stay in the house they would go and refresh themselves, and come again and know what answer I had: so they away, and I home to dinner. Before I had dined, the bailiffs came back again with the constable, and at the office knock for me, but found me not there; and I, hearing in what manner they were come, did forbear letting them know where I

was; so they stood knocking and enquiring for me. By and by, at my parlour-window comes Sir W. Batten's Mingo, to tell me that his master and lady would have me come to their house, through Sir J. Minnes's lodgings, which I could not do; but, however, by ladders, did get over the pale between our yards, and so to their house, where I found them, as they have reason, to be much concerned for me, my lady especially. The fellows stayed in the yard, swearing, with one or two constables, and some time we locked them into the yard, and by and by let them out again, and so kept them all the afternoon, not letting them see me, or know where I was. One time, I went up to the top of Sir W. Batten's house, and out of one of their windows spoke to my wife out of one of ours; which methought, though I did it in mirth, yet I was sad to think what a sad thing it would be for me to be really in that condition. By and by comes Sir J. Minnes, who, like himself and all that he do, tells us that he can do no good, but that my Lord Chancellor wonders that we did not cause the seamen to fall about their ears, which we wished we could have done without our being seen in it; and Captain Grove being there, he did give them some affront, and would have got some seamen to have drubbed them, but he had not time, nor did we think it fit to have done it, they having executed their commission; but there was occasion given that he did draw upon one of them, and he did complain that Grove had pricked him in the breast, but no hurt done; but I see that Grove would have done our business to them if we had bid him. By and by comes Mr. Clerke, our solicitor, who brings us a release from our adverse attorney, we paying the fees of the commission, which comes to five marks, and the charges of these fellows, which are called the commissioners but are the most rake-shamed rogues that ever I saw in my life; so he showed them this release, and they seemed satisfied, and went away with him to their attorney to be paid by him. But before they went Sir W. Batten and my lady did begin to taunt them, but the rogues answered them as high as themselves and swore they would come again, and called me rogue and rebel, and they would bring the sheriff and untile his house before he should harbour a rebel in his house, and that they would be here again shortly. Well, at last, they went away, and I by advice took occasion to go abroad, and walked through the street to show myself among the neighbours, that they might not think worse than the business is. I home to Sir W. Batten's again, where Sir J. Lawson, Captain Allen,

Spragg,<sup>1</sup> and several others, and all our discourse about the disgrace done to our office, to be liable to this trouble, which we must get removed. Hither comes Mr. Clerke by and by, and tells me that he hath paid the fees of the Court for the commission; but the men are not contented with under £5 for their charges, which he will not give them, and therefore advises me not to stir abroad till Monday, that he comes or sends to me again, whereby I shall not be able to go to White Hall to the Duke of York, as I ought. Here I stayed vexing, and yet pleased to see everybody for me, man, woman, and child, my Lady and Mr. Turner especially for me; and so home, where my people are mightily surprised to see this business; but it troubles me not very much, it being nothing touching my particular person or estate. Sir W. Batten tells me that little is done yet in the Parliament-house, but only this day it was moved and ordered that all the members of the House do subscribe to the renouncing of the Covenant, which, it is thought, will try some of them. There is also a bill brought in for the wearing of nothing but cloth or stuffs of our own manufacture, and is likely to be passed. Among other talk this evening, my Lady did speak concerning Commissioner Pett's calling the present King bastard, and other high words heretofore: and Sir W. Batten did tell us that he did give the Duke or Mr. Coventry an account of that and other like matters in writing, under oath, of which I was ashamed, and for which I was sorry.

22d. (Lord's day.) Went not out all the day; but after dinner to Sir W. Batten's and Sir W. Pen's, where discoursing much of yesterday's trouble and scandal; but that which troubled me most was Sir J. Minnes coming from Court at night, and instead of bringing great comfort from thence (but I expected no better from him), he tells me that the Duke and Mr. Coventry make no great matter of it.

23d. Up betimes; and not daring to go by land, did, Griffin going along with me for fear, slip to White Hall by water; where to Mr. Coventry, and, as we used to do, to the Duke; the other of my fellows being come. But we said nothing of our business, the Duke being sent for to the King, that he could not stay to speak

<sup>1</sup> Edward Spragge, knighted for his gallant conduct, as a captain in the first sea-fight with the Dutch in 1665. After rendering many important naval services to his country, he was unfortunately drowned, on 11th August 1673, whilst passing in a boat to the *Royal Charles*, from his own ship, which had been disabled in the action with Van Tromp. He lies buried in Westminster Abbey, without any memorial.

with us. This morning came my Lord Windsor to kiss the Duke's hand, being returned from Jamaica. He tells the Duke that from such a degree of latitude going thither he began to be sick, and was never well till his coming so far back again, and then presently begun to be well. He told the Duke of their taking the fort of Santiago, upon Cuba, with his men; but, upon the whole, I believe, that he did matters like a young lord, and was weary of being upon service out of his own country, where he might have pleasure. For methought it was a shame to see him this very afternoon, being the first day of his coming to town, to be at a playhouse. To my Lord Sandwich: it was a great trouble to me, and I had great apprehensions of it, that my Lord desired me to go to Westminster Hall, to the Parliament-house door, about business; and to Sir William Wheeler,<sup>1</sup> which I told him I would, but durst not go for fear of being taken by these rogues; but was forced to go to White Hall and take boat, and so land below the Tower at the Iron-gate, and so the back way over Little Tower Hill; and, with my cloak over my face, took one of the watermen along with me, and stayed behind a wall in the New-buildings behind our garden, while he went to see whether anybody stood within the Merchants' Gate, and there standing but a little dirty boy before the gate, did make me quake and sweat to think he might be a trepan. But there was nobody; and so I got safe into the garden, and, coming to open my office door, something behind it fell in the opening, which made me start. So that God knows in what a sad condition I should be if I were truly in debt: and therefore ought to bless God that I have no such real reason, and to endeavour to keep myself, by my good deportment and good husbandry, out of any such condition. At home I find by a note that Mr. Clerke, in my absence, hath left here, that I am free; and that he hath stopped all matters in Court; and I was very glad of it, and immediately had a light thought of taking pleasure to rejoice my heart, and so resolved to take my wife to a play at Court to-night, and the rather because it is my birthday, being this day thirty years old, for which let me praise God. While my wife dressed herself, Creed and I walked out to see what play was acted to-day, and we find it 'The Slighted Maid.'<sup>2</sup> But, Lord!

<sup>1</sup> Sir William Wheeler, of Westminster, was created a baronet 11th August 1660, with remainder to his cousin, Charles Wheeler, who succeeded to the honour, upon his death. He was then M.P. for Queenborough.

<sup>2</sup> A comedy by Sir Robert Stapylton, acted at Lincoln's Inn Fields.

to see that though I knew myself to be out of danger, yet I durst not go through the street, but round by the garden into Tower Street. To the Duke's house, where we saw it well acted, though the play hath little good in it, being most pleased to see the little girl dance in boy's apparel, she having very fine legs, only bends in the hams, as I perceive all women do. The play being done, we took coach, and to Court, and there saw 'The Wild Gallant'<sup>1</sup> performed by the King's house, but it was ill acted, and the play so poor a thing as I never saw in my life almost, and so little answering the name, that, from the beginning to the end, I could not, nor can at this time, tell certainly which was the Wild Gallant. The King did not seem pleased at all, the whole play, nor anybody else. My Lady Castlemaine was all worth seeing tonight, and little Stuart. Mrs. Wells do appear at Court again, and looks well; so that, it may be, the late report of laying the dropped child to her was not true. This day I was told that my Lady Castlemaine hath all the King's Christmas presents, made him by the peers, given to her, which is a most abominable thing; and that at the great ball she was much richer in jewels than the Queen and Duchess put both together.

24th. To my Lord. Among other things, he tells me, that he hears the Commons will not agree to the King's late declaration, nor will yield that the Papists have any ground given them to raise themselves up again in England, which I perceive by my Lord was expected at Court.

25th. The Commons in Parliament, I hear, are very high to stand to the Act of Uniformity, and will not indulge the Papists, which is endeavoured by the Court Party, nor the Presbyters.

26th. Sir W. Batten and I by water to the Parliament-house: he went in, and I walked up and down the Hall. All the news is the great odds yesterday in the votes between them that are for the Indulgence to the Papists and Presbyters, and those that are against it, which did carry it by 200 against 30. And pretty it is to consider how the King would appear to be a stiff Protestant and son of the Church; and yet willing to give a liberty to these people, because of his promise at Breda; and yet all the world do believe that the King would not have this liberty given them at all.

27th. About eleven o'clock Commissioner Pett and I walked to Surgeons' Hall, we being all invited thither, and promised to dine there, where we were led into the Theatre; and by and by comes

<sup>1</sup> Dryden's first play.



the reader, Dr. Tearne,<sup>1</sup> with the Master and Company, in a very handsome manner: and all being settled, he began his lecture; and his discourse being ended, we had a fine dinner and good learned company, many Doctors of Physic, and we used with extraordinary great respect. Among other observables, we drunk the King's health out of a gilt cup given by King Henry VIII to this Company, with bells hanging at it, which every man is to ring by shaking after he hath drunk up the whole cup. There is also a very excellent piece of the King, done by Holbein, stands up in the Hall, with the officers of the Company kneeling to him to receive their Charter. After dinner Dr. Scarborough took some of his friends, and I went with them, to see the body of a lusty fellow, a seaman, that was hanged for a robbery. I did touch the dead body with my bare hand: it felt cold, but methought it was a very unpleasant sight. It seems, one Dillon, of a great family, was, after much endeavours to have saved him, hanged with a silken halter this Sessions, of his own preparing, not for honour only, but it seems being soft and sleek, it do slip close and kills, that is, strangles presently: whereas a stiff one do not come so close together, and so the party may live the longer before killed. But all the Doctors at table conclude that there is no pain at all in hanging, for that it do stop the circulation of the blood; and so stops all sense and motion in an instant. Thence, with great satisfaction to me, back to the Company, and so to the afternoon lecture upon the heart and lungs, etc. To Sir W. Batten's, to speak upon some business, where I found Sir J. Minnes pretty well fuddled, I thought. He took me aside, to tell me how, being at my Lord Chancellor's today, my Lord told him that there was a Great Seal passing for Sir W. Pen, through the impossibility of the Comptroller's duty to be performed by one man, to be, as it were, joint-comptroller with him, at which he is stark mad, and swears he will give up his place. For my part, I do hope, when all is done, that my following my business will keep me secure against all their envies. But to see how the old man do strut, and swear that he understands all his duty as easily as crack a nut, and easier, he told my Lord Chancellor, for his teeth are gone; and that he understands it as well as any man in England; and that he will never leave to record that he should be said to be unable to do his duty alone; though, God knows, he cannot do it more than a child.

<sup>1</sup> Christopher Terne, of Leyden, M.D., originally of Cambridge, and Fellow of the College of Physicians: *ob.* 1673.

All this I am glad to see fall out between them, and myself safe, and yet I hope the King's service well done for all this, for I would not that should be hindered by any of our private differences.

28th. The House have this noon been with the King to give him their reasons for refusing to grant any indulgence to Presbyters or Papists; which he, with great content and seeming pleasure, took, saying that he doubted not but he and they should agree in all things, though there may seem a difference in judgment, he having writ and declared for an indulgence: and that he did believe never prince was happier in a House of Commons than he was in them. To my Lord Sandwich, who continues troubled with his cold. Our discourse most upon the outing of Sir R. Bernard and my Lord's being made Recorder [of Huntingdon] in his stead, which he seems well contented with, saying that it may be for his convenience to have the chief officer of the town dependant upon him, which is very true. At the Privy Seal I did see the docket by which Sir W. Pen is made the Comptroller's assistant, as Sir J. Minnes told me last night, which I must endeavour to prevent.

March 1st. (Lord's day.) To White Hall Chapel, where preached one Dr. Lewes, said heretofore to have been a great wit; but he read his sermon every word, and that so brokenly and low, that nobody could hear at any distance, nor I anything worth hearing that sat near. But, which was strange, he forgot to make any prayer before sermon, which all wonder at, but they impute it to his forgetfulness. After sermon a very fine anthem: so I up into the house among the courtiers, seeing the fine ladies, and, above all, my Lady Castlemaine, who is above all, that only she I can observe for true beauty. The King and Queen being set to dinner, I went to Mr. Fox's, and there dined with him. Much genteel company, and, among other things, I hear for certain that peace is concluded between the King of France and the Pope: and also I heard the reasons given by our Parliament yesterday to the King why they dissent from him in matter of Indulgence, which are very good quite through, and which I was glad to hear. Thence to my Lord Sandwich, who continues with a great cold, locked up; and, being alone, we fell into discourse of my uncle the Captain's death and estate, and I took the opportunity of telling my Lord how matters stand, and read his will, and told him all, what a poor estate he hath left, at all which he wonders strangely, which he may well do. Thence after singing some new tunes with W. Howe I walked home, whither came William Joyce, whom I have not seen

here a great while, nor desire it a great while again, he is so impertinent a coxcomb, and yet good natured. He gone, we all to bed, without prayers, it being washing day tomorrow.

2d. With Commissioner Pett to Deptford, and there took the Jemmy yacht down to Woolwich, and so went down four or five miles with extraordinary pleasure, it being a fine day and a brave gale of wind, and had some oysters brought us aboard, newly taken, which were excellent, and eat with great pleasure. There also coming into the river two Dutchmen, we sent a couple of men on board and bought three Holland cheeses, cost 4*d.* apiece, excellent cheeses, whereof I had two and Commissioner Pett one. So back again to Woolwich, and after dinner went and saw the Royal James brought down to the stern of the dock, the main business we came for, and then to the Ropeyard and saw a trial between Riga hemp and a sort of Indian grass, which is pretty strong, but no comparison between it and the other for strength. Home, where I found my poor wife all alone at work, and the house foul, it being washing day.

3d. (Shrove Tuesday.) At noon, by promise, Mrs. Turner and her daughter and Mrs. Morrice came along with Roger Pepys to dinner. We were as merry as I could be, having but a bad dinner for them; but so much the better, because of the dinner which I must have at the end of this month. And here Mrs. The. showed me my name upon her breast as her Valentine, which will cost me 2*s.* After dinner I took them down into the wine-cellar, and broached my tierce of claret for them. This afternoon Roger Pepys tells me, that for certain the King is for all this very highly incensed at the Parliament's late opposing the Indulgence, which I am sorry for and fear it will breed great discontent.

5th. To the Lobby and spoke with my cousin Roger, who is going to Cambridge tomorrow. In the Hall I do hear that the Catholics are in great hopes for all this, and do set hard upon the King to get Indulgence. Matters, I hear, are all naught in Ireland, and the people, that is, the Papists, do cry out against the Commissioners sent by the King; so that they say the English interest will be lost there. To see my Lord Sandwich, who I found very ill, and by his cold being several nights hindered from sleep, he is hardly able to open his eyes, and is very weak and sad upon it, which troubled me much. I do find that I shall meet with nothing to oppose my growing great in the office but Sir W. Pen, who comes into the office very brisk, and to get up his time that he has

been out of the way by being mighty diligent, but I hope by mine to weary him out, for I am resolved to fall to business as hard as I can drive.

6th. Up betimes, and about three o'clock by coach with four horses with Sir J. Minnes and Sir W. Batten to Woolwich, a pleasant day; and so into Mr. Falconer's, where we had some fish, which we brought with us dressed; and there dined with us his new wife, which had been his maid but seems to be a genteel woman, well enough bred and discreet. This evening Mr. Povy tells me that my Lord Sandwich is this day so ill that he is much afraid of him, which puts me to great pain, not more for my own sake than for his poor family's.

7th. At noon Sir W. Pen began to talk with me like a counterfeited rogue very kindly about his house and getting bills signed for all our works; but he is a cheating fellow, and as I let him talk and answered nothing. The Turners come on foot in a frolic to beg me to get a place at sea for John, their man, which is a rogue; but, however it may be, the sea may do him good in reclaiming him, and therefore I will see what I can do. She dined with me; and after dinner I took coach and carried her home; in our way, in Cheapside, lighting and giving her a dozen pair of white gloves as my Valentine. Thence to my Lord Sandwich, who is gone to Sir W. Wheeler's for his more quiet being, where he slept well last night; and I took him, very merry, playing at cards and much company with him. Creed told me how for some words of my Lady Gerard's against my Lady Castlemaine to the Queen the King did the other day affront her in going out to dance with her at a ball, when she desired it as the ladies do, and is since forbid attending the Queen by the King; which is much talked of, my Lord her husband being a great favourite.

8th. (Lord's day.) To White Hall today: I heard Dr. King, Bishop of Chichester, make a good and eloquent sermon upon these words: 'They that sow in tears shall reap in joy.' Thence, the chapel in Lent being hung with black, and no anthem sung after sermon, as at other times, to my Lord Sandwich at Sir W. Wheeler's. I found him out of order, thinking himself to be in a fit of ague, but in the afternoon he was very cheery. After dinner up to my Lord, there being Mr. Rumball. My Lord, among other discourse, did tell us of his great difficulties passed in the business of the Sound, and of his receiving letters from the King there, but his sending them by Whetstone was a great folly;

and the story how my Lord being at dinner with Sidney,<sup>1</sup> one of his fellow plenipotentiaries and his mortal enemy, did see Whetstone, and put off his hat three times to him, but the fellow would not be known, which my Lord imputed to his coxcomby humour, of which he was full, and bid Sidney take notice of him too, when, at the very time he had letters<sup>2</sup> in his pocket from the King, as it proved afterwards. And Sidney afterwards did find it out at Copenhagen, the Dutch Commissioners telling him how my Lord Sandwich had desired one of their ships to carry back Whetstone to Lubeck, he being come from Flanders from the King. But I cannot but remember my Lord's equanimity in all these affairs with admiration.

9th. About noon Sir J. Robinson, Lord Mayor, desiring way through the garden from the Tower, called in at the office, and there invited me and Sir W. Pen, who happened to be in the way, to dinner, which we did; and there had a great Lent dinner of fish, little flesh. There dined with us today Mr. Slingsby of the Mint, who showed us all the new pieces, both gold and silver, examples of them all, that were made for the King by Blondeau's way; and compared them with those made for Oliver. The pictures of the latter made by Simons,<sup>3</sup> and of the King by one Rotier,<sup>4</sup> a German, I think, that dined with us also. He extols those of Rotier above the others; and, indeed, I think they are the better, because the sweeter of the two; but, upon my word, those of the Protector are more like, in my mind, than the King's, but both very well worth seeing. The crowns of Cromwell are now sold, it seems, for 25s. and 30s. apiece.

10th. Dined upon a poor Lenten dinner at home, my wife being vexed at a fray this morning with my Lady Batten about my boy's going thither to turn the water-cock with their maid's leave; but my Lady was mighty high upon it and she would teach his mistress better manners, which my wife answered aloud that she might hear, that she could learn little manners of her.

11th. News by Mr. Wood that Butler, our chief witness against

<sup>1</sup> The well-known Algernon Sidney, one of the ambassadors sent to Sweden and Denmark by Richard Cromwell.

<sup>2</sup> These letters are in Thurloe's *State Papers*, vol. vii. One was from the king, the other from Chancellor Hyde.

<sup>3</sup> Thomas Simon, an engraver of coins and medals, and the greatest of English die-sinkers: *ob.* 1665.

<sup>4</sup> There were three brothers named Roettiers, all medallists; Philip introduced the likeness of Frances Stuart in the figure of Britannia.

Field, was sent by him to New England contrary to our desire, which made me mad almost; and so Sir J. Minnes, Sir W. Pen, and I dined together at Trinity House. However, in the afternoon Wood sends us word that he has appointed another to go, who shall overtake the ship in the Downs.

12th. My uncle Thomas and his son do order their tenants to pay their rents to us, which pleases me well. To the office where, at the choice of masters and surgeons for the fleet now going out, I did my business as I could wish, both for the persons I had a mind to serve, and in getting the warrants signed drawn by my clerks, which I was afraid of. Home, where I found Mary Ashwell came to live with us, of whom I hope well. She is not proud, but will do what she is bid; but for want of being abroad knows not how to give the respect to her mistress as she will do when she is told it, she having been used only to little children, and there was a kind of mistress over them.

13th. To Mrs. Hunt's, and there found my wife, and so took them up by coach, and carried them to Hyde Park, where store of coaches and good faces.

14th. All the afternoon giving masters their warrants for this voyage, for which I hope hereafter to get something at their coming home. In the evening my wife and I and Ashwell walked in the garden, and I find she is a pretty ingenious girl at all sorts of fine work, which pleases me very well; and I hope it will be very good entertainment for my wife without much cost.

15th. (Lord's day.) Up, and with my wife and Ashwell the first time to church, where our pew so full with Sir J. Minnes's sister and her daughter, that I perceive, when we come altogether, some of us must be shut out; but I suppose we shall come to some order what to do therein.

16th. To the Duke, where we met of course and talked of our Navy matters. Then to the Commission of Tangier and there had my Lord Peterborough's Commission read over; and Mr. Secretary Bennet did make his queries upon it in order to the drawing one for my Lord Rutherford more regularly, that being a very extravagant thing. Here long discoursing upon my Lord Rutherford's despatch, and so broke up. Mr. Coventry and I walked half an hour in the long stone gallery where we discoursed of many things, among others how the Treasurer doth intend to come to pay in course, which is the thing of the world that will do the King the greatest service in the Navy, and which joys my heart

to hear of. He tells me of the business of Sir J. Minnes and Sir W. Pen; which, he said, was chiefly to make Mr. Pett's being joined with Sir W. Batten to go down the better. And how he well sees that neither one nor the other can do their duties without help. To my wife at my Lord's lodgings, where I heard Ashwell play first upon the harpsichon, and I find she do play pretty well. Thence home by coach, buying at the Temple the printed virginal book for her.

17th. To St. Margaret's Hill in Southwark, where the Judge of the Admiralty came,<sup>1</sup> and the rest of the Doctors of the Civil law, and some other Commissioners, whose Commission of Oyer and Terminer was read, and then the charge, given by Dr. Exton,<sup>2</sup> which methought was somewhat dull, though he would seem to intend it to be very rhetorical, saying that Justice had two wings, one of which spread itself over the land, and the other over the water, which was this Admiralty Court. That being done and the jury called, they broke up, and to dinner to a tavern hard by, where a great dinner and I with them; but I perceive that this Court is yet but in its infancy, as to its rising again, and their design and consultation was—I could overhear them—how to proceed with the most solemnity, and spend time, there being only two businesses to do, which of themselves could not spend much time. In the afternoon to the court again, where, first, Abraham, the boatswain of the King's pleasure-boat, was tried for drowning a man; and next, Turpin, accused by our wicked rogue Field for stealing the King's timber; but, after full examination, they were both acquitted, and as I was glad of the first, for the saving the man's life; so I did take the other as a very good fortune to us; for, if Turpin had been found guilty, it would have sounded very ill in the ears of all the world, in the business between Field and us. Sir W. Batten and I to my Lord Mayor's, where we found my Lord with Colonel Strangways<sup>3</sup> and Sir Richard Floyd,<sup>4</sup> Parliament-men, in the cellar drinking, where we sat with them, and then up; and by and by comes in Sir Richard Ford. In our drinking, which was always going, we had many discourses, but from all of them I do find Sir R. Ford a very able man of his brains

<sup>1</sup> The old Admiralty Court, then held at Marshalsea, and finally abolished 31st December 1849.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Thomas Exton, Dean of the Arches, and Judge of the Admiralty Court.

<sup>3</sup> Giles Strangways, M.P. for Dorsetshire.

<sup>4</sup> Probably Sir Richard Lloyd, M.P. for Radnorshire.

and tongue, and a scholar. But my Lord Mayor a talking, bragging bufflehead, a fellow that would be thought to have led all the City in the great business of bringing in the King, and that nobody understood his plots, and the dark lanthorn he walked by; but he led them and ploughed with them as oxen and asses (his own words), to do what he had a mind: when in every discourse I observe him to be as very a coxcomb as I could have thought had been in the City. But he is resolved to do great matters in pulling down the shops quite through the City, as he hath done in many places, and will make a through passage quite through the City, through Cannon Street, which indeed will be very fine. And then his precept, which he, in vainglory, said he had drawn up himself, and hath printed it, against coachmen and carmen affronting of the gentry in the street; it is drawn so like a fool, and some faults were openly found in it, that I believe he will have so much wit as not to proceed upon it, though it be printed. Here we stayed talking till eleven at night, Sir R. Ford breaking to my Lord Mayor our business of our patent to be Justices of the Peace in the City, which he stuck at mightily; but, however, Sir R. Ford knows him to be a fool, and so in his discourse he made him appear, and cajoled him into a consent to it: but so as I believe when he comes to his right mind tomorrow, he will be of another opinion: and though Sir R. Ford moved it very weightily and neatly, yet I had rather it had been spared now. But to see how he do rant, and pretends to sway all the City in the Court of Aldermen, and says plainly that they cannot do, nor will he suffer them to do, anything but what he pleases; nor is there any officer of the City but of his putting in; nor any man that could have kept the City for the King thus well and long but him. And if the country can be preserved, he will undertake that the City shall not dare to stir again. When I am confident there is no man almost in the City cares for him, nor hath he brains to outwit any ordinary tradesman.

18th. This day my triangle, which was put in tune yesterday, did please me very well—Ashwell playing upon it pretty well.

19th. To Woolwich, and so to Greenwich, and Deptford, where I see the people begin to value me as they do the rest. After doing my own business in my office, writing letters, &c., home to supper and to bed, being weary and vexed that I do not find other people so willing to do business as myself, when I have taken pains to find out what in the yards is wanting and fitting to be done.



20th. In Fleet Street, bought me a little sword with gilt handle, cost 23s., and silk stockings to the colour of my riding-cloth suit cost 15s., and bought me a belt there too, cost 15s. Meeting with Mr. Kirton's kinsman in Paul's Church-yard, he and I to a coffee-house; where I hear how there had like to have been a surprisal of Dublin by some discontented Protestants, and other things of like nature; and it seems the Commissioners have carried themselves so high for the Papists that the others will not endure it. Hewlett and some others are taken and clapped up; and they say the King hath sent over to dissolve the Parliament there, who went very high against the Commissioners. Pray God send all well!

21st. By appointment our full board met, and Sir Philip Warwick and Sir Robert Long<sup>1</sup> came from my Lord Treasurer to speak with us about the state of the debts of the Navy, and how to settle it, so as to begin upon the new foundation of £200,000 per annum, which the King is now resolved not to exceed.

22d. (Lord's day.) Wrote out our bill for the Parliament about our being made Justices of Peace in the City. So to church, where a dull formal fellow that prayed for the Right Hon. John Lord Berkeley, Lord President of Connaught, etc. To my Lord Sandwich, and with him talking a good while. Thence with Mr. Creed to Captain Ferrers's, where many fine ladies; the house well and prettily furnished. She lies in, in great state, Mr. G. Montagu, Colonel Williams,<sup>2</sup> Cromwell that was, and Mrs. Wright, as proxy for my Lady Jemimah, were witnesses. Very pretty and plentiful entertainment. My coach cost me 7s. This day, though I was merry enough, yet I could not get yesterday's quarrel with Captain Holmes<sup>3</sup> out of my mind, and a natural fear of being challenged by

<sup>1</sup> Sir Robert Long, who came of an ancient family in Wiltshire, had been secretary to Charles II during his exile, and was subsequently made Auditor of the Exchequer, and a Privy Councillor, and created a baronet in 1662, with remainder to his nephew James. He died unmarried in 1673.

<sup>2</sup> Colonel Williams, 'Cromwell that was,' appears to have been Henry Cromwell, grandson of Sir Oliver Cromwell, and first cousin, once removed, to the Protector. He served in several Parliaments for Huntingdonshire, voting, in 1660, for the restoration of the monarchy: and as he knew the name of Cromwell would not be grateful to the court, he disused it and assumed that of Williams, which had belonged to his ancestors; and he is so styled in a list of knights of the proposed Order of the Royal Oak. He died at Huntingdon, 3rd August 1673.

<sup>3</sup> See 24th March below. Cooper taught Pepys arithmetic, and Pepys got him appointed Master of the Reserve, from which office Captain Holmes wanted him summarily dismissed. Pepys opposed his discharge without hearing his defence.

him for the words I did give him, though nothing but what did become me as a principal officer.

23d. To Whitehall, being fearful almost, so poor a spirit I have, of meeting Captain Holmes. By and by the Duke comes, and we with him about our usual business, and then the Committee for Tangier where Sir R. Ford, Sir W. Rider, and I were chosen to bring in some laws for the civil government of it, which I am little able to do, but I shall learn something of them. Thence to see my Lord Sandwich, and who should I meet at the door but Captain Holmes? We fell to discourse, and he did as good as desire excuse for the high words that did pass in his heat the other day, which I was willing enough to close with. This day Greatorex brought me a very pretty weather-glass for heat and cold.

24th. To my office, where we sat, and, among other things, had Cooper's tried against Captain Holmes, but I find Cooper a fuddling, troublesome fellow, though a good artist, and so am contented to have him turned out of his place, nor did I see reason to say one word against it, though I know what they did against him was with great envy and pride.

25th. To the Sun tavern, to my Lord Rutherford, and dined with him and some others, his officers, and Scotch gentlemen, of fine discourse and education. My Lord used me with great respect, and discoursed upon his business as with one that he did esteem. By and by he went away, forgetting to take leave of me, my back being turned, looking upon the aviary, which is there very pretty, and the birds begin to sing well this spring. This evening came Captain Grove about hiring ships for Tangier. I did hint to him my desire that I could make some lawful profit thereof, which he promises.

26th. This day is five years since it pleased God to preserve me at my being cut of the stone, of which I bless God I am in all respects well. This morning came a new cook-maid at £4 per annum, the first time I ever did give so much. She did live last at my Lord Monk's house, and indeed at dinner did get what there was very prettily ready and neat for me.

27th. With Creed into Fleet Street, and thence with a friend of Captain Ferrers's, they would have gone to some gaming house; but I would not, but parted, and staying a little in Paul's Church-yard at the foreign booksellers, looking over some Spanish books, and with much ado keeping myself from laying out money, I got home.

28th. To Deptford. So home, and after a little while hearing

Ashwell play on the triangle, to my office, and there late writing a chiding letter to my father about his being so unwilling to come to an account with me.

29th. (Lord's day.) After dinner in comes Mr. Moore, and sat and talked with us a good while; among other things telling me that neither my Lord nor he are under apprehensions of the late discourse in the House of Commons concerning resumption of Crown lands. I find myself fully worth £670.

April 1st. I went to the Temple, to my cousin Roger Pepys, to see and talk with him a little. Calling at my brother's they tell me that my father is not yet up. At which I wondered, not thinking that he was come. So I up to his bed-side and stayed an hour or two talking with him. He tells me how unquiet my mother is grown, that he is not able to live almost with her, if it were not for Pall. Home, calling on the virginal-maker, buying a wrest for myself to tune my triangle, and taking one of his people along with me to put it in tune once more, by which I learned how to go about it myself for the time to come. To my office all the afternoon: Lord! how Sir J. Minnes like a mad coxcomb did swear and stamp, swearing that Commissioner Pett hath still the old heart against the King that ever he had, and that this was his envy against his brother that was to build the ship, and all the damnable reproaches in the world, at which I was ashamed, but said little; but, upon the whole, I find him still a fool, led by the nose with stories told by Sir W. Batten, whether with or without reason. So, vexed in my mind to see things ordered so unlike gentlemen or men of reason, I went home and to bed.

2d. Sir W. Pen took occasion to speak about my wife's strangeness to him and his daughter, and that believing at last that it was from his taking of Sarah to be his maid, he hath now put her away, at which I am glad.

3d. To White Hall and to chapel, which being most monstrous full, I could not go into my pew, but sat among the choir. Dr. Creeton, the Scotchman, preached a most admirable, good, learned, and most severe sermon, yet comical, upon the words of the woman, 'Blessed is the womb that bare Thee, and the paps that gave Thee suck: and He answered, Nay: rather is he blessed that heareth the word of God and keepeth it.' He railed bitterly ever and anon against John Calvin and his brood, the Presbyterians, and against the present term, now in use, of 'tender consciences.' He ripped up Hugh Peters (calling him the execrable

skellum<sup>1</sup>), his preaching, stirring up the maids of the City to bring in their bodkins and thimbles. Thence going out of White-Hall, I met Captain Grove, who did give me a letter directed to myself from himself. I discerned money to be in it, and took it, knowing as I found it to be, the proceed of the place I have got him to be, the taking up of vessels for Tangier. But I did not open it till I came home to my office, and then I broke it open—not looking into it till all the money was out, that I might say I saw no money in the paper, if ever I should be questioned about it. There was a piece in gold, and £4 in silver. After dinner up to my triangle, where I found that above my expectation Ashwell has very good principles of music. To the Tangier Committee, where we find ourselves at a great stand; the establishment being but £70,000 per annum, and the forces to be kept in the town at the least estimate that my Lord Rutherford can be got to bring is £53,000. The charge of this year's work of the Mole will be £13,000; besides £1000 a year to my Lord Peterborough as a pension, and the fortifications and contingencies, which puts us to a great stand. I find at Court that there is some bad news from Ireland of an insurrection of the Catholics there, which puts them into an alarm. I hear also in the City that for certain there is an embargo upon all our ships in Spain, upon this action of my Lord Windsor's at Cuba, which signifies little or nothing, but only he hath a mind to say he hath done something before he comes back again.

4th. To my office. Home to dinner, whither by and by comes Roger Pepys, Mrs. Turner and her daughter, Joyce Norton, a young lady, a daughter of Col. Cocker, my uncle Wight, his wife, and Mrs. Annie Wight. This being my feast in lieu of what I should have had a few days ago for my cutting of the stone, for which the Lord make me truly thankful. Very merry at, before, and after dinner, and the more for that my dinner was great, and most neatly dressed by our own only maid. We had a fricassee of rabbits and chickens, a leg of mutton boiled, three carps in a dish, a great dish of a side of lamb, a dish of roasted pigeons, a dish of four lobsters, three tarts, a lamprey pie (a most rare pie), a dish of anchovies, a good wine of several sorts, and all things mighty noble and to my great content. After dinner to Hyde Park; my aunt, Mrs. Wight, and I in one coach, and all the rest of the women in Mrs. Turner's; Roger being gone in haste to the Parliament about the carrying this business of the Papists, in which it seems there is a great

<sup>1</sup> Rogue, rascal.

contest on both sides. At the Park was the King, and in another coach my Lady Castlemaine, they greeting one another at every tour.

5th. Spent the morning till the barber came reading in my chamber Osborne's advice to his son, and by and by to church. Home, and while dinner was prepared to my office. Then to church again, where a simple bawling young Scot preached.

6th. Made an end of reading the Journal of the Commissioners of the Navy, who begun to act in the year 1628, and continued six years, wherein is fine observations and precedents out of which I do purpose to make a good collection. To the Committee of Tangier, where I found, to my great joy, my Lord Sandwich, the first time I have seen him abroad these some months, being, it seems, this night to go to Kensington, or Chelsea, where he hath taken a lodging for a while to take the air.

7th. Sir J. Minnes did make a great complaint to me alone, how my clerk Mr. Hater had entered in one of the Sea books a ticket to have been signed by him before it had been examined, which makes the old fool mad almost, though there was upon enquiry the greatest reason in the world for it. Which, though it vexes me, yet it is most to see, from day to day what a coxcomb he is, and that so great a trust should lie in the hands of such a fool.

8th. By water to White Hall, to chapel; where preached Dr. Pierce, the famous man that preached the sermon, so much cried up, before the King against the Papists. His matter was the Devil tempting our Saviour, being carried into the Wilderness by the Spirit. And he hath as much of natural eloquence as most men that ever I heard in my life, mixed with so much learning. After sermon, I went up and saw the ceremony of the Bishop of Peterborough's paying homage upon the knee to the King, while Sir H. Bennet, Secretary, read the King's grant of the Bishopric of Lincoln, to which he is translated. His name is Dr. Lany.<sup>1</sup> Here I also saw the Duke of Monmouth, with his Order of the Garter, the first time I ever saw it. I hear that the University of Cambridge did treat him a little while since with all the honour possible, with a comedy at Trinity College, and banquet; and made him Master of Arts there: all which, they say, the King took very well, Dr. Rainbow,<sup>2</sup> Master of Magdalene, being now Vice-Chancellor.

<sup>1</sup> Benjamin Laney, S.T.P., Chaplain in Ordinary to Charles I, made Bishop of Peterborough 1660, translated to Lincoln 1663, and to Ely 1667: *ob.* 1675.

<sup>2</sup> Edward Rainbowe, Chaplain to the King, and Dean of Peterborough, and in 1664 Bishop of Carlisle: *ob.* 1684.

9th. Vexed to hear my wife tell me how our maid Mary do endeavour to corrupt our cook-maid, which did please me very well, but I am resolved to rid the house of her as soon as I can.

10th. After great expectation from Ireland and long stop of letters there is good news come, that all is quiet, though some stir hath been, as was reported. To the Royal Oak tavern, in Lombard Street, where Alexander Broome<sup>1</sup> the poet was, a merry and witty man, I believe, if he be not a little conceited. Then to my Lord's lodgings, met my wife, and walked to the New Exchange. There laid out 10s. upon pendants and painted leather gloves, very pretty and all the mode.

12th. (Lord's day.) Got a coach to Gray's Inn Walks, where some handsome faces. Coming home tonight, a drunken boy was carrying by our constable to our new pair of stocks to hansel them, being a new pair and very handsome.

13th. To the Tangier Committee, where we had very fine discourse from Dr. Walker and Wiseman,<sup>2</sup> civilians, against our erecting a court-merchant at Tangier, and well answered by my Lord Sandwich, whose speaking I never till now observed so much to be very good, and Sir R. Ford.

14th. By barge to Woolwich to see the Royal James launched, where she has been under repair a great while. Then to Mr. Falconer's, to a dinner of fish of our own sending, and when it was just ready to come upon the table word is brought that the King and Duke are come, so they all went away to show themselves, while I stayed and had a little dish or two by myself, and by the time I had dined they came again, having gone to little purpose, the King, I believe, taking little notice of them. I walked to Greenwich, studying the slide-rule for measuring of timber, which is very fine, and so home pretty weary. Sir G. Carteret tells me tonight that he perceives the Parliament is likely to make a great bustle before they will give the King any money; will call all things in question; and, above all, the expenses of the Navy; and do enquire into the King's expenses everywhere, and into the truth of the report of people being forced to sell their bills at 15 per cent loss in the Navy; and, lastly, that they are in a very angry pettish mood at present, and not likely to be better.

<sup>1</sup> Alexander Brome, an attorney in the Lord Mayor's Court, author of *Loyal Songs and Madrigals*, much sung by the Cavaliers, and of a translation of portions of Horace. His death is recorded in the *Diary* on 3rd July 1666.

<sup>2</sup> Afterwards Sir William Walker and Sir Robert Wiseman.

15th. Down the river with Maynes, the purveyor, to show a ship's lading of Norway goods. After dinner down to Deptford by land about looking out a couple of ketches to be speedily set forth. Walked back again, all the way reading of my book of timber measure, comparing it with my new sliding rule, with great pleasure. Home a little weary.

16th. Met to pass Mr. Pitt's (Sir J. Lawson's Secretary and Deputy Treasurer) accounts for the voyage last to the Straits, wherein the demands are strangely irregular, and I dare not oppose it alone; but God knows, it troubles my heart to see it, and to see the Comptroller, whose duty it is, to make no more matter of it.

17th. It being Good Friday, our dinner was only sugar-sops and fish; the only time that we have had a lenten dinner all this Lent. To Paul's Church-yard to cause the title of my English 'Mare Clausum' to be changed, and the new title, dedicated to the King, to be put to it, because I am ashamed to have the other seen, dedicated to the Commonwealth.

18th. Mr. Creed and I talking of the ill management of our office. I would I could make it better.

19th. (Easter-day.) Up, and this day put on my close-kneed coloured suit, which, with new stockings of the colour, with belt and new gilt-handled sword, is very handsome. To church, and after dinner to church again, where, the young Scotchman preaching, I slept all the while. After supper fell in discourse of dancing, and I find that Ashwell hath a very fine carriage, which makes my wife almost ashamed of herself to see herself so outdone, but tomorrow she begins to learn to dance for a month or two. Will being gone, with my leave, to his father's this day for a day or two, to take physic these holidays.

20th. To Mr. Grant's. There saw his prints, which he showed me, and indeed are the best collection of anything almost that ever I saw, there being the prints of most of the greatest houses, churches, and antiquities in Italy and France, and brave cuts. I had not time to look them over as I ought. With Sir G. Carteret and Sir John Minnes to my Lord Treasurer's, thinking to have spoken about getting money for paying the Yards; but we found him with some ladies at cards: and so, it being a bad time to speak, we parted. This day the little Duke of Monmouth was married at White Hall, in the King's chamber; and tonight is a great supper and dancing at his lodgings, near Charing Cross. I observed his coat at the tail of his coach: he gives the arms of England,

Scotland, and France quartered upon some other fields;<sup>1</sup> but what it is that speaks his being a bastard I know not.

21st. I ruled with red ink my English 'Mare Clausum,' which, with the new orthodox title, makes it now very handsome.

22d. To my uncle Wight's, by invitation, where we had but a poor dinner and not well dressed; besides, the very sight of my aunt's hands and greasy manner of carving did almost turn my stomach. After dinner, to the King's playhouse, where we saw but part of 'Wit without Money,'<sup>2</sup> which I do not like much, it costing me four half-crowns for myself and company.

23d. St. George's day and Coronation, the King and Court being at Windsor, at the installing of the King of Denmark by proxy, and the Duke of Monmouth. I, with my father, out all the morning looking over his country accounts. I find his spending hitherto has been at full £100 per annum, which troubles me, and I did let him apprehend it so that the poor man wept. At cards till late, and being at supper, my boy being sent for some mustard stayed half an hour in the streets, it seems at a bonfire, at which I was very angry, and resolve to beat him to-morrow.

24th. Up betimes, and with my salt eel went down in the parlour, and there got my boy and did beat him till I was fain to take breath two or three times; yet for all I am afraid it will make the boy never the better, he is grown so hardened in his tricks, which I am sorry for, he being capable of making a brave man, and is a boy that I and my wife love very well.

25th. In the evening merrily practising to dance, which my wife hath begun to learn this day of Mr. Pembleton, but I fear will hardly do any great good at it, because she is conceited that she do well already, though I think no such thing. At Westminster Hall this day I buy a book lately printed and licensed by Dr. Stradling,<sup>3</sup> the Bishop of London's chaplain, being a book discovering the practices and designs of the papists—a very good book; but, forasmuch as it touches one of the Queen-mother's father confessors, the Bishop, which troubles many good men and

<sup>1</sup> The arms granted to the Duke of Monmouth, 8th April 1665, were: Quarterly, i and iv; Ermine, on a pile *gu.* three lions passant guardant *or*; ii and iii, *or*, an inescutcheon of France, within a double tressure flory counter flory, *gu.* On 22nd April 1667, another grant was made to the duke of the arms of Charles II, with a baton sinister *arg.*; over all, an inescutcheon of Scott. It is quite clear that Pepys knew nothing of heraldry.

<sup>2</sup> A comedy by John Fletcher. Mohun played Valentine.

<sup>3</sup> George Stradling, D.D., in 1672 made Dean of Chichester: *ob.* 1688.



members of Parliament, hath called it in, which I am sorry for. Another book I bought, being a collection of many expressions of the great Presbyterian preachers upon public occasions in the late times against the King and his party, as some of Mr. Marshall, Case, Calamy, Baxter,<sup>1</sup> &c., which is good reading now, to see what they then did teach, and the people believe, and what they would seem to believe now. I did hear that the Queen is much grieved of late at the King's neglecting her, he not having supped once with her this quarter of a year, and almost every night with my Lady Castlemaine, who hath been with him this St. George's feast at Windsor, and came home with him last night; and, which is more, they say is removed as to her bed from her own home to a chamber in White Hall, next to the King's own; which I am sorry to hear, though I love her much.

26th. (Lord's day.) Tom coming, with whom I was angry for his botching my camlott coat, to tell me that my father was at our church, I got me ready, and had a very good sermon of a country minister upon 'How blessed a thing it is for brethren to live together in unity.' All the afternoon upon my accounts, and find myself worth full £700, it being the most I was ever worth. In the evening my wife, Ashwell, and the boy and I, and the dog over the water, and walked to Half-way house and beyond into the fields, gathering of cow-slips, and so to Half-way house, with some cold lamb we carried with us, and there supped, and had a most pleasant walk back again, Ashwell all along telling us some parts of their masque at Chelsea school, which was very pretty, and I find she hath a most prodigious memory, remembering so much of things acted six or seven years ago. So home, being sleepy, without prayers to bed, for which God forgive me!

27th. Will Griffin tells me this morning that Captain Browne, Sir W. Batten's brother-in-law, is dead of a blow given him two days ago by a seaman, a servant of his, being drunk, with a stone striking him on the forehead, for which I am sorry, he having a good woman and several small children. By water to White Hall, but found the Duke of York gone to St. James's for this summer; and thence with Mr. Coventry and Sir W. Pen up to the

<sup>1</sup> *'Evangelium Armatum.* A Specimen or Short Collection of several Doctrines and Positions destructive to our Government, both Civil and Ecclesiastical, preached and vented by the known leaders and abettors of the pretended Reformation, such as Mr. Calamy, Mr. Jenkins, Mr. Case, Mr. Baxter, Mr. Caryll, Mr. Marshall, and others.' London: Printed for William Garrett, 1663, 4to.

Duke's closet, and a good while with him about our Navy business. And so I to White Hall, and there a long while with my Lord Sandwich, discoursing about his debt to the Navy, wherein he hath given me some things to resolve him in. Home, where I found Mary gone from my wife, she being too high for her, though a very good servant; and my boy too will be going in a few days, for he is not for my family, he is grown so out of order and not to be ruled, and do himself desire to be gone, which I am sorry for because I love the boy, and would be glad to bring him to good. The Queen, which I did not know, it seems, was at Windsor at the late St. George's feast there; and the Duke of Monmouth dancing with her, with his hat in his hand, the King came in and kissed him and made him put on his hat, which everybody took notice of.

28th. To my office, only stepped up to see my wife and her dancing-master at it, and I think after all she will do pretty well.

29th. To Chelsea, where we found my Lord all alone at a little table with one joint of meat at dinner; we sat down and very merry talking; and mightily extolling the manner of his retirement, and the goodness of his diet: the mistress of the house, Mrs. Becke, having been a woman of good condition heretofore, a merchant's wife, and hath all things most excellently dressed; among others, her cakes admirable, and so good that my Lord's words were, they were fit to present to my Lady Castlemaine. From ordinary discourse my Lord fell to talk of other matters to me; and upon the whole, I do find that it is a troublesome thing for a man of any condition at Court to carry himself even, and without contracting enemies or enviers; and that much discretion and dissimulation is necessary to do it. Anon I took leave, and coming down found my father unexpectedly in great pain and desiring for God's sake to get him a bed to lie upon, which I did. And W. Howe and I stayed by him, in so great pain as I never saw, poor wretch, and with that patience, crying only: 'Terrible, terrible pain, God help me,' with the mournful voice that made my heart ache. He desired to rest alone a little to see whether it would abate, and W. Howe and I went down and walked in the gardens, which are very fine, and a pretty fountain, with which I was finely wetted, and up to a banqueting-house, with a very fine prospect, and so back to my father, who I found in such pain that I could not bear the sight of it without weeping. At last I got him to go to the coach, and driving hard, meeting in the way with Captain Ferrers going to

my Lord to tell him that my Lady Jemimah is come to town and that Will Stankes is come with my father's horses, we got home, and all helping, we got him to bed presently; and after half an hour's lying in his naked bed, he was at good ease, and so fell to sleep, and we went down whither W. Stankes was come. But it is very pleasant to hear how he rails at the rumbling and ado that is in London, over it is in the country, that he cannot endure it.

30th. To dinner, where Mrs. Hunt, my father, and W. Stankes; but, Lord! what a stir Stankes makes, with his being crowded in the streets, and wearied in walking in London, and would not be wooed by my wife and Ashwell to go to a play nor to White Hall, or to see the lions, though he was carried in a coach. I never could have thought there had been upon earth a man so little curious in the world as he is.

May 1st. After dinner I got my father, brother Tom, and myself together, and I advised my father to good husbandry, and to living within the compass of £50 a year, and all in such kind words, as not only made both them but myself to weep. That being done, we all took horse, and I, upon a horse hired of Mr. Game, saw him out of London at the end of Bishopsgate Street, and so I turned, and rode with some trouble through the fields, and then Holborn, &c., towards Hyde Park, whither all the world, I think, are going; and in my going, almost hither, met W. Howe coming, galloping upon a little crop black nag; it seems one that was taken in some ground of my Lord's, by some mischance being left by his master, a thief, this horse being found with black cloth ears on, and a false mane, having none of his own. And I back again with him to the Chequer at Charing Cross, and there put up my own dull jade, and by his advice saddled a delicate stone-horse of Captain Ferrers, and with that rid in state to the park, where none better mounted than I almost; but being in a throng of horses, seeing the King's riders showing tricks with their managed horses, which were very strange, my stone-horse was very troublesome, and begun to fight with other horses, to the dangering him and myself; and with much ado I got out, and kept myself out of harm's way. Here I saw nothing good—neither the King, nor my Lady Castlemaine, nor any great ladies or beauties being there, there being more pleasure a great deal at an ordinary day; or else those few good faces that there were choked up with the many bad ones, there being people of all sorts in coaches there, to some thousands, I think. Going thither in the highway, just by the

park gate, I met a boy in a sculler-boat, carried by a dozen people at least, rowing as hard as he could drive—it seems, upon some wager. By and by, about seven o'clock, homeward; and changing my horse again, I rode home, coaches going in great crowds to the further end of the town almost. In my way, in Leadenhall Street, there was morris-dancing, which I have not seen a great while. So set up my horse at Game's, paying 5s. for him, and went to hear Mrs. Turner's daughter play on the harpsichord; but, Lord! it was enough to make any man sick to hear her: yet I was forced to commend her highly. This day, Captain Grove sent me a side of pork, which was the oddest present, sure, that was ever made any man; and the next, I remember I told my wife, I believe would be a pound of candles or a shoulder of mutton; but the fellow do it in kindness, and is one I am beholden to. So to bed, very weary, and a little galled, for lack of riding, praying to God for a good journey to my father, of whom I am afraid, he being so lately ill.

2nd. I slept till almost seven o'clock, a thing I have not done many a day. So up and to my office, being come to some angry words with my wife about neglecting the keeping of the house clean, I calling her beggar, and she me pricklouse, which vexed me. Home to dinner, and very merry and well pleased with my wife.

3d. (Lord's day.) To church, where Sir W. Pen showed me the young lady which young Dawes,<sup>1</sup> that sits in the new corner-pew in the church, hath stole away from Sir Andrew Rickard,<sup>2</sup> her guardian, worth £1000 per annum, present, good land, and some money, and a very well-bred and handsome lady: he, I doubt, but a simple fellow. However, he got this good luck to get her, which methinks I could envy him with all my heart.

4th. The dancing-master came, whom standing by, seeing him instructing my wife, when he had done with her, he would needs have me try the steps of a coranto; and what with his desire and my wife's importunity, I did begin, and then was obliged to give

<sup>1</sup> John, son of Thomas Dawes, of Putney. He married Christian, daughter and heir of William Lygons, Esq., of Barking, Essex, and was created a baronet in June 1663. His third son, Sir William Dawes, became Archbishop of York.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Andrew Rickard, an eminent London merchant, chairman of the East India and Turkey companies: knighted, 10th July 1662. He was one of the principal inhabitants of St. Olave's, Hart Street, in the church of which parish he lies buried, and where his statue is still to be seen. He died 6th September 1672, *æt. suæ* 68. He was father-in-law to John, Lord Berkeley, of Stratton.

him entry money 10s., and am become his scholar. The truth is, I think it a thing very useful for a gentleman, and sometimes I may have occasion of using it; and though it cost me what I am heartily sorry it should, yet I will try it a little while; if I see it comes to any great inconvenience or charge I will fling it off. To St. James's, where Mr. Coventry, Sir W. Pen, and I stayed a good while for the Duke's coming in, but not coming, we walked to White Hall; and meeting the King, we followed him into the Park, where Mr. Coventry and he talking of building a new yacht which the King is resolved to have built out of his private purse, he having some contrivance of his own. The talk being done, we fell off to Whitehall, leaving the King in the Park; and going back, met the Duke going towards St. James's to meet us. So he turned back again, and to his closet at White Hall; and there, my Lord Sandwich present, we did our weekly errand, and so broke up; and I to the garden with my Lord Sandwich, after we had sat an hour at the Tangier Committee; and after talking largely of his own businesses, we began to talk how matters are at Court: and though he did not flatly tell me any such thing, yet I do suspect that all is not kind between the King and the Duke, and that the King's fondness to the little Duke do occasion it; and it may be that there is some fear of his being made heir to the Crown. But this my Lord did not tell me, but is my guess only; and that my Lord Chancellor is without doubt falling past hopes.

5th. Walked a good while up and down with Sir J. Minnes, he telling many old stories of the Navy, and of the state of the Navy at the beginning of the late troubles; and I am troubled at my heart to think, and shall hereafter cease to wonder, at the bad success of the King's cause, when such a knave as he, if it be true what he says, had the whole management of the fleet, and the design of putting out of my Lord Warwick,<sup>1</sup> and carrying the fleet to the King, wherein he failed most fatally, to the King's ruin. In the evening came Sir W. Warren, and he and I talked about merchandise, trade, and getting of money. I made it my business to enquire what way there is for a man bred like me to come to understand anything of trade. He did most discreetly answer me in all things, showing me the danger for me to meddle either in ships or merchandise of any sort or common stocks, but what I have to keep at interest, which is a good, quiet, and easy profit; and once in a

<sup>1</sup> Robert Rich, second Earl of Warwick of that family, admiral for the Parliament: *ob.* 1658.

little while something offers that with ready money you may make use of money to good profit. Wherein I concur much with him.

6th. To the Exchange with Creed, where we met Sir J. Minnes coming in his coach from Westminster, who tells us in great heat that the Parliament will make mad work; that they will render all men incapable of any military or civil employment that have borne arms in the late troubles against the King, excepting some persons; which, if it be so, as I hope it is not, will give great cause of discontent, and I doubt will have but bad effects. To the Trinity House, and there dined, where, among other discourse worth hearing among the old seamen, they tell us that they have catched often in Greenland in fishing whales with the iron grapnels that had formerly been struck into their bodies covered over with fat; that they have had eleven hogsheds of oil out of the tongue of a whale.

7th. Sir Thomas Crewe this day tells me that the Queen hearing that there was £40,000 per annum brought into her account among the other expenses of the Crown to the Committee of Parliament, she took order to let them know that she hath yet, for the payment of her whole family, received but £4000, which is a notable act of spirit, and I believe is true. To my Lord Crewe's, and there dined with him. He tells me of the order the House of Commons have made for the drawing an Act for the rendering none capable of preferment or employment in the State but who have been loyal and constant to the King and Church; which will be fatal to a great many, and makes me doubt lest I myself, with all my innocence during the late times, should be brought in, being employed in the Exchequer; but, I hope, God will provide for me.

8th. By water to the Strand, and there viewed the Queen-mother's works at Somerset House,<sup>1</sup> and thence to the new play-house, but could not get in to see it: so to visit my Lady Jemimah, who is grown much since I saw her; but lacks mightily to be brought into the fashion of the Court to set her off. Took my wife and Ashwell to the Theatre Royal, being the second day of its being opened. The house is made with extraordinary good contrivance, and yet hath some faults, as the narrowness of the passages in and out of the pit, and the distance from the stage to the boxes, which I am confident cannot hear; but for all other things it is well; only, above all, the music being below, and most of it sounding under the very stage, there is no hearing of the

<sup>1</sup> Somerset House was greatly improved for Henrietta Maria. The river front was built by Inigo Jones.

basses at all, nor very well of the trebles, which sure must be mended. The play was 'The Humorous Lieutenant,'<sup>1</sup> a play that hath little good in it, nor much in the very part which, by the King's command, Lacy now acts, instead of Clun. In the dance the tall devil's actions was very pretty. The play being done, we home by water, having been a little shamed that my wife and woman were in such a pickle, all the ladies being finer and better dressed in the pit than they used, I think, to be. To my office, to set down this day's passage, and, though my oath against going to plays do not oblige me against this house, because it was not then in being, yet, believing that at the time my meaning was against all public houses, I am resolved to deny myself the liberty of two plays at Court, which are in arrear to me for the months of March and April. At supper comes Pembleton, and afterwards we all up to dancing till late, and they say that I am like to make a dancer.

9th. To my office, whither sooner than usual comes Mr. Hater desiring to speak a word to me alone, which I was, from the disorder of his countenance, amused at; and so the poor man began telling me that by Providence, being the last Lord's day at a meeting of some Friends, they were surprised, and he carried to the Counter but afterwards released. However, hearing that Sir W. Batten do hear of it, he thought it good to give me an account of it, but it might tend to any prejudice to me. I was extraordinary surprised with it, and troubled for him, knowing that now it is out it is impossible to keep him in employment without danger to myself. I cast about all I could, and did give him the best advice I could, desiring to know if I should promise that he would not for the time to come commit the same, he told me he desired that I would rather forbear to promise that, for he durst not do it, and for my part he did bless God and thank me for all the love and kindness I have showed him hitherto. I could not without tears in my eyes discourse with him further, but at last did pitch upon telling the truth of the whole to Mr. Coventry. At Mr. Jervas's, my old barber, I did try two or three borders and periwigs, meaning to wear one; and yet I have no stomach for it, but that the pains of keeping my hair clean is so great. He trimmed me, and at last I parted, but my mind was almost altered from my first purpose, from the trouble that I foresee will be in wearing them also.

<sup>1</sup> By John Fletcher.

10th. (Lord's day.) Put on a black cloth suit, with white linings under all, as the fashion is to wear, to appear under the breeches. To St. James's, where I sat talking with Mr. Coventry about several businesses of the Navy, and afterwards, the Duke being gone, he and I walked to White Hall, I telling him what had happened to Tom Hater, at which he seems very sorry, but tells me that if it is not made very public, it will not be necessary to put him away at present. However, he will speak to the Duke about it and know his pleasure. I walked back to St. James's, and was there at mass, and was forced in the crowd to kneel down: and mass being done, to the King's Head ordinary, where many Parliament-men; and most of their talk was about the news from Scotland, that the Bishop of Galloway was besieged in his house by some woman, and had like to have been outraged, but I know not how he was secured; which is bad news, and looks just as it did in the beginning of the late troubles. From thence they talked of rebellion; and I perceive they make it their great maxim to be sure to master the City of London, whatever comes of it or from it. After that to some other discourse, and, among other things, talking of the way of ordinaries, that it is very convenient, because a man knows what he hath to pay: one did wish that, among many bad, we could learn two good things of France, which were that we would not think it below the gentleman or person of honour, at a tavern to bargain for his meat before he eats it; and next, to take no servant without certificate from some friend or gentleman of his good behaviour and abilities.

11th. On foot to Greenwich, where, going, I was set upon by a great dog, who got hold of my garters and might have done me hurt; but, Lord! to see in what a maze I was, that, having a sword about me, I never thought of it, or had the heart to make use of it, but might, for want of that courage, have been worried. With Sir W. Pen to St. James's, where we attended the Duke of York: and, among other things, Sir G. Carteret and I had a great dispute about the different value of the pieces of eight rated by Mr. Creed at 4s. and 5d., and by Mr. Pitts at 4s. and 9d., which was the greatest husbandry to the King? he persisting that the greatest sum was; which is as ridiculous a piece of ignorance as could be imagined. However, it is to be argued at the Board and reported to the Duke next week; which I shall do with advantage, I hope. I went homeward after a little discourse with Mr. Pierce, the surgeon, who tells me that my Lady Castlemaine hath now got lodgings



near the King's chamber at Court; and that the other day Dr. Clerke and he did dissect two bodies, a man and a woman, before the King, with which the King was highly pleased. I called upon Mr. Crumlum, and did give him the 10s. remaining not laid out, of the £5 I promised him for the school, with which he will buy strings and golden letters upon the books I did give them. So home, and finding Pembleton there we did dance till it was late, and so to supper and to bed.

12th. A little angry with my wife for minding nothing now but the dancing-master, having him come twice a day, which is folly.

13th. After dinner Pembleton came and I practised. But Lord! to see how my wife will not be thought to need telling by me or Ashwell, and yet will plead that she has learnt but a month, which causes many short fallings out between us.

14th. Met Mr. Moore; and with him to an ale-house in Holborn; where in discourse he told me that he fears the King will be tempted to endeavour the setting the Crown upon the little Duke, which may cause troubles; which God forbid, unless it be his due! He told me my Lord do begin to settle to business again, and that the King did send for him the other day to my Lady Castlemaine's to play at cards, where he lost £50; for which I am sorry, though he says my Lord was pleased at it, and said he would be glad at any time to lose £50 for the King to send for him to play, which I do not so well like. This day we received a basket from my sister Pall, made by her, of paper, which hath a great deal of labour in it for country innocent work.

15th. I walked in the Park, discoursing with the keeper of the Pall Mall, who was sweeping of it; who told me of what the earth is mixed that do floor the Mall, and that over all there is cockle-shells powdered, and spread to keep it fast; which, however, in dry weather, turns to dust and deads the ball. Thence to Mr. Coventry; and, sitting by his bedside, he did tell me that he sent for me to discourse upon my Lord Sandwich's allowances for his several pays, and what his thoughts are concerning his demands; which he could not take the freedom to do face to face, it being not so proper as by me: and did give me a most friendly and ingenuous account of all; telling me how unsafe, at this juncture, while every man's, and his actions particularly, are descanted upon, it is either for him to put the Duke upon doing, or my Lord himself to desire anything extraordinary, specially the King having been so

bountiful already; which the world takes notice of, even to some repinings. All which he did desire me to discourse to my Lord of; which I have undertaken to do. He told me that for Mr. Hater the Duke's word was in short that he found he had a good servant, an Anabaptist, and unless he did carry himself more to the scandal of the office, he would bear with his opinion till he heard further. At noon by coach to my Lord Crewe's, hearing that my Lord Sandwich dined there; where I told him what had passed between Mr. Coventry and myself; with which he was contented, though I could perceive not very well pleased. And I do believe that my Lord do find some other things go against his mind in the House; for, in the motion made the other day in the House by my Lord Bruce,<sup>1</sup> that none be capable of employment but such as have been loyal and constant to the King and Church, that the General<sup>2</sup> and my Lord were mentioned to be excepted; and my Lord Bruce did come since to my Lord, to clear himself that he meant nothing to his prejudice, nor could it have any such effect if he did mean it. After discourse with my Lord, to dinner with him; there dining there my Lord Montagu,<sup>3</sup> of Boughton, Mr. William Montagu,<sup>4</sup> his brother, the Queen's Solicitor, &c., and a fine dinner. Their talk about a ridiculous falling-out two days ago at my Lord of Oxford's house, at an entertainment of his, there being my Lord of Albemarle, Lindsey,<sup>5</sup> two of the Porters,<sup>6</sup> my Lord Bellasis, and others, where there were high words and some blows, and pulling off of periwigs; till my Lord Monk took away some of their swords and sent for some soldiers to guard the house till the fray was ended. To such a degree of madness the nobility of this age is come! After dinner I went up to Sir Thomas Crewe, who lies there not very well in his head, being troubled with vapours and fits of dizziness: and there I sat talking with him all the afternoon

<sup>1</sup> Robert Bruce, second Earl of Elgin, created, in 1664, Baron and Viscount Bruce, and Earl of Ailesbury (English honours). He was also a Privy Councillor, and one of the Lords of the King's Bedchamber. He died in 1685, just after his appointment as Lord Chamberlain to James II.

<sup>2</sup> Monk.

<sup>3</sup> Edward, second Lord Montagu of Boughton, in 1644 succeeded his father who had been created a baron by James I, and died 1684, leaving a son, afterwards Duke of Montagu.

<sup>4</sup> Afterwards Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer: *ob.* 1706, *æt.* 89.

<sup>5</sup> Montagu Bertie, second Earl of Lindsey, whose mother was Elizabeth, daughter of Edward, first Lord Montagu of Boughton.

<sup>6</sup> Charles and Thomas Porter. The latter was engaged in a fatal duel with Sir H. Bellasis.

from one discourse to another, the most was upon the unhappy posture of things at this time: that the King do mind nothing but pleasures, and hates the very sight or thoughts of business; that my Lady Castlemaine rules him, who, he says, hath all the tricks of Aretin. If any of the sober counsellors give him good advice, and move him in anything that is to his good and honour, the other part, which are his counsellors of pleasure, take him when he is with my Lady Castlemaine and in a humour of delight, and then persuade him that he ought not to hear nor listen to the advice of those old dotards or counsellors that were heretofore his enemies: when, God knows! it is they that nowadays do most study his honour. It seems the present favourites now are my Lord Bristol, Duke of Buckingham, Sir H. Bennet, my Lord Ashley, and Sir Charles Berkeley; who, among them, have cast my Lord Chancellor upon his back, past ever getting up again; there being now little for him to do, and he waits at Court attending to speak to the King as others do: which I pray God may prove of good effects, for it is feared it will be the same with my Lord Treasurer shortly. But strange to hear how my Lord Ashley, by my Lord Bristol's means (he being brought over to the Catholic party against the Bishops, whom he hates to the death, and publicly rails against them; not that he is become a Catholic, but merely opposes the Bishops; and yet, for aught I hear, the Bishop of London keeps as great with the King as ever) is got into favour, so much that, being a man of great business and yet of pleasure; and, drolling, too, he, it is thought, will be made Lord Treasurer upon the death or removal of the good old man.<sup>1</sup> My Lord Albemarle, I hear, do bear through and bustle among them, and will not be removed from the King's good opinion and favour, though none of the Cabinet; but yet he is envied enough. It is made very doubtful whether the King do not intend the making of the Duke of Monmouth legitimate; but surely the Commons of England will never do it, nor the Duke of York suffer it, whose Lady, I am told, is very troublesome to him by her jealousy. But it is wonderful that Sir Charles Berkeley should be so great still, not [only] with the King, but Duke also; who did so stiffly swear that he had lain with her. No care is observed to be taken of the main chance, either for maintaining of trade or opposing of factions, which, God knows, are ready to break out, if any of them, which God forbid! should dare to begin; the King and every man

<sup>1</sup> The Earl of Southampton.

about him minding so much their pleasures or profits. My Lord Hinchingbroke, I am told, hath had a mischance to kill his boy by his birding-piece going off as he was a-fowling. The gun was charged with small shot, and hit the boy in the face and about the temples, and he lived four days. In Scotland, it seems, for all the news-books tell us every week that they are all so quiet and everything in the Church settled, the old woman had like to have killed, the other day, the Bishop of Galloway, and not half the churches of the whole kingdom conform. Strange were the effects of the late thunder and lightning about a week since at Northampton, coming with great rain, which caused extraordinary floods in a few hours, bearing away bridges, drowning horses, men, and cattle. Two men passing over a bridge on horseback, the arches before and behind them were borne away, and that left which they were upon: but, however, one of the horses fell over and was drowned. Stacks of faggots carried as high as a steeple, and other dreadful things; which Sir Thomas Crewe showed me letters to him about from Mr. Freemantle and others, that it is very true. The Portugals have choused<sup>1</sup> us, it seems, in the island of Bombay, in the East Indies; for, after a great charge of our fleets being sent thither with full commission from the King of Portugal to receive it, the Governor, by some pretence or other, will not deliver it to Sir Abraham Shipman, sent from the King, nor to my Lord of Marlborough;<sup>2</sup> which the King takes highly ill, and I fear our Queen will fare the worse for it. The Dutch decay there exceedingly, it being believed that their people will revolt from them there, and they forced to give over their trade. Sir Thomas showed me his picture, and Sir Anthony Vandyck's, in crayon in little, done exceedingly well.

16th. After dinner comes Pemberton, and I being out of humour would not see him, pretending business, but Lord! with what jealousy did I walk up and down my chamber listening to hear whether they danced or no. So to my office awhile, and, my jealousy still reigning I went in, and did go up to them to practise, and did make an end of 'La Duchesse,'<sup>3</sup> which I think I should, with a little pains, do very well.

<sup>1</sup> Swindled. In 1609, a *chiaus* sent by Sir Robert Shirley, from Constantinople to London, had *chiaused* (or choused) the Turkish and Persian merchants out of £4,000, before the arrival of his employer, and had decamped.

<sup>2</sup> James Ley, third Earl of Marlborough, killed in the great sea fight with the Dutch, 1665.

<sup>3</sup> The name of a dance.

17th. (Lord's day.) Up, and in my chamber all the morning, preparing my great letters<sup>1</sup> to my father, stating to him the perfect condition of our estate.

18th. I walked to White Hall, and into the Park, seeing the Queen and maids of honour passing through the house, going to the Park. But, above all, Mrs. Stuart is a fine woman, and they say now a common mistress to the King, as my Lady Castlemaine is; which is a great pity. Taking a coach to Mrs. Clerke's, took her and my wife and Ashwell and a Frenchman, a kinsman of hers, to the Park, where we saw many fine faces, and one exceeding handsome, in a white dress over her head, with many others very beautiful. I carried Mrs. Clerke and her Frenchman home, and thence home ourselves, talking much of what we had observed today of the poor household stuff of Mrs. Clerke, and mere show and flutter that she makes in the world; and pleasing myself in my own house and manner of living more than ever I did, by seeing how much better and more substantially I live than others do.

19th. With Sir John Minnes to the Tower; and by Mr. Slingsby, and Mr. Howard, Comptroller of the Mint, we were shown the method of making this new money. That being done, the Comptroller would have us dine with him and his company, the King giving them a dinner every day. And very merry and good discourse upon the business we have been upon, and after dinner went to the Assay Office, and there saw the manner of assaying of gold and silver, and how silver melted down with gold do part, just being put into aqua fortis, the silver turning into water, which they can bring again into itself out of the water. And here I was made thoroughly to understand the business of the fineness and coarseness of metals, and have put down my lessons with my observations thereon. At table they told us of two cheats, the best I ever heard. One of a labourer discovered to convey away the bits of silver by swallowing them, and so they could not find him out, though, of course, they searched all the labourers: but, having reason to doubt him, they did, by threats and promises, get him to confess, and did find £7 of it in his house at one time. The other that got a way of coining as good and passable, and large as the true money is, and yet saved fifty per cent. to himself, which was by getting moulds made to stamp groats like old groats, which is done so well, and I did beg two of them, which I keep for

<sup>1</sup> The letters about the Brampton estate alluded to are in Rawlinson MSS. A 191.

rarities, that there is not better in the world, and is as good, nay, better than those that commonly go, which was the only thing that they could find out to doubt them by, besides the number that the party do go to put off, and then, coming to the Comptroller of the Mint, he could not, I say, find out any other thing to raise any doubt upon, but only their being so truly round or near it. He was neither hanged nor burned, the cheat was thought so ingenious, and being the first time they could ever trap him in it, and so little hurt to any man in it, the money being as good as commonly goes. The most observables in the making of money which I observed today, is the steps of their doing it.

(1) Before they do anything they assay the bullion, which is done, if it be gold, by taking an equal weight of that and of silver, of each a small weight, which they reckon to be half a pound troy; this they wrap up within lead. If it be silver, they put such a quantity of that alone and wrap it up in lead. And then putting them into little earthen cups made of stuff like tobacco pipes, and put them into a burning hot furnace, where, after a while, the whole body is melted, and at last the lead in both is sunk into the body of the cup, which carries away all the copper or dross with it, and left the pure gold or silver embodied together, and the silver alone, in these where it was put alone, in the leaden case. And to part the silver and the gold in the first experiment, they put the mixed body into a glass of aqua fortis, which separates them by spitting out the silver into such small parts that you cannot tell what it becomes, but turns into the very water and leaves the gold at the bottom clear of itself, with the silver wholly spit out, and yet the gold in the form that it was double together in when it was a mixed body of gold and silver, which is a great mystery. And after all this is done to get the silver together out of the water is as strange. But the nature of the assay is this: the piece of gold that goes into the furnace 12 oz., if it comes out again 11 oz., and the piece of silver which goes in 12, and comes out again 11 and 2 pennyweights, are just of the alloy of the standard of England. If it comes out, either of them, either the gold above 11 or the silver above 11 and 2 pennyweight, they are so much above the goodness of the standard, and so they know what proportion of worse gold and silver to put to such a quantity. If it comes out lighter, then such a weight is beneath the standard, and so requires such a proportion of fine metal. This is the difference of good and bad standards, and I think they said none but Seville is better than ours.

(2) They melt it into long plates.

(3) They draw these plates between rollers to bring them to an even thickness.

(4) They bring it to another pair of rollers which bring it to a greater exactness in its thickness.

(5) They cut them into round pieces, which they do with the greatest ease, speed, and exactness in the world.

(6) They weigh these, and where they find any to be too heavy they file them, which they call sizing them, or light they lay them by.

(7) These round pieces are sometimes a little swelling out or sinking in, and therefore they have a way of clapping a hundred or two together into an engine, which with a screw presses them so hard that they come out as flat as is possible.

(8) They bleach them.

(9) They mark the letters on the edges, which is kept as the great secret by Blondeau, who was not in the way, and so I did not speak with him to-day.

(10) They will then, that is, put on the marks on both sides at once, and then the money is perfect.

They now coin between 16 and 24,000 pounds in a week. At dinner they did discourse very finely to us of the probability that there is a vast deal of money hid in the land, from this: that in King Charles's time there was near ten millions of money coined, besides what was then in being of King James's and Queen Elizabeth's, of which there is a good deal at this day in being. Next, that there was but £750,000 coined of the Harp and Cross money,<sup>1</sup> and of this there was £500,000 brought in upon its being called in. And from very good arguments they find that there cannot be less of it in Ireland and Scotland than £100,000; so that there is but £150,000 missing; and of that, suppose that there should be not above £50,000 still remaining, either melted down, hid, or lost, or hoarded up in England, there will then be but £100,000 left to be thought to have been transported. Now, if £750,000 in twelve years' time lost but a £100,000 in danger of being transported, then £10,000,000 in thirty-five years' time will have lost but £3,888,880 and odd pounds; and, as there is £650,000 remaining after twelve years' time in England, so, after thirty-five years' time, which was

<sup>1</sup> This was the money coined by the Commonwealth, having on one side a shield bearing the Cross of St. George, and on the other a shield bearing a harp.

within this two years, there ought in proportion to have been resting £6,111,120 or thereabouts, beside King James's and Queen Elizabeth's money. Now, that most of this must be hid is evident, as they reckon, because of the dearth of money immediately upon the calling-in of the State's money, which was £500,000 that came in; and then there was not any money to be had in this City, which they say to their own observation and knowledge was so. And therefore, though I can say nothing in it myself, I do not dispute it.

20th. Going down by water to Woolwich took my wife and Ashwell, and going out met Mr. Howe, and took him with us. I went ashore at Greenwich and did my business at the yard, and so to Woolwich town, where at an ale-house I found them ready, and so took boat again, my walk being very pleasant among the green corn and peas, and most of the way sang, he and I, and eat some cold meat we had, and with great pleasure home. Pembleton coming, we danced a country dance or two and so broke up and to bed, my mind restless and like to be while she learns to dance.

21st. To dinner, my wife and I having high words about her dancing to that degree. To my office, where late, and then home; and Pembleton being there, we fell to dance and so to supper and to bed. But being at supper my wife did say something that caused me to oppose her in, she used the word 'devil' which vexed me, and among other things I said I would not have her to use that word, she took me up most scornfully, which, before Ashwell and the rest of the world, I know not nowadays how to check. So that I fear that without great discretion I shall go near to lose too my command over her, giving her this occasion of dancing and other pleasures, whereby her mind is taken up from her business and finds other sweets besides pleasing of me.

22d. Rundall, the house-carpenter at Deptford, hath sent me a fine blackbird. He tells me he was offered 20s. for him as he came along, he do so whistle. Busy all the morning learning to understand the course of the tides, and I think I do now do it. We walked pleasantly to Woolwich, in our way hearing the nightingales sing. To Deptford, and found Davis the store-keeper, a knave, and shuffling with Young and Whistler to abuse the King; but I hope I shall be even with them.

23d. Waked this morning between four and five by my blackbird, which whistles as well as ever I heard any; only it is the beginning of many tunes very well, but there leaves them, and goes



no further. To White Hall; where, in the Matted Gallery, Mr. Coventry was, who told us how the Parliament have required of Sir G. Carteret and him an account what money shall be necessary to be settled upon the Navy for the ordinary charge, which they intend to report £200,000 per annum. And how to allot this we met this afternoon, and took their papers for our perusal, and so we parted. There was walking in the gallery some of the Barbary company, and there we saw a draft of the arms of the company, which the King is of, and so is called the Royal Company<sup>1</sup>—which is, in a field argent an elephant proper, with a canton on which England and France is quartered, supported by two Moors. The crest an anchor winged, I think it is; and the motto too tedious:—‘*Regio floret patrocínio commercium, commercioque Regnum.*’ To Greatorex’s, and there he showed me his varnish, which he had invented, which appears every whit as good, upon a stick which he hath done, as the Indian, though it did not do very well upon my paper ruled with music lines, for it sunk and did not shine.

24th. Forbore going to church this morning. At noon, dinner, and my wife telling me there was a pretty lady come to church with Pegg Pen to-day, I against my intention had a mind to go to church to see her, and did so, and she is pretty handsome. My wife this evening discoursing of making clothes for the country, which I am against, pleading lack of money; but I am glad of it in some respects because of getting her out of the way from this fellow Pembleton.

25th. Meeting Mr. Lewis Phillips of Brampton, he, and afterwards others, tell me that news came last night to Court, that the King of France is sick of the spotted fever, and that they are struck in again; and this afternoon my Lord Mandeville is gone from the King to make him a visit; which will be great news, and of great import through Europe. By and by, in comes my Lord Sandwich: he told me this day a vote hath passed that the King’s grants of land to my Lord Monk and him should be made good; which pleases him very well. He also tells me that things do not go right in the House with Mr. Coventry; I suppose he means in the business of selling places; but I am sorry for it. Mr. Alsopp, the King’s brewer, tells me of a horse of his that lately, after four days’ pain, voided four stones, bigger than that I was cut of, very heavy,

<sup>1</sup> The Royal African or Guinea Company of Merchants. Their house was called the African House, and stood in Leadenhall Street.

and in the middle of each of them either a piece of iron or wood. The King has two of them in his closet, and a third the College of Physicians to keep for rarity.

27th. With Pett to my Lord Ashley, Chancellor of the Exchequer; where we met the auditors about settling the business of the accounts of persons to whom money is due before the King's time in the Navy, and the clearing of their imprests for what little of their debts they have received. I find my Lord, as he is reported, a very ready, quick, and diligent person. I met with my cousin Roger Pepys, and he tells me that, his sister Claxton now resolving to give over the keeping of his house at Impington, he thinks it fit to marry again, and would have me, by the help of my uncle Wight or others, to look him out a widow between thirty and forty years old, without children, and with a fortune, which he will answer in any degree with a jointure fit for her fortune. A woman sober, and no high-flyer, as he calls it. I demanded his estate. He tells me, which he says also he hath not done to any, that his estate is not full £800 per annum, but it is £780 per annum, of which £200 is by the death of his last wife, which he will allot for a jointure for a wife, but the rest, which lies in Cambridgeshire, he is resolved to leave entire for his eldest son. I undertook to do what I can in it, and so I shall. He tells me that the King hath sent to the Parliament to hasten to make an end by midsummer, because of his going into the country; so they have set upon four bills to dispatch. Into the Great Garden up to the Banqueting-house; and there by my Lord's glass we drew in the species<sup>1</sup> very pretty. Afterwards to ninepins, where I won a shilling, Creed and I playing against my Lord and Cooke. This day there was great thronging to Banstead Downs, upon a great horse race and foot-race. I am sorry I could not go thither. By and by comes Pembleton, and there we danced country dances, and single, my wife and I; and my wife paid him off for this month also, and so he is cleared.

28th. At the coffee-house in Exchange Alley, I bought a little book, 'Counsel to Builders,' by Sir Balth. Gerbier.<sup>2</sup> It is dedicated almost to all the men of any great condition in England, so that the

<sup>1</sup> This word is here used as an optical term, and signifies the image painted on the retina of the eye, and the rays of light reflected from the several points of the surface of objects.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Balthazar Gerbier, a native of Middelburg, who resided many years in this country, and died here in 1667.

Epistles are more than the book itself, and both it and them not worth a farthing. By water to the Royal Theatre; but that was so full they told us we could have no room. And so to the Duke's house; and there saw 'Hamlet' done, giving us fresh reason never to think enough of Betterton. Who should we see come upon the stage but Gosnell, my wife's maid, but neither spoke, danced, nor sung; which I was sorry for.

29th. This day is kept strictly as a holy day, being the King's Coronation. Creed and I abroad, and called at several churches; and it is a wonder to see, and by that to guess the ill temper of the City at this time, either to religion in general, or to the King, that in some churches there was hardly ten people, and those poor people. To the Royal Theatre, but they not acting today, then to the Duke's house, and there saw 'The Slighted Maid,'<sup>1</sup> wherein Gosnell acted Pyramena, a great part, and did it very well, and I believe will do it better and better, and prove a good actor. The play is not very excellent, but is well acted, and in general, the actors in all particulars are better than at the other house.

30th. To my brother, and there I found my aunt James, a poor, religious, well meaning, good soul, talking of nothing but God Almighty, and that with as much innocence that she mightily pleased me. Here was a fellow that said grace so long like a prayer; I believe the fellow is a cunning fellow, and yet I did give him a crown, he being in great want and a cousin of my poor aunt's, whose prayers, she told me, did do me good when I was cut of the stone; which I in complaisance did own, but, God forgive me, my mind was otherwise. I had a couple of lobsters and some wine for her.

31st. (Lord's day.) Lay long in bed talking with my wife, and do plainly see that her distaste against Ashwell arises from her jealousy of me and her, and my neglect of herself, which indeed is true and I to blame; but for the time to come I will take care to remedy all. After dinner read part of the new play of 'The Five Hours' Adventure,' which, though I have seen it twice, yet I never did admire or understand it enough—it being a play of the greatest plot that ever I expect to see. I to make up my month's accounts, and find myself clear worth £726. This month the greatest news is the height and heat that the Parliament is in, in enquiring into the revenue, which displeases the Court, and their backwardness

<sup>1</sup> By Sir Robert Stapylton.

to give the King any money. Their enquiring into the selling of places do trouble a great many; among the chief, my Lord Chancellor, against whom particularly it is carried, and Mr. Coventry; for which I am sorry. The King of France was given out to be poisoned and dead; but it proves to be the measles: and he is well, or likely to be soon well again. I find myself growing in the esteem and credit that I have in the office, and I hope falling to my business again will confirm me in it. Will having neglected to brush my clothes, I was very angry, and seeing him make little matter of it, I did give him a box on the ear, and had it been another day should have done more. This is the second time I ever struck him.

June 1st. The Duke having been a-hunting today, and so lately come home and gone to bed, we could not see him, and we walked away. And I with Sir J. Minnes to the Strand maypole; and there 'light out of his coach, and walked to the New Theatre, which, since the King's players are gone to the Royal one, is this day begun to be employed by the fencers to play prizes at. And here I came and saw the first prize I ever saw in my life: and it was between one Mathews, who did beat at all weapons, and one Westwick, who was soundly cut several times both in the head and legs, that he was all over blood: and other deadly blows they did give and take in very good earnest, till Westwick was in a most sad pickle. They fought at eight weapons, three bouts at each weapon. This being upon a private quarrel, they did it in good earnest; and I felt one of their swords, and found it to be very little, if at all, blunter on the edge than the common swords are. Strange to see what a deal of money is flung to them both upon the stage between every bout. But a woeful rude rabble there was, and such noises, made my head ache all this evening. So, well pleased for once with this sight, I walked home. This day I hear at Court of the great plot which was lately discovered in Ireland, made among the Presbyters and others, designing to cry up the Covenant and to secure Dublin Castle and other places; and they have debauched a good part of the army there, promising them ready money. Some of the Parliament there, they say, are guilty, and some withdrawn upon it; several persons taken, and among others a son of Scott's, that was executed here for the King's murder. What reason the King hath, I know not; but it seems he is doubtful of Scotland: and this afternoon when I was there the Council was called extraordinary, and they were opening the letters this last

post's coming and going between Scotland and us and other places. The King of France is well again.

2d. To St. James's, to Mr. Coventry where I had an hour's private talk with him concerning his own condition, at present being under the censure of the House, being concerned with others in the Bill for selling of offices. He tells me that though he thinks himself to suffer much in his fame hereby, yet he values nothing more of evil to hang over him; for that it is against no statute, as is pretended, no more than what his predecessors time out of mind have taken; and that so soon as he found himself to be in an error he did desire to have his fees set, which was done; and since that time he hath not taken a token more. He undertakes to prove that he did never take a token of any captain to get him employed in his life beforehand, or demanded anything: and for the other accusation that the Cavaliers are not employed, he looked over the list of them now in the service, and of the twenty-seven that are employed thirteen have been heretofore always under the King; two neutrals; and the other twelve men of great courage, and such as had either the King's particular commands or great recommendation to put them in, and none by himself. Besides that, he says it is not the King's nor Duke's opinion that the whole party of the late officers should be rendered desperate. And lastly, he confesses that the more of the Cavaliers are put in, the less of discipline hath followed in the fleet; and that whenever there comes occasion it must be the old ones that must do any good. He tells me that he cannot guess whom all this should come from; but he suspects Sir G. Carteret, as I also do, at least that he is pleased with it. But he tells me that he will bring Sir G. Carteret to be the first adviser and instructor of him what is to make his place of benefit to him; telling him that Smith did make his place worth £5,000, and he believed £7,000 to him the first year, besides something else greater than all this, which he forbore to tell me. It seems one Sir Thomas Tomkins,<sup>1</sup> of the House, that makes many mad motions, did bring it into the House, saying that a letter was left at his lodgings, subscribed by one Benson (which is a feigned name, for there is no such in the Navy), telling him how many places in the Navy have been sold. And by another letter, left in the same manner since, nobody appearing, he writes him that there is one Hughes and another Butler (both rogues, that

<sup>1</sup> M.P. for Weobly, and one of the proposed knights of the Royal Oak for Herefordshire.

have for their roguery been turned out of their places), that will swear that Mr. Coventry did sell their places and other things. I offered him my service, and will with all my heart serve him; but he tells me he do not think it convenient to meddle, or to any purpose, but is sensible of my love therein. So away to Westminster Hall, where I hear more of the plot from Ireland, which it seems hath been hatching, and known to the Lord Lieutenant a great while, and kept close till within three days that it should have taken effect. The term ended yesterday, and it seems the Courts rose sooner for want of causes than it is remembered to have done in the memory of man. To Mr. Beacham, the goldsmith, he being one of the jury tomorrow in Sir W. Batten's case against Field. I have been telling him our case, and I believe he will do us good service there. Tonight I took occasion with the vintner's man, who came by my direction to taste again my tierce of claret, to go down to the cellar with him to consult about the drawing of it; and there, to my great vexation, I find that the cellar door hath long been kept unlocked, and above half the wine drunk. I was deadly mad at it, and examined my people round, but nobody would confess it.

3d. Sir W. Batten is this morning gone to Guildhall, to his trial with Field. I to my office, and there read all the morning in my statute book, consulting among others the statute against selling of offices, wherein Mr. Coventry is so much concerned; and though he tells me that the statute do not reach him, yet I much fear that it will. At noon, hearing that the trial is done, and Sir W. Batten come to the Sun behind the Exchange, I went thither, where he tells me that he had much ado to carry it on his side, but that at the last he did: but the jury, by the Judge's favour, did give us but £10 damages and the charges of the suit, which troubles me, but it is well it went not against us, which would have been much worse. Deane of Woolwich and I spent all the afternoon finely, learning of him the method of drawing the lines of a ship.

4th. To Westminster Hall, and after I had stayed in the Hall a good while, where I heard that this day the Archbishop of Canterbury (Juxon,<sup>1</sup> a man well spoken of by all for a good man) is dead; and the Bishop of London<sup>2</sup> is to have his seat. Sir J. Minnes do treat my Lord Chancellor and a great deal of guests today with a

<sup>1</sup> William Juxon, made Bishop of London 1633, translated to Canterbury 1660.

<sup>2</sup> Gilbert Sheldon, who succeeded him.

great dinner, which I thank God I do not pay for; and besides, I doubt it is too late for any man to expect any great service from my Lord Chancellor, for which I am sorry and pray God a worse do not come in his room. The match between Sir J. Cutts and my Lady Jemimah, he says, is likely to go on;<sup>1</sup> for which I am glad. In the Hall today Dr. Pierce tells me that the Queen begins to be brisk and play like other ladies, and is quite another woman from what she was. It may be it may make the King like her the better and forsake his two mistresses, my Lady Castlemaine and Stuart.

5th. About ten o'clock my wife and I, not without some discontent, abroad by coach, and I set her at her father's; but their condition is such that she will not let me see where they live, but goes by herself when I am out of sight. To Paul's Church-yard, where I found several books ready bound for me: among others the new Concordance of the Bible, which pleases me much and is a book I hope to make good use of. To Deptford, where Dr. Bretton,<sup>2</sup> parson of the town, a fine man and good company, dined with us, and good discourse. To Mr. Turner's, and there saw Mr. Edward Pepys's lady, who my wife concurs with me to be very pretty,<sup>3</sup> as most women we ever saw.

6th. To York House, where the Russia Ambassador do lie; and there I saw his people go up and down lousing themselves: they are all in a great hurry, being to be gone the beginning of next week. But that that pleased me best, was the remains of the noble soul of the late Duke of Buckingham appearing in his house, in every place, in the door-cases and the windows. Sir John Hebdon,<sup>4</sup> the Russia Resident, did tell me how he is vexed to see things at Court ordered as they are by nobody that attends to business, but every man himself or his pleasures. He cries up my Lord Ashley to be almost the only man that he sees to look after business, and with the ease and mastery that he wonders at him. He cries out against the King's dealing so much with goldsmiths, and suffering himself to have his purse kept and commanded by them.

<sup>1</sup> It did not: she married Philip Carteret.

<sup>2</sup> Robert Bretton, D.D., vicar of St. Nicholas, Deptford. He was also rector of St. Martin's, Ludgate, and prebendary of Cadington Minor, in the church of St. Paul's.

<sup>3</sup> Elizabeth, daughter and co-heir of John Walpole, of Branthorpe, Norfolk: *ob. s.p.s.*, 1668.

<sup>4</sup> Who had made a fortune in Russia by trade. On 30th May 1663, he was knighted by Charles at Whitehall.

He tells me also with what exact care and order the States of Holland's <sup>1</sup> stores are kept in their Yards, and everything managed there by their builders with such husbandry as is not imaginable; which I will endeavour to understand further.

7th. (Lord's day.) To church, where Mr. Mills preached, but I slept most of the sermon. After dinner I to church again, and the Scot preaching, again slept all the afternoon. My wife and I had an angry word or two upon discourse of our boy, compared with Sir W. Pen's boy, whom I say is much prettier than ours, and she the contrary. It troubles me to see that every small thing is enough nowadays to bring a difference between us. Mrs. Turner, who is often at Court, do tell me today that for certain the Queen hath much changed her humour, and is become very pleasant and sociable as any; and they say is with child, or believed to be so.

8th. After dinner my wife and I had a little jangling, in which she did give me the lie, which vexed me; so finding my talking did but make her worse, I went up vexed to my chamber, and there fell examining my new Concordance. Up by and by my wife comes and good friends again, and to walk in the garden, and so anon to supper and to bed.

9th. I spent the morning upon my measuring rules very pleasantly till noon; and then comes Creed, and he and I talked about mathematics, and he tells me of a way found out by Mr. Jonas Moore which he calls duodecimal arithmetic, which is properly applied to measuring, where all is ordered by inches, which are 12 in a foot, which I have a mind to learn.

10th. To dinner, and thence to the Royal Theatre by water, and landing met with Captain Ferrers his friend, the little man that used to be with him; and he with us, and sat by us while we saw 'Love in a Maze.'<sup>2</sup> The play is pretty good, but the life of the play is Lacy's part, the clown, which is most admirable; but for the rest, which are counted such old and excellent actors, in my life I never heard both men and women so ill pronounce their parts, even to my making myself sick therewith. To the whey-house, and drank a great deal of whey, and so by water home. When my wife and I first came home we took Ashwell and all the rest below in the cellar with the vintner drawing out my wine, which I blamed Ashwell much for, and told her that I would not

<sup>1</sup> Hebden had been resident with the States General in 1660.

<sup>2</sup> *Changes, or Love in a Maze*, by Shirley, licensed 1631.



endure it, nor was it fit for her to make herself equal with the ordinary servants of the house.

11th. Spent the evening with my wife, and she and I did jangle mightily about her cushions that she wrought with worsteds the last year, which are too little for any use, but were good friends by and by again. But one thing I must confess, I cannot blame my wife to be now in a worse humour than she used to be, for I am taken up in my talk with Ashwell, that I am not so fond of her as I used and ought to be. The consideration that this is the longest day in the year is unpleasant to me.

12th. To the Royal Theatre, and there saw 'The Committee,'<sup>1</sup> a merry but indifferent play, only Lacy's part, an Irish footman, is beyond imagination. Here I saw my Lord Falconbridge,<sup>2</sup> and his lady, my Lady Mary Cromwell, who looks as well as I have known her, and well clad: but when the house began to fill she put on her vizard,<sup>3</sup> and so kept it on all the play; which of late is become a great fashion among the ladies, which hides their whole face. So to the Exchange, to buy things with my wife; among others, a vizard for herself.

13th. To Thames Street among the tar men to look to the price of tar; and so to the office, and there had a difference with Sir W. Batten about Mr. Bowyer's tar which I am resolved to cross, though he sent me last night as a bribe a barrel of sturgeon, which, it may be, I shall send back, for I will not have the King abused so abominably in the price of what we buy by Sir W. Batten's corruption and underhand dealing. To the Royal Theatre: here we saw 'The Faithful Sheperdess,'<sup>4</sup> a most simple thing, and yet much thronged after, and often shown, but it is only for the scenes' sake, which is very fine indeed, and worth seeing; but I am quite out of opinion with any of their actings but Lacy's, compared with the other house. Thence to see Mrs. Hunt, which we did; and in our way saw my Lady Castlemaine, who, I fear, is not so handsome as I have taken her for, and now she begins to decay something. This is my wife's opinion also, for which I am sorry. Thence by coach, with a mad coachman that drove like mad, and down byways, through Bucklersbury, home—everybody through

<sup>1</sup> A comedy by Sir Robert Howard.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas Belasye, Earl Fauconberg, frequently called Falconbridge, married Mary, third daughter of Oliver Cromwell. She died 1712.

<sup>3</sup> Visor-masks probably came into fashion about this time.

<sup>4</sup> A pastoral by John Fletcher.

the street cursing him, being ready to run over them. Yesterday, upon conference with the King in the Banqueting-house, the Parliament did agree with much ado, it being carried but by forty-two voices, that they would supply him with a sum of money; but what, and how, is not yet known, but expected to be done with great disputes the next week. But if done at all, it is well.

14th. (Lord's day.) To church. Then to dinner, and Tom dined with me, who I think grows a very thriving man, as he himself tells me. He being gone, and sending my people to church, my wife and I did even our reckonings and had a great deal of serious talk, wherein I took occasion to give her hints of the necessity of saving all we can. I do see great cause every day to curse the time that ever I did give way to the taking of a woman for her, though I could never have had a better, and also the letting of her learn to dance, by both which her mind is so devilishly taken off her business and minding her occasions. But I must have patience. I did give her 40s. to carry into the country tomorrow with her, whereof 15s. is to go for the coach-hire for her and Ashwell, there being 20s. paid here already in earnest. To Sir W. Pen's, to visit him, and, finding him alone, sent for my wife, who is in her riding-suit, to see him, which she hath not done these many months, I think. By and by in comes Sir J. Minnes and Sir W. Batten, and so we sat talking: among other things, Sir J. Minnes brought many fine expressions of Chaucer, which he dotes on mightily, and without doubt he is a very fine poet.

15th. I was forced to go to Thames Street: thence home, but finding my wife gone, I took coach and after her to her inn, where I am troubled to see her forced to sit in the back of the coach, though pleased to see her company none but women and one parson; and so kissing her often and Ashwell once, I bid them adieu. To Deptford to the Trinity House, where I came a little late; but I found them reading their charter, which they did like fools, only reading here and there a bit. Then proceeded to the election of a Master, which was Sir W. Batten; then to the choice of their assistants and wardens, and so rose. Thence to church where Dr. Bretton preached. That done, by water to the Trinity House at London, where, among others, I found my Lords Sandwich and Craven, and my cousin Roger Pepys and Sir William Wheeler. Anon we sat down to dinner. Great variety of talk. Mr. Prin, among many, had a pretty tale of one that brought in a Bill in Parliament for the empowering him to dispose his land to

such children as he should have that should bear the name of his wife. It was in Queen Elizabeth's time. One replied that there are many species of creatures where the male gives the denomination to both sexes, as swan and woodcock, but not above one where the female do, and that is goose. Both at and after dinner we had great discourses of the nature and power of spirits, and whether they can animate dead bodies; in all which, as of the general appearance of spirits, my Lord Sandwich is very sceptical. He says the greatest warrants that ever he had to believe any is the present appearing of the Devil <sup>1</sup> in Wiltshire, much of late talked of, who beats a drum up and down. There are books of it, and, they say, very true; but my Lord observes, though he do answer any tune that you will play to him upon another drum, yet one tune he tried to play and could not; which makes him suspect the whole, and I think it is a good argument. They talked of handsome women; and Sir J. Minnes saying that there was no beauty like what he sees in the country markets, and specially at Bury, in which I will agree with him. My Lord replied thus: 'Sir John, what do you think of your neighbour's wife?' looking upon me. 'Do you not think that he hath a great beauty to his wife?' Upon my word he hath.' Which I was not a little proud of. To bed sad for want of my wife, whom I love with all my heart, though of late she has given me some troubled thoughts.

16th. Dined with Sir W. Batten; who tells me that the House have voted the supply, intended for the King, shall be by subsidy.

17th. Up by four o'clock, which is the hour I intend now to rise at. To White Hall, and in the garden spoke to my Lord Sandwich, who is in his gold-buttoned suit, as the mode is, and looks nobly. Captain Ferrers, I see, is come home from France. He tells me the young gentlemen are well there: so my Lord went to my Lord Albemarle's to dinner, I by water home. I sent my cousin Edward Pepys his lady, at my cousin Turner's, a piece of venison given me yesterday, and Madam Turner I sent for a dozen bottles of hers, to fill with wine for her. This day I met with Pierce, the surgeon, who tells me that the King has made peace

<sup>1</sup> Joseph Glanville published a relation of the famous disturbance at the house of Mr. Mompesson, at Tedworth, Wiltshire, occasioned by the beating of an invisible drum every night for a year. This story, which was believed at the time, furnished the plot for Addison's play of *The Drummer, or the Haunted House*. In the *Mercurius Publicus*, 16th-23rd April 1663, there is a curious examination on this subject, by which it appears that one William Drury, of Uscut, Wiltshire, was the invisible drummer.

between Mr. Edward Montagu and his father Lord Montagu, and that all is well again; at which, for the family's sake, I am glad, but do not think it will hold long.

18th. All the morning writing out in my Navy collections the ordinary estimate of the Navy, and did it neatly.

19th. To Lambeth, expecting to have seen the Archbishop lie in state; but it seems he is not laid out yet. At the Privy Seal Office examined the books, and found the grant of increase of salary to the principal officers in the year 1639, £300 among the Comptroller, Surveyor, and Clerk to the Ships. Met Captain Ferrers, who tells us that the King of France is well again, and that he saw him train his Guards, all brave men, at Paris; and that when he goes to his mistress, Madame La Vallière, a pretty little woman now with child by him, he goes with his Guards with him publicly, and his trumpets and kettledrums with him; and yet he says that, for all this, the Queen do not know of it, for that nobody dares to tell her; but that I dare not believe. To the Rhenish wine-house, where Mr. Moore showed us the French manner, when a health is drunk, to bow to him that drunk to you, and then apply yourself to him whose lady's health is drunk, and then to the person that you drink to, which I never knew before; but it seems it is now the fashion. Thence by water home, and to bed, having played out of my chamber window on my pipe, and making Will read a part of a Latin chapter.

20th. Mr. Deane of Woolwich and I in a timber yard, measuring of timber, which I now understand thoroughly, and shall be able in a little time to do the King great service. Home in the evening, and after Will's reading a little in the Latin Testament, to bed.

21st. (Lord's day.) Up betimes, and fell to reading my Latin Grammar, which I perceive I have great need of, having lately found it by my calling Will to the reading of a chapter in Latin, and I am resolved to go through it. To Mr. Coventry's. He showed me a list which he hath prepared for the Parliament's view, if the business of his selling of offices should be brought to further hearing, wherein he reckons up, as I remember, 236 offices of ships which have been disposed of without his taking one farthing. This, of his own accord, he opened his cabinet on purpose to show me; meaning, I suppose, that I should discourse abroad of it, and vindicate him therein, which I shall with all my power do. To church and slept all the sermon, the Scot, to whose voice I am not to be reconciled, preaching.

22d. To my office, reading over all our letters of the office that we have wrote since I came into the Navy, whereby to bring the whole series of matters into my memory, and to enter in my manuscript some of them that are needful and of great influence. By and by with Sir W. Batten by coach to Westminster, where all along I find the shops evening with the sides of the houses, even in the broadest streets; which will make the City very much better than it was. It seems the House do consent to send to the King to desire that he would be graciously pleased to let them know who it was that did inform him of what words Sir Richard Temple<sup>1</sup> should say, which were to this purpose, that if the King would side with him, or be guided by him and his party, that he should not lack money: but, without knowing who told it, they do not think fit to call him to any account for it. Thence with Creed and bought a lobster, and then to an alehouse. Here we eat it, and thence to walk in the park. The Duke being gone a-hunting, and by and by came in and shifted himself, he having in his hunting, rather than go about, 'light and led his horse through a river up to his breast, and came so home: and being ready, we had a long discourse with him. Thence to the park again with Creed, who is so knowing, and a man of reason, that I cannot but love his company, though I do not love the man, because he is too wise to be made a friend of, and acts all by interest and policy, but is a man fit to learn of.

23d. Calling for my boy's copy-book, I found that he had not done his task; so I beat him, and then went up to fetch my rope's end. But before I got down the boy was gone. I searched the cellar with a candle, and from top to bottom could not find him high nor low. To the office, and after an hour or two by water to the Temple, to my cousin Roger; who, I perceive, is a deadly high man in the Parliament business, and against the Court, showing me how they have computed that the King hath spent, at least hath received, about four millions of money since he came in: and in Sir J. Winter's case, in which I spoke to him, he is so high that he says he deserves to be hanged. To the 'Change; and by and by comes the King and the Queen by in great state, and the streets full of people. They dine all at my Lord Mayor's; but what he do for victuals, or room for them, I know not. So home to dinner, and there I found that my boy had got out of doors, and

<sup>1</sup> Sir Richard Temple, of Stowe, Bart. M.P. for Buckingham, and K.B.: *ob.* 1697.

came in for his hat and band, and so is gone away to his brother; but I do resolve even to let him go away for good and all. To the office, and there had a great fray with Sir W. Batten and Sir J. Minnes, who, like an old dotard, is led by the nose by him. To see what a knave Sir W. Batten is makes my heart ache.

24th. To St. James's, and there an hour's private discourse with Mr. Coventry, where he told me one thing to my great joy, that in the business of Captain Cocke's hemp disputed before him the other day, Mr. Coventry absent, the Duke did himself tell him since, that Mr. Pepys and he did stand up and carry it against the rest that were there, which do please me much to see that the Duke do take notice of me. Speaking of Sir G. Carteret slightly, and diminishing of his services for the King in Jersey; that he was well rewarded, and had good lands and rents, and other profits from the King, all the time he was there; and that it was always his humour to have things done his way. He brought an example how he would not let the Castle there be victualled for more than a month, that so he might keep it at his beck, though the people of the town did offer to supply it more often themselves. Another thing he told me, how the Duke of York did give Sir G. Carteret and the Island his profits as Admiral, and other things, toward the building of a pier there; but it was never laid out, nor like to be. So, it falling out that a lady being brought to bed, the Duke was to be desired to be one of the godfathers; and it being objected that that would not be proper, there being no peer of the land to be joined with him, the lady replied: 'Why, let him choose; and if he will not be a godfather without a peer, then let him even stay till he hath made a pier of his own.' He tells me too that he hath lately been observed to tack about at Court, and to endeavour to strike in with the persons that are against the Chancellor; but this he says of him, that he do not say nor do anything to the prejudice of the Chancellor. But he told me that the Chancellor was rising again, and that of late Sir G. Carteret's business and employment hath not been so full as it used to be while the Chancellor stood up. From that, we discoursed of the evil of putting out men of experience in business as the Chancellor, and of the condition of the King's party at present, who, as the Papists, though otherwise fine persons, yet being by law kept for these fourscore years out of employment, they are now wholly incapable of business; and so the Cavaliers for twenty years, who, says he, for the most part have either given themselves over to look after country and family

business, and those the best of them, and the rest to debauchery, &c.; and that was it that hath made him high against the late Bill brought into the House for the making all men incapable of employment that had served against the King. Why, says he, in the sea-service, it is impossible to do anything without them, there being not more than three men of the whole King's side that are fit to command almost; and these were Captain Allen, Smith,<sup>1</sup> and Beach;<sup>2</sup> and, it may be, Holmes, and Utber, and Batts might do something. This day I observed the house, which I took to be the new tennis-court, newly built next my Lord's lodgings, to be fallen down by the badness of the foundation or slight working, which my cousin Roger and his discontented party cry out upon, as an example how the King's work is done. It hath beaten down a good deal of my Lord's lodgings, and had like to have killed Mrs. Sarah, she having but newly gone out of it.

25th. Sir G. Carteret did tell us that upon Tuesday last, being with my Lord Treasurer, he showed him a letter from Portugal, speaking of the advance of the Spaniards into their country, and yet that the Portugese were never more courageous than now; for, by an old prophecy sent thither some years, though not many, since, from the French King, it is foretold that the Spaniards should come into their country, and in such a valley they should be all killed, and then their country should be wholly delivered from the Spaniards. This was on Tuesday last, and yesterday came the very first news that in this very valley they had thus routed and killed the Spaniards. This noon I received a letter from the country from my wife, wherein she seems much pleased with the country: God continue that she may have pleasure while she is there. She by my Lady's advice desires a new petticoat of the new silk striped stuff—very pretty. So I went to Paternoster Row presently, and bought her a very fine rich one—the best I did see there, and much better than she desires or expects.

26th. Mr. Moore and I discoursed of going to Oxford this commencement—Mr. Nathaniel Crewe<sup>3</sup> being proctor, and Mr. Childe commencing Doctor of Music this year. A sad season, that it is said there hath not been one fair day these three months,

<sup>1</sup> Afterwards Sir Thomas Allen and Sir Jeremy Smith.

<sup>2</sup> Richard Beach, afterwards knighted, and in 1668 Commissioner at Portsmouth.

<sup>3</sup> Nathaniel, third Lord Crew of Stene, successively Bishop of Oxford and Durham. He died in 1721, *s.p.*, when the title became extinct.

and I think it is true. The House is upon the King's answer to their message about Temple, which is that my Lord of Bristol did tell him that Temple did say those words; so the House are resolved upon sending some of their members to him to know the truth, and to demand satisfaction if it be not true. Sir W. Batten, Sir J. Minnes, my Lady Batten, and I by coach to Bethnal Green, to Sir W. Rider's to dinner, where a fine place, good lady mother, and their daughter, Mrs. Middleton, a fine woman. A noble dinner, and a fine merry walk with the ladies alone after dinner in the garden: the greatest quantity of strawberries I ever saw, and good. This very house was built by the blind beggar of Bethnal Green, so much talked of and sang in ballads; but they say it was only some of the outhouses of it. At table discoursing of thunder and lightning, Sir W. Rider did tell a story of his own knowledge, that a Genoese galley in Leghorn Roads was struck by thunder, so as the mast was broke a-pieces, and the shackle upon one of the slaves was melted clear off his leg without hurting his leg. Sir William went on board the vessel, and would have contributed toward the release of the slave whom Heaven had thus set free; but he could not compass it, and so he was brought to his fetters again.

27th. To the Temple, and so to Lincoln's Inn, and there walked up and down to see the new garden which they are making, and will be very pretty, and so to walk under the Chapel.

28th. (Lord's day.) Spent most of the afternoon reading in Cicero and other books. Cast up my monthly accounts, and to my great trouble I find myself £7 worse than I was the last month.

29th. Up and down the streets is cried mightily the great victory got by the Portugals against the Spaniards, where 10,000 slain, 3 or 4,000 taken prisoners, with all the artillery, baggage, money, &c., and Don John<sup>1</sup> of Austria forced to flee with a man or two with him. With my cousin Roger and Mr. Goldsborough to Gray's Inn to his counsel, one Mr. Raworth, a very fine man, where it being the question whether I as executor should give a warrant to Goldsborough in my reconveying her estate back again, the mortgage being performed against all acts of the testator, but only my own, my cousin said he never heard it asked before; and

<sup>1</sup> He was a natural son of Philip IV, King of Spain, who, after his father's death in 1665, exerted his whole influence to overthrow the regency appointed during the young king's minority.



the other that it was always asked, and that he never heard it denied or scrupled before, so great a distance was there in their opinions, enough to make a man forswear ever having to do with the law; so they agreed to refer it to Serjeant Maynard.

30th. Yesterday and today the sun rising very bright and glorious; and yet yesterday, as it hath been these two months and more, was a foul day the most part of the day. This day the only fair day we have had these two or three months. Thus, by God's blessing, ends this book of two years;<sup>1</sup> I being in all points in good health, and a good way to thrive and do well. Some money I do and can lay up, but not much, being worth now above £700, besides goods of all sorts. My wife in the country with Ashwell, her woman, with my father: myself at home with W. Hewer and my cook-maid Hannah—my boy Waynman being lately run away from me. In my office, my repute and understanding good, specially with the Duke and Mr. Coventry; only the rest of the officers do rather envy than love me, I standing in most of their lights, specially Sir W. Batten, whose cheats I do daily oppose to his great trouble, though he appears mighty kind and willing to keep friendship with me, while Sir J. Minnes, like a dotard, is led by the nose by him. My wife and I by late jealousy, for which I am truly to be blamed, have not the kindness between us which we used and ought to have, and I fear will be lost hereafter if I do not take course to oblige her and yet preserve my authority. Public matters are in an ill condition: Parliament sitting and raising four subsidies for the King, which is but a little, considering his wants; and yet that parted withal with great hardness, they being offended to see so much money go, and no debts of the public is paid, but all swallowed by a luxurious Court; which the King, it is believed and hoped, will retrench in a little time, when he comes to see the utmost of the revenue which shall be settled on him; he expecting to have his £1,200,000 made good to him, which is not yet done by above £150,000, as he himself reports to the House. My differences with my uncle Thomas at a good quiet, blessed be God! and other matters. The town full of the great overthrow lately given to the Spaniards by the Portugals, they being advanced into the very middle of Portugal. The charge of the Navy intended to be limited to £200,000 per annum, the ordinary charge of it, and that to be settled upon the Customs. The King yet greatly taken up with Madam Castlemaine and Mrs. Stuart, which

<sup>1</sup> End of the second volume of the manuscript.

Heaven put an end to! Myself very studious to learn what I can of all things necessary to my place.

July 1st. This morning it rained so hard (though it was fair yesterday, and we thereupon in hopes of having some fair weather, which we have wanted these three months), that it wakened Creed, who lay with me last night, and me. Being in the Parliament Lobby, I there saw my Lord of Bristol come to the Commons' House to give his answer to their question about some words he should tell the King that were spoke by Sir Richard Temple. A chair was set at the bar of the House for him, which he used but little, but made an harangue of half an hour bareheaded, the House covered. His speech being done, he came out and withdrew into a little room till the House had concluded of an answer to his speech; which they staying long upon, I went away. And by and by out comes Sir W. Batten; and he told me that his Lordship had made a long and a comedian-like speech, and delivered with such action as was not becoming his Lordship. He confesses he did tell the King such a thing of Sir Richard Temple, but that upon his honour the words were not spoke by Sir Richard, he having taken a liberty of enlarging to the King upon the discourse which had been between Sir Richard and himself lately; and so took upon himself the whole blame, and desired their pardon, it being not to do any wrong to their fellow member, but out of zeal to the King. He told them, among many other things, that as to his religion he was a Roman Catholic, but such a one as thought no man to have a right to the crown of England but the Prince that hath it; and such a one as, if the King should desire his counsel as to his own, he would not advise him to another religion than the old true reformed religion of this country, it being the properest of this kingdom as it now stands; and concluded with a submission to what the House shall do with him, saying that whatever they shall do, 'thanks be to God, this head, this heart, and this sword,' pointing to them all, 'will find me a being in any place in Europe.' The House hath hereupon voted clearly Sir Richard Temple to be free from the imputation of saying those words; but when Sir William Batten came out had not concluded what to say to my Lord, it being argued that to own any satisfaction as to my Lord from his speech would be to lay some fault upon the King for the message he should upon no better accounts send to the impeaching of one of their members. Walking out, I hear that the House of Lords are offended that my Lord Bristol should come to

this House and make a speech there without leave first asked of the House of Lords. I hear also of another difficulty now upon him: that my Lord of Sunderland,<sup>1</sup> whom I do not know, was so near to the marriage of his daughter,<sup>2</sup> as that the wedding-clothes were made, and portion and everything agreed on and ready; and the other day he goes away, nobody yet knows whither, sending her the next morning a release of his right or claim to her, and advice to his friends not to enquire into the reason of this doing, for he hath enough of it; but that he gives them liberty to say and think what they will of him, so they do not demand the reason of his leaving her, being resolved never to have her; but the reason desires and resolves not to give. To Sir W. Batten, to the Trinity House; and after dinner we fell a-talking, Mr. Batten telling us of a late trial of Sir Charles Sedley<sup>3</sup> the other day before my Lord Chief Justice Foster<sup>4</sup> and the whole bench, for his debauchery<sup>5</sup> a little while since at Oxford Kate's.<sup>6</sup> It seems my Lord and the rest of the Judges did all of them round give him a most high reproof; my Lord Chief Justice saying that it was for him, and such wicked wretches as he was, that God's anger and judgments hung over us, calling him sirrah many times. It's said they have bound him to his good behaviour, there being no law against him for it, in £5000. It being told that my Lord Buckhurst was there, my Lord asked whether it was that Buckhurst that was lately tried for robbery, and when answered Yes, he asked whether he had so soon forgot his deliverance at that time, and that it would have more become him to have been at his prayers, begging God's forgiveness, than now running into such courses again. This day I hear at dinner that Don John of Austria, since his flight out of Portugal, is dead of his wounds: so there is a great man gone and a great dispute like

<sup>1</sup> Robert, second Earl of Sunderland, too well known in the annals of political versatility: *ob.* 1702.

<sup>2</sup> The marriage, nevertheless, took place, and the youthful bride, Lady Ann Digby, second daughter, and eventually sole heir of George Digby, Earl of Bristol, became, by the alliance, the ancestress of the dukes of Marlborough and earls Spencer.

<sup>3</sup> Sir Charles Sedley, Bart., well known for his wit and profligacy, and author of several plays. He is said to have been fined £500 for this outrage. He was father to James II's mistress, created Countess of Dorchester, and died 1701.

<sup>4</sup> Sir Robert Foster, Knight, Chief Justice of the King's Bench: *ob.* 1663.

<sup>5</sup> The details in the *Diary* are too gross to print, but what can be mentioned is told by Dr. Johnson in the life of Sackville, Lord Dorset (*Lives of the Poets*).

<sup>6</sup> In Bow Street.

to be ended for the crown of Spain if the King should have died before him. My cousin Roger told us the whole passage of my Lord Bristol to-day, much as I have said here above; only that he did say that he would draw his sword against the Pope himself if he should offer anything against His Majesty and the good of these nations; and that he never was the man that did either look for a Cardinal's cap for himself or anybody else, meaning Abbot Montagu: and the House upon the whole did vote Sir Richard Temple innocent; and that my Lord Bristol hath cleared the honour of His Majesty, and Sir Richard Temple's, and given perfect satisfaction of his own respects to the House.

2d. Walking in the garden this evening with Sir G. Carteret and Sir J. Minnes, Sir G. Carteret told us with great contempt how like a stage-player my Lord Bristol spoke yesterday, pointing to his head as my Lord did, and saying, 'First, for his head,' says Sir G. Carteret, 'I know what a calf's head would have done better by half: for his heart and his sword, I have nothing to say to them.' He told us that for certain his head cost the late King his, for it was he that broke off the treaty at Uxbridge. He told us also how great a man he was raised from a private gentleman<sup>1</sup> in France by Monsieur Grandmont,<sup>2</sup> and afterwards by the Cardinal,<sup>3</sup> who raised him to be a Lieutenant-general, and then higher; and entrusted by the Cardinal, when he was banished out of France, with great matters, and recommended by him to the Queen<sup>4</sup> as a man to be trusted and ruled by: yet, when he came to have some power over the Queen he begun to dissuade her from her opinion of the Cardinal; which she said nothing to till the Cardinal was returned, and then she told him of it; who told my Lord Bristol, 'Eh bien, Monsieur, vous êtes un fort bon ami donc': but presently put him out of all. And then, from a certainty of coming in two or three years' time to be Mareschal of France (to which all strangers, even Protestants, and those as often as French themselves, are capable of coming, though it be one of the greatest places in France), he was driven to go out of France into Flanders; but there was not trusted, nor received any kindness from the Prince of Condé, as one to whom also he had been false, as he had been to the Cardinal and Grandmont. In fine, he told us how he is a man of excellent

<sup>1</sup> He had, however, in June 1641, been summoned to the House of Peers in his father's barony of Digby.

<sup>2</sup> Antoine, Maréchal-Duc de Grammont.

<sup>3</sup> Cardinal Mazarin.

<sup>4</sup> Anne of Austria, Queen of France.

parts, but of no great faith nor judgment, and one very easy to get up to great height of preferment, but never able to hold it.

3d. Mr. Moore tells me great news that my Lady Castlemaine is fallen from Court, and this morning retired. He gives me no account of the reason of it, but that it is so; for which I am sorry. And yet, if the King do it to leave off not only her, but all other mistresses, I should be heartily glad of it, that he may fall to look after business. I hear my Lord Bristol is condemned at Court for his speech, and that my Lord Chancellor grows great again. With Mr. Creed over the water to Lambeth, but could not see the Archbishop's hearse: so over the fields to Southwark. I spent half an hour in St. Mary Overy's Church, where are fine monuments of great antiquity.

4th. Sir Allen Apsley<sup>1</sup> showed the Duke the Lisbon Gazette in Spanish, where the late victory is set down particularly, and to the great honour of the English beyond measure. They have since taken back Evora, which was lost to the Spaniards, the English making the assault, and lost not more than three men. Here I learnt that the English foot are highly esteemed all over the world but the horse not so much, which yet we count among ourselves the best: but they abroad have had no great knowledge of our horse, it seems. With Creed to the King's Head ordinary; but, coming late, dined at the second table very well for 12*d.*, and a pretty gentleman in our company, who confirms my Lady Castlemaine's being gone from Court, but knows not the reason. He told us of one wiper the Queen a little while ago did give her, when she came in and found the Queen under the dresser's hands, and had been so long: 'I wonder Your Majesty,' says she, 'can have the patience to sit so long a-dressing?'—'I have so much reason to use patience,' says the Queen, 'that I can very well bear with it.' He thinks that it may be the Queen hath commanded her to retire, though that is not likely. Thence with Creed to hire a coach to carry us to Hyde Park, today there being a general muster of the King's Guards, horse and foot: but they demand so high, that I, spying Mr. Cutler, the merchant, did take notice of him, and he going into his coach and telling me that he was going to show a couple of Swedish strangers the muster, I asked and went along

<sup>1</sup> Sir Allen Apsley, a faithful adherent to Charles I, after the Restoration was made Falconer to the King, and Almoner to the Duke of York, in whose regiment he bore a commission. He was M.P. for Thetford 1661-78, and died 1683.

with him; where a goodly sight to see so many fine horses and officers, and the King, Duke, and others come by a-horseback, and the two Queens in the Queen-mother's coach, my Lady Castlemaine not being there. And after long being there, I 'light, and walk to the place where the King, Duke, &c., did stand to see the horse and foot march by and discharge their guns, to show a French Marquis (for whom this muster was caused) the goodness of our firemen; which indeed was very good, though not without a slip now and then: and one broadside close to our coach we had going out of the Park, even to the nearness as to be ready to burn our hairs. Yet methought all these gay men are not the soldiers that must do the King's business, it being such as these that lost the old King all he had, and were beat by the most ordinary fellows that could be. Thence with much ado out of the Park, and I 'lighted and through St. James's down the water-side over to Lambeth to see the Archbishop's corpse, who is to be carried away to Oxford on Monday, but came too late, and so walked over the fields and bridge home. This day, in the Duke's chamber there being a Roman story in the hangings, and upon the standards written these four letters—S. P. Q. R., Sir G. Carteret came to me to know what the meaning of those four letters were; which ignorance is not to be borne in a Privy Councillor, methinks, what a schoolboy should be whipped for not knowing.

5th. (Lord's day.) Lady Batten had sent twice to invite me to go with them to Walthamstow today—Mrs. Martha<sup>1</sup> being married already this morning to Mr. Castle, at this parish church. I could not rise soon enough to go with them, but got myself ready, and so to Games's, where I got a horse, and rode thither very pleasantly. Being come thither, I was well received, and had two pair of gloves, as the rest, and walked up and down with my Lady in the garden, she mighty kind to me, and I have the way to please her. A good dinner and merry, but methinks none of the kindness nor bridal respect between the bridegroom and bride that was between my wife and I, but as persons that marry purely for convenience. After dinner to church by coach, and there, my Lady, Mrs. Turner, Mrs. Lemon, and I only, we, in spite to one another, kept one another awake; and sometimes I read in my book of Latin plays, which I took in my pocket, thinking to have walked it. An old doting parson preached. So home, Sir J. Minnes and I in his coach together, talking all the way of

<sup>1</sup> Daughter of Sir William Batten.

chemistry, wherein he do know something—at least, seems so to me, that cannot correct him.

6th. At my office all the morning, writing out a list of the King's ships in my Navy collections with great pleasure.

7th. By barge with Sir J. Minnes to Woolwich. Here in Mr. Pett's garden I eat some of the first cherries I have eat this year, off the tree where the King himself had been gathering some this morning. Mr. Coventry tells me, what Mr. Pett did today, that my Lord Bristol told the King that he will impeach the Chancellor of High Treason: but I find that my Lord Bristol hath undone himself already in everybody's opinion, and now he endeavours to raise dust to put out other men's eyes, as well as his own; but I hope it will not take, in consideration merely that it is hard for a Prince to spare an experienced old officer, be he never so corrupt; though I hope this man is not so, as some report him to be. He tells me that Don John is yet alive, and not killed, as was said, in the great victory against the Spaniards in Portugal of late. This afternoon, coming from the water-side with Mr. Coventry, I spied my boy upon Tower Hill playing with the rest of the boys; so I sent W. Griffin to take him, and he did bring him to me; and so I said nothing to him, but caused him to be stripped (for he was run away with his best suit), and so putting on his other, I sent him going, without saying one hard word to him, though I am troubled for the rogue, though he do not deserve it.

8th. I know not what will become of the corn this year, we having had but two fair days these many months.

9th. Sir W. Pen tells me my Lady Castlemaine was at Court, for all this talk this week; but it seems the King is stranger than ordinary to her.

10th. To Westminster Hall where I met Pierce, the surgeon, who tells me that for certain the King is grown colder to my Lady Castlemaine than ordinary, and that he believes he begins to love the Queen, and do make much of her, more than he used to do. Mr. Coventry tells me that my Lord Bristol hath this day impeached my Lord Chancellor in the House of Lords of High Treason. The chief of the articles are these: 1st. That he should be the occasion of the peace made with Holland lately upon such disadvantageous terms, and that he was bribed to it. 2d. That Dunkirk was also sold by his advice chiefly, so much to the damage of England. 3d. That he had £6,000 given him for the drawing up or promoting of the Irish declaration lately, concerning the

division of the lands there. 4th. He did carry on the design of the Portugal match, so much to the prejudice of the Crown of England, notwithstanding that he knew the Queen not capable of bearing children. 5th. That the Duke's marrying of his daughter was a practice of his, thereby to raise his family; and that it was done by indirect courses. 6th. As to the breaking off of the match with Parma, in which he was employed at the very time when the match with Portugal was made up here, which he took as a great slur to him, and so it was; and that indeed is the chief occasion of all this feud. 7th. That he hath endeavoured to bring in Popery, and wrote to the Pope for a cap for a subject of the King of England's, my Lord Aubigny; <sup>1</sup> and some say that he lays it to the Chancellor that a good Protestant Secretary, Sir Edward Nicholas, was laid aside, and a Papist, Sir H. Bennet, put in his room: which is very strange, when the last of these two is his own creature, and such an enemy accounted to the Chancellor, that they never did nor do agree; and all the world did judge the Chancellor to be falling from the time that Sir H. Bennet was brought in. Besides my Lord Bristol being a Catholic himself, all this is very strange. These are the main of the Articles. Upon which my Lord Chancellor desired that the noble Lord that brought in these Articles would sign to them with his hand; which my Lord Bristol did presently. Then the House did order that the Judges should, against Monday next, bring in their opinion, Whether these articles are treason or no, and next they would know, Whether they were brought in regularly or no, without leave of the Lords' House. After dinner to Gravesend and thence to Chatham.

11th. To the dock by coach, to see the Prince launched, which hath lain in the dock in repairing these three years. I went into her, and was launched in her. By barge to St. Mary's Creek, where Commissioner Pett, doubtful of the growing greatness of Portsmouth by the finding of those creeks there, do design a wet dock at no great charge, and yet no little one—he thinks towards £10,000. And the place, indeed, is likely to be a very fit place, when the King hath money to do it with. Late to bed and slept well. About one or two in the morning the curtains of my bed being drawn waked me, and I saw a man stand there by the inside of my bed calling me French Dog twenty times, one after another. And I starting, as if I would get out of the bed, he fell a-laughing as

<sup>1</sup> Brother to the Duke of Lennox and Richmond, and Almoner to the King.



hard as he could drive, still calling me French Dog, and laid his hand on my shoulder. At last, whether I said anything or no I cannot tell, but I perceived the man, after he had looked wistly upon me, and found that I did not answer him to the name that he called me by which was Salmon, Sir G. Carteret's clerk, and Robert Maddox, another of the clerks, he put off his hat on a sudden, and forbore laughing, and asked who I was, saying: 'Are you Mr. Pepys?' I told him yes, and now being come a little better to myself, I found him to be Tom Willson, Sir W. Batten's clerk; and fearing he might be in some melancholy fit, I was at a loss what to do or say. At last I asked him what he meant. He desired my pardon for that he was mistaken, for he thought verily, not knowing of my coming to lie there, that it had been Salmon the Frenchman with whom he intended to have made some sport. So I made nothing of it, but bade him good night, and I after a little pause to sleep again, being well pleased that it ended no worse, and a little the better pleased because it was the Surveyor's clerk, which will make sport when I come to tell Sir W. Batten of it, it being a report that old Edgeborough, the former Surveyor, who died here, do now and then walk.

12th. (Lord's day.) With Sir J. Minnes to church, where an indifferent good sermon. Here I saw Mrs. Becky Allen, who hath been married, and is this day churched after her bearing a child. Coming out of the church I kissed her and her sister and mother-in-law. Walked to the dock about eleven at night, and there got a boat and a crew, and rowed down to the guard-ships, it being a most pleasant moonshyne evening that ever I saw almost. The guard-ships were very ready to hail us, being no doubt commanded thereto by their Captain, who remembers how I surprised them the last time I was here. However, I found him ashore, but the ship in pretty good order. Thence to the Sovereign, where I found no officers aboard, no arms fixed, nor any powder to prime their guns. So to the London, where neither officers nor anybody awake; I boarded her, and might have done what I would, and at last could find but three little boys; and so spent the whole night in visiting all the ships, in which I found, for the most part, neither an officer aboard nor any men so much as awake, which I was grieved to find, specially so soon after a great alarum, as Commissioner Pett brought us word that he had provided against, and put all in a posture of defence but a week ago: all which I am resolved to represent to the Duke.

13th. By barge to Rochester, and there took coach to London. I walked to the Temple; and there, from my cousin Roger, hear that the Judges have this day brought in their answer to the Lords, That the articles against my Lord Chancellor are not Treason; and tomorrow they are to bring in their arguments to the House for the same. This day also the King did send by my Lord Chamberlain to the Lords, to tell them from him that the most of the articles against my Lord Chancellor he himself knows to be false. I met the Queen-mother walking in the Pall Mall, led by my Lord St. Albans. And finding many coaches at the Gate, I found upon inquiry that the Duchess is brought to bed of a boy; <sup>1</sup> and hearing that the King and Queen are rode abroad with the Ladies of Honour to the Park, and seeing a great crowd of gallants staying here to see their return, I also stayed walking up and down. By and by the King and Queen, who looked in this dress, a white laced waistcoat and a crimson short petticoat, and her hair dressed *à la négligence*, mighty pretty: and the King rode hand in hand with her. Here was also my Lady Castlemaine, rode among the rest of the ladies; but the King took, methought, no notice of her, nor when they 'light did anybody press, as she seemed to expect, and stayed for it, to take her down, but was taken down by her own gentlemen. She looked mighty out of humour, and had a yellow plume in her hat, which all took notice of, and yet is very handsome, but not melancholy; nor anybody speak to her, or she so much as smile or speak to anybody. I followed them up into White Hall, and into the Queen's presence, where all the ladies walked, talking and fiddling with their hats and feathers, and changing and trying one another's by one another's heads, and laughing. But it was the finest sight to me, considering their great beauties and dress, that ever I did see in all my life. But, above all, Mrs. Stuart in this dress, with her hat cocked and a red plume, with her sweet eye, little Roman nose, and excellent taille, is now the greatest beauty I ever saw, I think, in my life; and, if ever woman can, do exceed my Lady Castlemaine, at least in this dress: nor did I wonder if the King changes, which I verily believe is the reason of his coldness to my Lady Castlemaine.

14th. This day I hear the Judges, according to order yesterday, did bring into the Lords' House their reasons of their judgments in the business between my Lord Bristol and the Chancellor; and the Lords do concur with the judges that the articles are not

<sup>1</sup> James, Duke of Cambridge: *ob.* 20th June 1667.

Treason, nor regularly brought into the House, and so voted that a Committee should be chosen to examine them; but nothing to be done therein till the next sitting of this Parliament, which is like to be adjourned in a day or two, and in the meantime the two Lords to remain without prejudice done to either of them.

15th. Captain Grove came and dined with me. He told me of discourse very much to my honour, both as to my care and ability, happening at the Duke of Albemarle's table the other day, both from the Duke and the Duchess themselves: and how I paid so much a year to him whose place it was of right, and that Mr. Coventry did report thus of me.

19th. Read over my vows, and increased them by a vow against all strong drink till November next of any sort or quantity. Then I fell to read over a silly play writ by a person of honour (which is, I find, as much as to say a coxcomb), called 'Love à la Mode.' Played on my lute and sung psalms till bed-time.

20th. Being heartily weary I made haste to bed, and being in bed made Will read and construe three or four Latin verses in the Bible, and chide him for forgetting his grammar.

21st. Lay so long in the morning, till I heard people knock at my door, and so I rose and ranted at Will and the maid, and swore I could find my heart to kick them down stairs, at which the maid mumbled at mightily. By and by comes Mr. Deane of Woolwich with his draft of a ship, which do please me mightily, and so am resolved to study hard and learn of him to understand a body; and I find him a very pretty fellow in it, and rational, but a little conceited, but that's no matter to me. This day the Parliament kept a fast for the present unseasonable weather.

22d. To my Lord Crewe's. My Lord not being come home, I met and stayed below with Captain Ferrers, who was come to wait upon my Lady Jemimah to St. James's, she being one of the four ladies that hold up the mantle at the christening this afternoon of the Duke's child, a boy. In discourse of the ladies at Court, Captain Ferrers tells me that my Lady Castlemaine is now as great as ever she was; and that her going away was only a fit of her own upon some slighting words of the King, so that she called for her coach at a quarter of an hour's warning, and went to Richmond; and the King the next morning, under pretence of going a-hunting, went to see her and make friends, and never was a-hunting at all. After which she came back to Court, and commands the King as much as ever, and hath and doth what she will. No longer ago

than last night there was a private entertainment made for the King and Queen at the Duke of Buckingham's, and she was not invited: but being at my Lady Suffolk's, her aunt's<sup>1</sup> (where my Lady Jemimah and Lord Sandwich dined), yesterday, she was heard to say, 'Well, much good may it do them, and for all that I will be as merry as they': and so she went home, and caused a great supper to be prepared. And after the King had been with the Queen at Wallingford House<sup>2</sup> he came to my Lady Castlemaine's, and was there all night, and my Lord Sandwich with him. He tells me he believes that, as soon as the King can get a husband for Mrs. Stuart, however, my Lady Castlemaine's nose will be out of joint; for that she comes to be in great esteem, and is more handsome than she. I called at Wotton's, the shoemaker, who tells me the reason of Harris's<sup>3</sup> going from Sir William Davenant's House is that he grew very proud, and demanded £20 for himself extra-ordinary, more than Betterton or anybody else, upon every new play, and £10 upon every revive; which, with other things, Sir W. Davenant would not give him, and so he swore he would never act there more, in expectation of being received in the other House; but the King will not suffer it, upon Sir W. Davenant's desire that he would not, for then he might shut up house, and that is true. He tells me that his going is at present a great loss to the House, and that he fears he hath a stipend from the other House privately. He tells me that the fellow grew very proud of late, the King and everybody else crying him up so high, and that above Betterton, he being a more airy man, as he is indeed. But yet Betterton, he says, they all say do act some parts that none but himself can do. Thence to my booksellers, and find my Waggoners done. The very binding cost me 14s., but they are well done, and so with a porter home with them. To see Sir W. Pen, and stayed a great while talking, I taking a liberty to tell him my thoughts in things of the office that he may know what to think of me and to value me as he ought. I hear that the Moors have made some attacks upon the outworks of Tangier; but my Lord Teviot, with the loss of about 200 men, did beat them off, and killed many of them. Tomorrow the King and Queen for certain go

<sup>1</sup> Barbara Villiers (widow of Philip, son of Viscount Wenman), wife of James Howard, third Earl of Suffolk. She died December 1681, leaving an only child, Elizabeth, who married Sir Thomas Felton, Bart.

<sup>2</sup> Wallingford House stood on the site of the present Admiralty: it originally belonged to the Knollys family.

<sup>3</sup> A celebrated actor.

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to be when I was a little boy, as things use commonly to appear greater than when one comes to be a man and knows more. By and by to bed, where, with much ado yet good sport, we made shift to lie, but with little ease, and a little spaniel by us, which has followed us all the way, a pretty dog.

26th. (Lord's day.) Up and to the Wells, where great store of citizens, which was the greatest part of the company, though there were some others of better quality. Thence I walked to Mr. Minnes's house, and thence to Durdans, and walked within the courtyard and to the bowling green, where I have seen so much mirth in my time; but now no family in it, my Lord Berkeley, whose it is, being with his family at London, and so up and down by Minnes wood viewing my old walks, and where Mrs. Hely and I did use to walk and talk, with whom I had the first sentiments of love and pleasure in woman's company. After dinner he and I to walk, and I led him to the pretty little wood behind my cousin's house; but when we were among the hazel trees and bushes, Lord! what a course we did run for an hour together, losing ourselves, and indeed I despaired I should ever come to any path, I could hardly have believed a man could have been lost so long in so small a room. Went to our lodging and paid our reckoning, mounted, and so rode through Epsom, the whole town over, seeing the various companies that were there walking; which was very pleasant to see how they are there, without knowing almost what to do, but only in the morning to drink waters. But, Lord! to see how many I met there of citizens that I could not have thought to have seen there, that they had ever had it in their heads or purses to go down thither. We rode out of town through Ewell beyond Nonesuch House a mile, and there our little dog fell a-running after a flock of sheep till he was out of sight, and then endeavoured to come back again: the poor thing mistakes our scent, instead of coming forward he hunts us backward. We went back as far as Ewell, and there set up our horses and selves for all night, employing people to look for the dog in the town. We gave order for supper, and while that was dressing walked out through Nonesuch Park to the house, and there viewed as much as we could of the outside, and looked through the great gates, and found a noble court; and altogether believe it to have been a very noble house, and a delicate park about it, where just now there was a doe killed for the King, to carry up to Court.

27th. Up, and resolved of riding to the Wells to look for our

dog, which we did, but could hear nothing. There was at a distance, under one of the trees on the common, a company got together that sang. I, at the distance, took them for the Waits, so I rode up to them and found them only voices, some citizens met by chance, that sung four or five parts excellently. I have not been more pleased with a snap of music, considering the circumstances of the time and place, in all my life anything as pleasant. I being intent on getting home in time, we rode hard home, and set up our horses at Fox Hall, and I by water (observing the King's barge attending his going to the House this day) home, it being about one o'clock. By water to Westminster, and there came most luckily to the Lords' House as the House of Commons were going into the Lords' House, and there I crowded in along with the Speaker, and got to stand close behind him, where he made his speech to the King, who sat with his crown on and robes, and so all the Lords in their robes, a fine sight; wherein he told His Majesty what they have done this Parliament, and now offered for his royal consent. The Bills were passed with this form: The Clerk of the House reads the title of the bill, and then looks at the end, and there finds, writ by the King, I suppose, '*Le Roy le veult,*' and that he reads. And to others he reads, '*Soit fait comme vous désirez.*' And to the Subsidies, as well that for the Commons, I mean the Laity, as for the Clergy, the King writes, '*Le Roy remerçant les Seigneurs et Prélats, accepte leur bénévolences.*' The Speaker's speech was far from any oratory, but was as plain, though good matter, as anything could be, and void of elocution. After the Bills passed, the King, sitting on his throne, with his speech writ in a paper which he held in his lap, and scarce looked off of it all the time, he made his speech to them, giving them thanks for their subsidies, of which, had he not need, he would not have asked or received them; and that need, not from any extravagances of his, he was sure, in anything, but the disorders of the times compelling him to be at greater charge than he hoped for the future, by their care in their country, he should be: and that for his family expenses and others, he would labour, however, to retrench in many things convenient, and would have all others to do so too. He desired that nothing of old faults should be remembered, or severity for the same used to any in the country, it being his desire to have all forgot, as well as forgiven. But, however, to use all care in suppressing any tumults, &c.; assuring them that the restless spirits of his and their adversaries have great expectations of something

to be done this summer. And promised that, though the Acts about Conventicles and Papists were not ripe for passing this session, yet he would take care himself that neither of them should in this interval be encouraged to the endangering of the peace; and that at their next meeting he would himself prepare two Bills for them concerning them. So he concluded that, for the better proceeding of justice, he did think fit to make this a Session, and do prorogue them to the 16th of March next. His speech was very plain, nothing at all of spirit in it, nor spoke with any; but rather, on the contrary, imperfectly, repeating many times his words, though he read all: which I was sorry to see, it having not been hard for him to have got all the speech without book. So they all went away, the King out of the House at the upper end, he being by and by to go to Tunbridge to the Queen; and I in the Painted Chamber spoke with my Lord Sandwich while he was putting off his robes, who tells me he will now hasten down into the country. Creed and I by water to White Hall, and walked over the Park to St. James's, but missed Mr. Coventry; and so out again, and there the Duke was coming along the Pall Mall. It being a little darkish, I stayed not to take notice of him, but we went directly back again. And in our walk over the Park one of the Duke's footmen came running behind us, and came looking just in our faces to see who we were, and went back again. What his meaning is I know not, but was fearful that I might not go far enough with my hat off.

28th. Late came my Jane and her brother Will to entreat for my taking of the boy again, but I will not hear her, though I would yet be glad to do anything for her sake to the boy; but receive him again I will not, nor give him anything. She would have me send him to sea, which if I could I would do, but there is no ship going out.

29th. To Deptford, reading by the way a most ridiculous play, a new one called 'The Politician cheated.'<sup>1</sup>

30th. To Woolwich, and there came Sir G. Carteret, and then by water back to Deptford, where we dined with him at his house: a very good dinner, and mightily tempted with wines of all sorts and brave French cyder, but I drank none. I find his little daughter Betty,<sup>2</sup> that was in hanging sleeves but a month or two

<sup>1</sup> A comedy by Alexander Green.

<sup>2</sup> Her name was Caroline. Elizabeth was her younger sister, and died unmarried.



ago, and is a very little young child, married, and to whom, but to young Scott,<sup>1</sup> son to Madam Catharine Scott,<sup>2</sup> that was so long in law, and at whose trial I was with her husband, he pleading that it was unlawfully got and would not own it; but, it seems, a little before his death, he did own the child, and hath left him his estate not long since. So Sir G. Carteret hath struck up of a sudden a match with him for his little daughter. He hath about £2,000 per annum; and it seems Sir G. C. hath by this means overreached Sir H. Bennet, who did endeavour to get this gentleman for a sister of his. By this means Sir G. Carteret hath married two daughters this year, both very well.<sup>3</sup> After dinner parted, and so calling for my five books of the Variorum print, bound according to my common binding instead of the other which is more gaudy, I went home. The town talk this day is of nothing but the great foot-race run this day on Banstead Downs between Lee, the Duke of Richmond's footman, and a tiler, a famous runner. And Lee hath beat him; though the King and Duke of York and all men almost did bet three or four to one upon the tiler's head.

31st. I find myself with clear £730, the most I ever had yet. To the Exchange, where I met Dr. Pierce, who tells me of his good luck to get to be groom of the Privy Chamber to the Queen, and without my Lord Sandwich's help, but only by his good fortune, meeting a man that hath let him have his right for a small matter, about £60, for which he can every day have £400. But he tells me my Lord hath lost much honour in standing so long and so much for that coxcomb Pickering, and at last not carrying it for him; but hath his name struck out by the King and Queen themselves, after he had been in, ever since the Queen's coming. But he tells me he believes that either Sir H. Bennet, my Lady Castlemaine, or Sir Charles Berkeley, had received some money for the place, and so the King could not disappoint them, but was forced to put out this fool rather than a better man. And I am sorry to hear what he tells me, that Sir Charles Berkeley hath still such power over the King as to be able to fetch him from the Council-table to my Lady Castlemaine when he pleases. He tells me also, as a friend, the great injury that he thinks I do myself by

<sup>1</sup> Thomas, eldest son of Sir Thomas Scott, of Scott's Hall, in the parish of Smeeth, Kent.

<sup>2</sup> Prince Rupert was supposed to have intrigued with Mrs. Scott, and was probably the father of the child.

<sup>3</sup> The other daughter was Anne, wife of Sir Nicholas Slanning, K.B.

*August 1663*

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being so severe in the yards, and contracting the ill will of the whole Navy for those offices, singly upon myself. Now I discharge a good conscience therein, and I tell him that no man can, nor do he say any say it, charge me with doing wrong; but rather do as many good offices as any man. They think, he says, that I have a mind to get a good name with the King and Duke, who he tells me do not consider any such thing; but I shall have as good thanks to let all alone and do as the rest. But I believe the contrary; and yet I told him I never go to the Duke alone, as others do, to talk of my own services. However, I will make use of his counsel, and take some course to prevent having the single ill will of the office. Mr. Grant showed me letters of Sir William Petty's, wherein he says that his vessel, which he hath built upon two keels, a model whereof built for the King he showed me, hath this month won a wager of £50 in sailing between Dublin and Holyhead with the packet-boat, the best ship or vessel the King hath there; and he offers to lay with any vessel in the world. It is about thirty ton in burden, and carries thirty men with good accommodation, as much more as any ship of her burden, and so any vessel of this figure shall carry more men with better accommodation by half than any other ship. This carries also ten guns of about five tons weight. In their coming back from Holyhead they started together, and this vessel came to Dublin by five at night, and the packet boat not before eight the next morning; and when they came they did believe that this vessel had been drowned, or at least [left] behind, not thinking she could have lived in that sea. Strange things are told of this vessel, and he concludes his letter with this position: 'I only affirm that the perfection of sailing lies in my principle, find it out who can.'

August 1st. Mr. Coventry and I to Chatham looking and enquiring into many businesses, and in the evening went to the Commissioner's and there pressed upon the Commissioner to take upon him a power to correct and suspend officers that do not their duty, and other things, which he unwillingly answered he would if we would own him in it. At the Hill house to bed.

2nd. (Lord's day.) To the dock, and so on board the Mathias where an excellent sermon of Mr. Hudson's upon 'All is yours and you are God's.' After dinner to the parish church, and there heard a poor sermon with a great deal of false Greek in it. To view St. Mary Creek, but we do not find it so proper for a wet dock as we would have it.

3rd. To the yard and see the men called over, and choose some to be discharged. At noon Mr. Pett did give us a very great dinner, too big in all conscience. Mounted and rode to Gravesend, and to bed.

4th. To London by nine o'clock. My brother John, I find, came to town to my house, as I sent for him, on Saturday last; so at noon home and dined with him, and then by water to Black-bury's and he tells me that Paul's is now going to be repaired in good earnest. This day I received a letter from my wife, which troubles me mightily, wherein she tells me how Ashwell did give her the lie to her teeth, and that, thereupon my wife giving her a box on the ear, the other struck her again, and a deal of stir. I fear I shall find a trouble of my wife when she comes home to get down her head again, this height that my wife is come to being occasioned by my own folly in giving her too much head.

5th. To dinner with my brother, and he and I fell upon Descartes, and I perceive he has studied him well, and cannot find but he has minded his book and do love it. This evening came a letter about business from Mr. Coventry, and with it a silver pen he promised me to carry ink in, which is very necessary.

6th. I to my cousin Mary Joyce's at a gossiping, where much company and good cheer. There was the King's Falconer and his wife, an ugly puss but brought him money. He speaking of the strength of hawks, which will strike a fowl to the ground with that force that shall make the fowl rebound a great way from the ground. Kate Joyce very handsome and well, and I grew mighty kind and familiar with her and kissed her soundly, which she takes very well. I walked home very well contented with this afternoon's work, I thinking it convenient to keep in with the Joyces against a bad day.

7th. To Brown's for my measuring rule, which is made and is certainly the best and the most commodious for carrying in one's pocket, and myself have the honour of being, as it were, the inventor of the form of it. To Deptford, and there found Sir W. Pen, and I fell to measuring of some planks that was serving into the yard, which the people took notice of, and the measurer himself was amused at, for I did it much more ready than he; and I believe Sir W. Pen would be glad I could have done less or he more. So home, and my brother John and I up, and I to my music, and then to discourse with him; and I find him not so thorough a philosopher, at least in Aristotle, as I took him for.

8th. I with Mr. Coventry down to the water-side, talking, wherein I see so much goodness and endeavours of doing the King service, that I do more and more admire him. Asking many things in physics of my brother John, to which he gives me so bad or no answer at all. But I shall call him to task and see what it is that he has studied since his going to the University.

9th. To church, and heard Mr. Mills (who is lately returned out of the country, and it seems was fetched in by many of the parishioners with great state) preach upon the authority of the ministers, upon these words, 'We are therefore ambassadors of Christ.' Wherein, among many other high expressions, he said that such a learned man used to say that if a minister of the word and an angel should meet him together, he would salute the minister first; which methought was a little too high. This day I begun to make use of the silver pen Mr. Coventry did give me in writing of this sermon, taking only the heads of it in Latin, which I shall, I think, continue to do. Stayed up a good while examining Will in his Latin below, and my brother along with him in his Greek. This afternoon I was amused at the tune set to the psalm by the clerk of the parish, and thought at first that he was out; but I find him to be a good songster. I wonder there should be a tune in the psalms that I never heard of.

10th. To the Committee of Tangier, where my Lord Sandwich, my Lord Peterborough, whom I have not seen before since his coming back, Sir W. Compton, and Mr. Povy. Our discourse about supplying my Lord Teviot with money. Thence by coach with my Lords Peterborough and Sandwich to my Lord Peterborough's house; and there, after an hour's looking over some fine books of the Italian buildings, with fine cuts, and also my Lord Peterborough's bows and arrows of which he is a great lover, we sat down to dinner, my Lady<sup>1</sup> coming down to dinner also, and there being Mr. Williamson, that belongs to Sir H. Bennet, whom I find a pretty understanding and accomplished man, but a little conceited. To Greatorex's, and set him to work upon my ruler, to engrave an almanac and other things upon the brasses of it, which a little before night he did, but the latter part he slubbered over, that I must get him to do it over better, or else I shall not fancy my rule. Whereas before my delight was

<sup>1</sup> Lady Penelope O'Brien, daughter of Barnabas O'Brien, sixth Earl of Thomond, wife of the Earl of Peterborough.

in multitude of books and other things, now my delight is in the neatness of everything, and so cannot be pleased with anything unless it be very neat, which is a strange folly.

11th. Dr. Pierce tells me that the Queen is grown a very debonnaire lady, and now hugs [the King] and meets him galloping upon the road, and all the actions of a fond and pleasant lady that can be.

12th. To my brother's, and there I hear my wife is come. I home, where methinks I find my wife strange, not knowing, I believe, in what temper she could expect me to be in; but I fell to kind words, and so we were very kind.

13th. Met with Mr. Hoole,<sup>1</sup> my old acquaintance of Magdalene, and walked with him an hour in the Park, discoursing chiefly of Sir Samuel Morland, whose lady<sup>2</sup> is gone into France. It seems he buys ground and a farm in that country, and lays out money upon building and God knows what! so that most of the money he sold his pension of £500 per annum for, to Sir Arthur Slingsby,<sup>3</sup> is believed is gone.

14th. To my brother's, where I found my father very discontented, and would have begun some of the difference between my wife and him; but I desired to hear none of them, and am resolved to make the best of a bad market and to bring my wife to herself again as soon and as well as I can.

15th. To Deptford, taking into my boat with me Mr. Palmer. He joyed me on my condition, and himself is forced to follow the law in a common ordinary way. He landed with me, and saw, by the officers' respect to me, a piece of my command, though God knows I hope I shall not be elated with that.

16th. (Lord's day.) With my wife to church. After dinner to church again, and there, looking up and down, I found Pembleton to stand in the aisle against us, he coming too late to get a pew. When, Lord! into what a sweat did it put me. But it makes me mad to see of what a jealous temper I am and cannot help it. Here preached a confident young coxcomb. So home, and I stayed a

<sup>1</sup> William, son of Robert Hoole, of Walkeringham, Nottinghamshire, admitted of Magdalene College, June 1648.

<sup>2</sup> Susanne de Milleville, daughter of Daniel de Milleville, baron of Boessen, in France, naturalized 1662. Sir Samuel Morland survived a second and a third wife, both buried in Westminster Abbey.

<sup>3</sup> A younger son of Sir Gylford Slingsby, Comptroller of the Navy, knighted by Charles II, and afterwards created a baronet at Brussels 1657, which title has long been extinct.

while with Sir J. Minnes hearing his parrot talk, laugh, and crow, which it do to admiration.

17th. After dinner comes our old maid Susan to look for a gorget that she says she has lost by leaving it here. And by many circumstances it being clear to me that Hannah, our present cook-maid, had it on when Susan came in, and shifted it off presently upon her coming, I did charge her so home with it, that in a huff she told us she would be gone tonight if I would pay her her wages; which I was glad of, and fetched her wages, and so she went away in a quarter of an hour's time. Till my house is settled I do not see that I can mind my business of the office, which grieves me to the heart.

18th. My father came and dined with me, Susan being come and helped my wife to dress dinner.

19th. Up betimes, and my wife up and about the house, Susan beginning to have her drunken tricks. I out and to Mr. Hollyard, and took a note under his hand to drink wine with my beer: by my drinking of small beer, and not eating, I am so mightily troubled with wind that I know not what to do almost. Thence to White Hall and so home, and there found my wife almost mad with Susan's tricks, so as she is forced to let her go and leave the house all in dirt, and gets Goody Taylor to do the business for her till another comes.

20th. To my office, and at noon dined at home, and there found a little girl which she told my wife her name was Jinny. I think a good, likely girl, and a parish child of St. Bride's, of honest parentage, and recommended by the churchwarden. This evening, being cleansed of lice by my wife, and good new clothes being put on her back, she run away from Goody Taylor that was showing her the way to the bakehouse, and we heard no more of her.

21st. Meeting with Mr. Creed, he told me how my Lord Teviot hath received another attack from Guyland at Tangier with 10,000 men, and at last, as is said, is come, after a personal treaty with him, to a good understanding and peace with him. Thence to my brother's, and there told him how my girl had served us which he sent me, and directed him to get my clothes again and get the girl whipped. So to Deptford. After dinner to Greenwich, and so home by water. And at home I find my girl that run away brought by a beadle of St. Bride's parish, and stripped her and sent her away, and a new one come, which I think will prove a pretty girl. Her name Susan.

22nd. Mr. Castle and I walked to Greenwich, and in our way met some gypsies who would needs tell me my fortune, and I suffered one of them, who told me many things common as others do, but bade me beware of a John and a Thomas, for they did seek to do me hurt, and that somebody should be with me this day se'nnight to borrow money of me, but I should lend him none. She got ninepence of me. This day Sir W. Batten tells me that Mr. Newburne is dead of eating cucumbers.

23d. (Lord's day.) To church without my wife, she being all dirty as my house is. Home to dinner, and then to walk up and down in my house with my wife, discoursing of our family matters, and I hope, after all my troubles of mind and jealousy, we shall live happily still. To church, again and so home to my wife; and with her read 'Iter Boreale,'<sup>1</sup> a poem, made just at the King's coming home; but I never read it before, and now like it pretty well, but not so as it was cried up.

24th. At my Lord Sandwich's, where I was a good while alone with my Lord; and I perceive he confides in me, and loves me as he uses to do, and tells me his condition, which is now very well: all I fear is that he will not live within compass. There came to him this morning his prints of the river Tagus and the City of Lisbon, which he measured with his own hand, and printed by command of the King. My Lord pleases himself with it, but methinks it ought to have been better done than by Jobing. Besides, I put him upon having some took off upon white satin, which he ordered presently. I offered my Lord my accounts, and did give him up his old bond for £500, and took a new one of him for £700, which I am, by lending him more money, to make up: and I am glad of it.

25th. Home at two o'clock, and there I found Ashwell gone; I am glad that she is gone and the charge saved. This noon, going to the Exchange, I met a fine fellow with trumpets before him in Leadenhall Street, and upon inquiry I find that he is the clerk of the City Market; and three or four men carried each of them an arrow of a pound weight in their hands. It seems this Lord Mayor<sup>2</sup> begins again an old custom, that upon the three first days of Bartholomew Fair, the first, there is a match of wrestling, which was done, and the Lord Mayor there and the Aldermen in Moorfields yesterday; today, shooting; and tomorrow hunting. And

<sup>1</sup> Robert Wild, a Nonconformist divine, published a poem in 1660, upon Monk's march from Scotland to London, called *Iter Boreale*.

<sup>2</sup> Sir John Robinson.

this officer of course is to perform this ceremony of riding through the City, I think to proclaim or challenge any to shoot. It seems that the people of the fair cry out upon it, as a great hindrance to them.

26th. To White Hall, where the Court full of waggons and horses, the King and Court going this day out towards the Bath. Pleased this day to see Captain Hicks come to me with a list of all the officers of Deptford Yard, wherein he, being a high old Cavalier, do give me an account of every one of them to their reproach in all respects, and discovers many of their knaveries; and tells me, and so I thank God I hear everywhere, that my name is up for a good husband for the King, and a good man, for which I bless God; and that he did this by particular direction of Mr. Coventry.

27th. Up after much pleasant talk with my wife, and a little that vexes me, for I see that she is confirmed in it that all that I do is by design, and that my very keeping of the house in dirt is but to find her employment and to keep her within and from minding of her pleasure, which is true enough in a great degree. A feacho (as he calls it) of fine sugar and a case of orange-flower water came from Mr. Cocke of Lisbon, the fruits of my last year's service to him, which I did in great justice to the man, a perfect stranger.

28th. Cold all night and this morning, and a very great frost, they say, abroad, which is much, having had no summer at all almost.

29th. I am mightily displeased at a letter Tom sent me last night to borrow £20 more of me, and yet gives me no account, as I have long desired, how matters stand with him in the world. I am troubled also to see how, contrary to my expectation, my brother John neither is the scholar nor minds his studies as I thought he would have done, but loiters away his time.

31st. This noon came Jane Gentleman to serve my wife as her chamber-maid. I wish she may prove well. So ends this month with my mind pretty well quiet.

September 1st. In the evening my brother John coming to me to complain that my wife seems to be discontented at his being here, and shows him great disrespect; so I took and walked with him in the garden, and discoursed long with him about my affairs, and how imprudent it is for my father and mother and him to take exceptions without great cause at my wife, considering how much it concerns them to keep her their friend and for my peace; not



that I would ever be led by her to forget or desert them in the main, but yet she deserves to be pleased and complied with a little, considering the manner of life that I keep her to. So directed him how to behave himself to her, and gave him other counsel; and so to my office, where late.

2d. To dinner with my Lord Mayor and the Aldermen, and a very great dinner and most excellent venison, but it almost made me sick by not daring to drink wine. After dinner, into a withdrawing-room; and there we talked, among other things, of the Lord Mayor's sword. They tell me this sword, they believe, is at least a hundred or two hundred years old; and another that he hath, which is called the Black Sword, which the Lord Mayor wears when he mourns, but properly is their Lenten sword to wear upon Good Friday and other Lent days, is older than that. Going through the City, my Lord Mayor told me how the pillar set up by Exeter House is only to show where the pipes of water run to the City; and observed that this City is as well watered as any city in the world, and that the bringing of water to the City hath cost it, first and last, above £300,000; but by the new building, and the building of St. James's by my Lord St. Albans, which is now about (and which the City stomach, I perceive, highly, but dare not oppose it), were it now to be done, it would not be done for a million of money.

3rd. To Sir W. Batten, who is going this day for pleasure down to the Downs. I eat a breakfast with them, and at my Lady's desire with them by coach to Greenwich, where I went aboard with them on the Charlotte yacht. The wind very high, and I believe they will be all sick enough, besides that she is mighty troublesome on the water. I left them under sail, and I to Deptford, and walked to Redriffe and so home.

4th. To Westminster Hall, and there bought the first news-books of L'Estrange's<sup>1</sup> writing, he beginning this week;<sup>2</sup> and makes, methinks, but a simple beginning. Creed and I to Mr. Povy's; and by and by in comes he, and so we sat down to dinner. After dinner done, to see his new cellars which he has made so fine with so noble an arch and such contrivances for his barrels and

<sup>1</sup> Roger L'Estrange, author of numerous pamphlets and periodical papers. He succeeded Muddiman, who had been put aside as to that employment, and was Licenser of the Press to Charles II and his successor; and M.P. for Winchester in James II's Parliament. *Ob.* 1704, aged eighty-eight.

<sup>2</sup> The first number of *The Intelligencer*, dated 31st August 1663.

ottles. But to see how he do pride himself too much in it, and command and expect to have all admiration, though indeed everything do highly deserve it, is a little troublesome. Made my wife get herself presently ready, and so carried her by coach to the fair, and showed her the monkeys dancing on the ropes, which was strange, but such dirty sport that I was not pleased with it. There was also a horse with hoofs like ram's horns, a goose with four feet, and a cock with three. This day I read a Proclamation<sup>1</sup> for calling in, and commanding everybody to apprehend, my Lord Bristol.

5th. To Captain Minors, and there I did inform myself well in things relating to the East Indies, both of the country, and the disappointment the King met with the last voyage by the knavery of the Portugal Viceroy, and the inconsiderableness of the place of Bombay, if we had had it. But above all things it seems strange to me that matters should not be understood before they went out, and also that such a thing as this, which was expected to be one of the best parts of the Queen's portion, should not be better understood.

7th. To the Black Spread Eagle in Bride Lane, and there had a chop of veal and some bread, cheese, and beer, cost me a shilling to my dinner; and so to Bartholomew Fair, where met with Mr. Pickering, and he and I to see the monkeys at the Dutch house, which is far beyond the other that my wife and I saw the other day; and thence to see the dancing on the ropes, which was very poor and tedious. But he and I fell in discourse about my Lord Sandwich. He tells me how he is sorry for my Lord at his being at Chelsea; but I could not fish from him, though I knew it, what was the matter; but am very sorry to see that my Lord hath thus much forgot his honour, but am resolved not to meddle with it. The play being done, I stole from him and hied home, buying several things at the ironmonger's: dogs, tongs, and shovels for my wife's closet and the rest of my house. By my letters from Tangier today I hear that it grows very strong by land, and the Mole goes on. They have lately killed about two hundred of the Moors, and lost about forty or fifty.

8th. Dined at home with my wife. It being washing-day, we had a good pie baked of a leg of mutton; and then to Moxon's, and there bought a pair of globes cost me £3 10s., with which I am well pleased.

<sup>1</sup> Dated 25th August 1663. A copy of it is in the British Museum.

9th. I met with Ned Pickering, he telling me the whole business of my Lord's folly with this Mrs. Becke, of Chelsea, of all which I am ashamed to see my Lord so grossly play the fool, to the flinging off of all honour, friends, servants, and every thing and person that is good, with his carrying her abroad, and playing on his lute under her window, and forty other poor sordid things, which I am grieved to hear; but believe it to no purpose for me to meddle with it, but let him go on till God Almighty and his own conscience and thoughts of his lady and family do it.

10th. All the morning making a great contract with Sir W. Warren for £3,000 worth of masts, but, good God! to see what a man might do, were I a knave. Mr. Moore tells me of the good peace that is made at Tangier with the Moors, but to continue but from six months to six months.

11th. This morning, about two or three o'clock, knocked up in our back yard, and rising to the window, being moonshine, I found it was the constable and his watch, who had found our back yard door open, and so come in to see what the matter was. So I desired them to shut the door, and bid them good-night.

12th. Up betimes, and by water to White Hall: and thence to Sir Philip Warwick, and there had half an hour's private discourse with him; and did give him some good satisfaction in our Navy matters, and he also me, as to the money paid and due to the Navy; so as he makes me assured by particulars, that Sir G. Carteret is paid within £80,000, every farthing that we to this day, nay, to Michaelmas day next, have demanded; and that, I am sure, is above £50,000 more than truly our expenses have been, whatever is become of the money. Home with great content that I have thus begun an acquaintance with him, who is a great man, and a man of as much business as any man in England; which I will endeavour to deserve and keep.

13th. (Lord's day.) Put my clothes in order against tomorrow's journey to Brampton. At supper saying to my wife in ordinary fondness, 'Well! shall you and I never travel together again?' she took me up, and offered and desired to go along with me. After some difficulty made I did send about for a horse and other things.

14th. By coach to Bishopsgate Street, it being a very promising fair day. There at the Dolphin we met my uncle Thomas and his son-in-law, which seems a very sober man, and Mr. Moore. So Mr. Moore and my wife set out before, and my uncle and I

stayed for his son Thomas, who, by a sudden resolution, is preparing to go with us, which makes me fear something of mischief which they design to do us. He staying a great while, the old man and I before, and about eight miles off his son comes after us, and about six miles further we overtake Mr. Moore and my wife. And so, after a little bait (I paying all the reckonings the whole journey) at Ware, to Buntingford, where my wife, by drinking some cold beer, being hot herself, presently after 'lighting begins to be sick, and became so pale, and I alone with her in a great chamber there, that I thought she would have died. And so in great horror, and having a great trial of my true love and passion for her, called the maids and mistress of the house, and so, with some strong water, she came to be pretty well again. And so to bed, and I having put her to bed with great content, I called in my company, and supped in the chamber by her, and being very merry in talk, supped and then parted. This day my cousin Thomas dropped his hanger, and it was lost.

15th. Up pretty betimes, and rode as far as Godmanchester, Mr. Moore having two falls, once in water and another in dirt, and there 'light and eat and drunk, being all of us very weary, but especially my uncle and wife. Thence to Brampton, to my father's, and there found all well; and so my father, cousin Thomas, and I up to Hinchinbroke, where I find my Lord and his company gone to Boughton, which vexed me; but there I find my Lady and the young ladies, and there I alone with my Lady two hours—she carrying me through every part of the house and gardens, which are, and will be, mighty noble indeed. Here I saw Mrs. Betty Pickering,<sup>1</sup> who is a very well-bred and comely lady, but very fat. After supper my uncle and his son to Stankes's to bed, which troubles me, all my father's beds being lent to Hinchinbroke.

16th. To the Court, and heard Sir R. Bernard's charges to the Courts Baron and Leet, which took up till noon and were worth hearing; and after dinner to the Court again and to our business. So the Court broke up, and so home to supper, and with my mind in pretty good quiet to bed.

17th. I was forced to come to a new consideration, whether it was fit to let my uncle and his son go to Wisbeach about my uncle Day's estate alone or no, and concluded it unfit. And so, leaving my wife, I begun a journey with them, and with much ado through

<sup>1</sup> Afterwards married to Creed.

the fens, along dikes, where sometimes we were ready to have our horses sink to the belly, we got by night, with a great deal of stir and hard riding, to Parson's Drove, a heathen place, where I found my uncle and aunt Perkins, and their daughters, poor wretches! in a sad, poor thatched cottage, like a poor barn, or stable, peeling of hemp, in which I did give myself good content to see their manner of preparing of hemp; and in a poor condition of habit took them to our miserable inn, and there, after long stay, and hearing of Frank, their son the miller, play upon his treble, as he calls it, with which he earns part of his living, and singing of a country loose song, we sat down to supper: the whole crew, and Frank's wife and child, a sad company, of which I was ashamed, supped with us. By and by news is brought to us that one of our horses is stole out of the stable, which proves my uncle's, at which I am inwardly glad—I mean, that it was not mine. And at this we were at a great loss; and they doubting a person that lay at next door, a Londoner, some lawyer's clerk, we caused him to be secured in his bed and other care to be taken to seize the horse; and so, about twelve at night or more, to bed, in a sad, cold, chamber, only the maid was indifferent handsome, and so I had a kiss or two of her; and a little after I was asleep they waked me to tell me that the horse was found, which was good news, and so to sleep, but was bit cruelly, and nobody else of our company, which I wonder at, by the gnats.

18th. Up, and got our people together as soon as we could; and after eating a dish of cold cream, which was my supper last night too, we took leave of our beggarly company, though they seem good people too; and over most sad fens, all the way observing the sad life which the people of the place—which, if they be born there, they do call the Breedings of the place—do live, sometimes rowing from one spot to another, and then wading. To Wisbeach, a pretty town, and a fine church and library, where sundry very old abbey manuscripts; and a fine house, built on the church ground by Secretary Thurloe, and a fine gallery built for him in the church, but now all in the Bishop of Ely's hands. After visiting the church &c., we out of the town, by the help of a stranger, to find out one Blinkehorn, a miller, of whom we might enquire something of old Day's disposal of his estate, and in whose hands it now is: and by great chance we met him, and brought him to our inn to dinner. And instead of being informed in his estate by this fellow, we find that he is the next

heir to the estate, which was matter of great sport to my cousin Thomas and me, to see such a fellow prevent us in our hopes—he being Day's brother's daughter's son, whereas we are but his sister's sons and grandsons: so that, after all, we were fain to propose our matter to him, and to get him to give us leave to look after the business, and so he to have one-third part, and we two to have the other two-third parts, of what should be recovered of the estate, which he consented to. And after some discourse and paying the reckoning we mounted again, and rode, being very merry at our defeat, to Chatteris—my uncle very weary, and after supper and my telling of three stories to their good liking of spirits, we all three in a chamber went to bed.

19th. Up pretty betimes; and I to Brampton, where I find my father ill in bed still, and Madam Norbery, whom and her fair daughter and sister I was ashamed to kiss, but did—my lip being sore with riding in the wind, and bit with the gnats; and they being gone, I told my father my success. My wife and I took horse, and rode with marvellous, and the first and only hour of, pleasure that ever I had in this estate since I had to do with it, to Brampton woods; and through the wood rode and gathered nuts in my way, and then at Graffam, to an old woman's house to drink, where my wife used to go. And being in all circumstances highly pleased, and to my wife's riding and good company at this time, I rode, and she showed me the river behind my father's house, which is very pleasant. And so saw her home, and I straight to Huntingdon; and there a barber came and trimmed me, and thence walked to Hinchinbroke, where my Lord and ladies all are just alighted.

20th. (Lord's day.) Walked to Huntingdon Church, where in my Lord's pew, with the young ladies, by my Lord's own showing me the place, I stayed the sermon, and so to Hinchinbroke, walking with Mr. Shepley and Dr. King, whom they account a witty man here, as well as good physician. And there my Lord singly demanded my opinion, in the walks in his garden, about the bringing of the crooked wall on the Mount to a shape; and so to dinner—there being Colonel Williams and much other company, and a noble dinner. But having before got my Lord's warrant for travelling today, there being a proclamation read yesterday against it at Huntingdon, at which I am very glad, I took leave, and we rode to Bigglesworth<sup>1</sup> by the help of a couple of

<sup>1</sup> Biggleswade.

countrymen that led us through the very long and dangerous waters, because of the ditches on each side, though it begun to be very dark.

21st. Up very betimes by break of day, and got my wife up, whom the thought of this day's long journey do discourage; and after eating something, and changing of a piece of gold to pay the reckoning, we mounted, and through Baldwicke,<sup>1</sup> where the fair is kept today, and a great one for cheese and other such commodities. And so to Hatfield: and here we dined, and my wife being very weary, I took the opportunity of an empty coach that was to go to London, and left her to come in it to London, for half a crown; and so I and the boy home as fast as we could drive, and it was even night before we got home. By and by comes my wife by coach well home, and having got a good fowl ready for supper against her coming, we eat heartily, and so with great content and ease to our own bed, there nothing appearing so to our content as to be at our own home after being abroad awhile.

22d. This day my wife showed me bills printed, wherein her father, with Sir John Collidon<sup>2</sup> and Sir Edward Ford,<sup>3</sup> have got a patent for curing of smoking chimneys. I wish they may do good thereof. This day the King and Queen are to come to Oxford. My present care is fitting my wife's closet and my house, and making her a velvet coat, and me a new black cloth suit and coat and cloak.

23d. To my Lord Crewe's, and there dined with him and Sir Thomas, thinking to have them enquire something about my Lord's lodgings at Chelsea, but they did not take the least notice of it.

24th. I went forth by water to Sir Philip Warwick's, where I was with him a pretty while; and in discourse he tells me, and made it appear to me, that the King cannot be in debt to the Navy at this time £5,000; and it is my opinion that Sir G. Carteret do owe the King money, and yet the whole Navy debt paid. Thence I parted, being doubtful of myself that I have not spoke with the gravity and weight that I ought to do in so great a business. But I rather hope it is my doubtfulness of myself, and the haste which he was in, some very great personages waiting for him without while he was with me, that made him willing to be gone.

<sup>1</sup> Baldock.

<sup>2</sup> Or Colliton.

<sup>3</sup> Sir Edward Ford, of Hartung, Sussex, sheriff for that county, and governor of Arundel Castle in 1642: *ob.* 1670.

28th. To White Hall, where Sir J. Minnes and I did spend an hour in the Gallery looking upon the pictures, in which he hath some judgement. And by and by the Commissioners for Tangier met: and there my Lord Teviot, together with Captain Cuttance, Captain Evans, and Jonas Moore, sent to that purpose, did bring us a brave draft of the Mole to be built there; and report that it is likely to be the most considerable place the King of England hath in the world; and so I am apt to think it will. After discourse of this and of supplying the garrison with some more horse, we rose; and Sir J. Minnes and I home again, finding the street about our house full, Sir R. Ford<sup>1</sup> beginning his shrievalty today; and, what with his and our houses being new painted, the street begins to look a great deal better than it did, and more graceful. News that the King comes to town for certain on Thursday next from his great progress.

29th. Came Mr. Sympson to set up my wife's chimney-piece in her closet, which pleases me.

30th. In the afternoon by water to White Hall, to the Tangier Committee, where my Lord Teviot about his accounts; which grieves me to see that his accounts being to be examined by us, there are none of the great men at the Board that in compliment will except against anything in them, and so none of the little persons dare do it: so the King is abused. Blessed be God, I do find myself £760 creditor, notwithstanding that for clothes for myself and wife, and layings out on her closet, I have spent this month £47. So home where I found our new cook-maid Elizabeth.

October 1st. To my office; my absence has been a great while. To Deptford about a little business, and so back again, buying a couple of good eels by the way.

2nd. Mr. Cutler do assure me that there is great likelihood of a war with Holland, but I hope we shall be in good condition before it comes to break out. My wife is over head and ears in getting her house up.

3rd. Abroad to buy a bell to hang by our chamber door to call the maids. I am troubled to see that my servants and others should be the greatest trouble I have in the world.

4th. (Lord's day.) Up and to church, my house being miserably overflowed with rain last night, which makes me almost mad.

<sup>1</sup> He lived in Hart Street, and the Navy Board had been in treaty for his house.



5th. My Lord Sandwich sent a message to know whether the King intends to come to Newmarket, as is talked, that he may be ready to entertain him at Hinchinbroke.

6th. My wife waked to ring the bell to call up our maids to the washing about four o'clock, and I was, and she, angry that our bell did not wake them sooner; but I will get a bigger bell. At noon, Luellin coming to me, I took him and Deane and my uncle Thomas and we dined together: it being washing day, we had no meat dressed, but sent to the cook's, and my people had so little wit to send in our meat from abroad in that cook's dishes which were marked with the name of the cook upon them, by which, if they observed anything, they might know it was not my own dinner.

7th, 8th, 9th, 10th. My great fit of the cholic. Sir J. Minnes and Sir W. Batten did advise me to take some juniper water.

11th. (Lord's day.) At night fell to reading in the Church History of Fuller's, and particularly Cranmer's letter to Queen<sup>1</sup> Elizabeth, which pleases me mightily for his zeal, obedience, and boldness in a cause of religion.

12th. At St. James's we attended the Duke, all of us. And there, after my discourse, Mr. Coventry of his own accord begun to tell the Duke how he found that discourse abroad did run to his prejudice about the fees that he took, and how he sold places and other things; wherein he desired to appeal to His Highness, whether he did anything more than what his predecessors did, and appealed to us all. So Sir G. Carteret did answer that some fees were heretofore taken, but what he knows not; only that selling of places never was, nor ought to be, countenanced. So Mr. Coventry very hotly answered to Sir G. Carteret, and appealed to himself whether he was not one of the first that put him upon looking after this taking of fees, and that he told him that Mr. Smith should say that he made £5,000 the first year, and he believed he made £7,000. This Sir G. Carteret denied, and said that if he did say so he told a lie. Mr. Coventry did put into the Duke's hand a list of above 250 places that he did give without receiving one farthing, so much as his ordinary fees for them, upon his life and oath; and that since the Duke's establishment of fees he had never received one token more of any man; and that in his whole life he never conditioned or discoursed of any consideration from any commanders since he come to the Navy. The Duke's answer was that he wished we all had made more profit than we

<sup>1</sup> *Sic orig.*

had of our places, and that we had all of us got as much as one man below stairs in the Court, which he presently named, and it was Sir George Lane.<sup>1</sup>

13th. I find at Court that either the King is doubtful of some disturbance, or else would seem so (and I have reason to hope it is no worse) by his commanding all commanders of castles, &c., to repair to their charges; and mustering the Guards the other day himself, where he found reason to dislike their condition to my Lord Gerard, finding so many absent men, or dead <sup>2</sup> pays. My Lady Castlemaine, I hear, is in as great favour as ever, and the King supped with her the very first night he came from Bath: and last night and the night before supped with her; when there being a chine of beef to roast, and the tide rising into their kitchen that it could not be roasted there, and the cook telling her of it, she answered 'Zounds! she must set the house on fire but it should be roasted!' So it was carried to Mrs. Sarah's husband's, and there it was roasted.

14th. After dinner my wife and I, by Mr. Rawlinson's conduct, to the Jewish Synagogue: where the men and boys in their veils, and the women behind a lattice out of sight; and some things stand up, which I believe is their Law, in a press, to which all coming in do bow; and at the putting on their veils do say something, to which others that hear him do cry, Amen, and the party do kiss his veil. Their service all in a singing way, and in Hebrew. And anon their Laws that they take out of the press are carried by several men, four or five several burthens in all, and they do relieve one another; and whether it is that everyone desires to have the carrying of it, I cannot tell, thus they carried it round about the room while such a service is singing. And in the end they had a prayer for the King, in which they pronounced his name in Portugal; but the prayer, like the rest, in Hebrew. But, Lord! to see the disorder, laughing, sporting, and no attention, but confusion in all their service, more like brutes than people knowing the true God, would make a man forswear ever seeing them more: and indeed I never did see so much, or could have imagined there had been any religion in the whole world, so absurdly performed as this.

<sup>1</sup> One of the clerks of the Privy Council, and secretary to the Marquis of Ormond. He became Viscount Lanesborough.

<sup>2</sup> This is probably an allusion to the practice of not reporting the deaths of soldiers, that the officers might continue to draw their pay.

16th. To the Tangier Committee where very good discourse concerning the Articles of peace to be continued with Guyland, and thence took up my wife and with her to her tailors, and then to the Exchange.

17th. Some discourse of the Queen's being very sick, if not dead, the Duke and Duchess of York being sent for betimes this morning to come to White Hall to her.

18th. (Lord's day.) To church. The parson, Mr. Mills, I perceive, did not know whether to pray for the Queen or no, and so said nothing about her; which makes me fear she is dead. But enquiring of Sir J. Minnes, he told me that he heard she was better last night. To church again, and there was a simple coxcomb preached worse than the Scot.

19th. Waked with a very high wind, and said to my wife: 'I pray God I hear not of the death of any great person, this wind is so high!' fearing that the Queen might be dead. So up; and going by coach with Sir W. Batten and Sir J. Minnes to St. James's, they tell me that Sir W. Compton, who it is true had been a little sickly for a week or fortnight, but was very well upon Friday at night last at the Tangier Committee with us, was dead—died yesterday: at which I was most exceedingly surprised, he being, and so all the world saying that he was, one of the worthiest men and best officers of State now in England; and so in my conscience he was: of the best temper, valour, ability of mind, integrity, birth, fine person, and diligence of any one man he hath left behind him in the three kingdoms; and yet not forty years old, or, if so, that is all. I find the sober men of the Court troubled for him; and yet not so as to hinder or lessen their mirth, talking, laughing, and eating, drinking, and doing everything else, just as if there was no such thing.

Coming to St. James's, I hear that the Queen did sleep five hours pretty well tonight, and that she waked and gargled her mouth, and to sleep again; but that her pulse beats fast, beating twenty to the King's or my Lady Suffolk's eleven; but not so strong as it was. It seems she was so ill as to be shaved, and pigeons put to her feet, and to have the extreme unction given her by the priests, who were so long about it that the doctors were angry. The King, they all say, is most fondly disconsolate for her, and weeps by her, which makes her weep; which one this day told me he reckons a good sign, for that it carries away some rheum from the head. This morning Captain Allen tells me how the famous Ned

Mullins, by a slight fall, broke his leg at the ankle, which festered; and he had his leg cut off on Saturday, but so ill done, notwithstanding all the great surgeons about the town at the doing of it, that they fear he will not live with it. Being invited to dinner to my Lord Berkeley's, and so not knowing how to spend our time till noon, Sir W. Batten and I took coach and to the coffee-house in Cornhill; where much talk about the Turk's proceedings, and that the plague is got to Amsterdam, brought by a ship from Algiers, and it is also carried to Hamburg. The Duke says the King purposes to forbid any of their ships coming into the river. The Duke also told us of several Christian commanders (French) gone over to the Turks to serve them; and upon inquiry I find that the King of France do by this aspire to the Empire, and so to get the Crown of Spain also upon the death of the King, which is very probable, it seems. Back to St. James's, and there dined with my Lord Berkeley and his lady, where Sir G. Carteret, Sir W. Batten, and myself, with two gentlemen more; my lady and one of the ladies of honour to the Duchess—no handsome woman.

20th. To dinner to my Lord Mayor's, and much company, and a very great noble dinner, as this Mayor is good for nothing else. No extraordinary discourse of anything, every man being intent upon his dinner. Thence home, and took my wife by coach to White Hall. I to a Committee of Tangier, and thence with her homeward, calling at Paul's Church-yard; and while I was in Kirton's shop, a fellow came to offer kindness or force to my wife in the coach, but she refusing, he went away after the coachman had struck him and he the coachman. So I being called, went thither, and the fellow coming out again of a shop, I did give him a good cuff or two on the chops, and seeing him not oppose me, I did give him another; at last found him drunk, of which I was glad, and so left him, and home. This evening, at my Lord's lodgings, Mrs. Sarah talking with my wife and I how the Queen do, and how the King tends her, being so ill. She tells us that the Queen's sickness is the spotted fever; that she was as full of the spots as a leopard: which is very strange that it should be no more known; but perhaps it is not so. And that the King do seem to take it much to heart, for that he hath wept before her; but, for all that, that he hath not missed one night since she was sick of supping with my Lady Castlemaine; which I believe is true, for she says that her husband hath dressed the suppers every night;

and I confess I saw him myself coming through the street dressing up a great supper tonight, which Sarah says is also for the King and her: which is a very strange thing.

21st. Comes my brother Tom to me, though late, which do vex me to the blood. We did resolve of putting me into a better garb, and, among other things, to have a good velvet cloak—that is, of cloth lined with velvet—and other things modish, and a peruke: and so I sent him and my wife out to buy me velvet. I to Trinity House and there dined. Thence, having my belly full, away on foot to my brother's all along Thames Street; and my belly being full of small beer, I did all alone, for health's sake, drink half a pint of Rhenish wine at the Steelyard, mixed with beer. This evening I begun to enter my wife in arithmetic, in order to her studying of the globes, and she takes it very well, and I hope I shall bring her to understand many fine things.

22d. This morning, hearing that the Queen grows worse again, I sent to stop the making of my velvet cloak till I see whether she lives or dies.

23d. The Queen slept pretty well last night, but her fever continues upon her still. It seems she hath never a Portugese doctor here. To Mr. Hollyard, who tells me that Mullins is dead of his leg cut off the other day, and most basely done. To Mr. Rawlinson's, and saw some of my new bottles, made with my crest upon them, filled with wine, about five or six dozen.

24th. Busy all the morning about Mr. Gauden's account, and to dinner with him at the Dolphin, where mighty merry by pleasant stories of Mr. Coventry's and Sir J. Minnes's, which I have put down some of in my book of tales. The Queen is in a good way of recovery, and Sir Francis Pridgeon<sup>1</sup> hath got great honour by it, it being all imputed to his cordial, which in her despair did give her rest, and brought her to some hopes of recovery.

25th. (Lord's day.) My wife and I to church, and seeing Pembleton come with his wife thither to church, I begin now to make no great matter of it, which before was so terrible to me.

26th. Dr. Pierce tells me that the Queen is in a way to be pretty well again, but that her delirium in her head continues still; that she talks idle, not by fits, but always, which in some lasts a week after so high a fever—in some more, and in some for ever; that this morning she talked mightily that she was brought to bed, and that she wondered that she should be delivered without pain and

<sup>1</sup> He was president of the College of Physicians, 1653.

without being sick, and that she was troubled that her boy was but an ugly boy. But the King, being by, said, 'No, it is a very pretty boy.'—'Nay,' says she, 'if it be like you, it is a fine boy indeed, and I would be very well pleased with it.' Seeing Dr. Pridgeon, she said, 'Nay, Doctor, you need not scratch your head, there is hair little enough already in the place.' But methinks it was not handsome for the weakness of princes to be talked of thus. They say that the Turks go on apace, and that my Lord Castlehaven<sup>1</sup> is going to raise 10,000 men here for to go against him; that the King of France do offer to assist the Empire upon condition that he may be their Generalissimo, and the Dolphin chosen King of the Romans: and it is said that the King of France do occasion this difference among the Christian Princes of the Empire, which gives the Turk such advantages. They say also that the King of Spain is making all imaginable force against Portugal again. Creed and I to one or two periwig shops about the Temple, having been very much displeased with one that we saw, a head of greasy and old woman's hair, at Jervas's in the morning; and there I think I shall fit myself of one very handsomely made. To the Globe in Fleet Street, and, talking of the Emperor<sup>2</sup> at table, one young gentleman, a pretty man, and it seems a Parliament-man, did say that he was a sot; for he minded nothing of the Government, but was led by the Jesuits. Several at table took him up, and one of our courtiers told him that it was not a thing to be said of any sovereign prince, be his weaknesses what they will, to be called a sot, which methinks was very prettily said.

27th. Mr. Coventry tells me today that the Queen had a very good night last night; but yet it is strange that still she raves and talks of little more than of her having of children, and fancies now that she hath three children, and that the girl is very like the King. And this morning, about five o'clock, the physician, feeling her pulse, thinking to be better able to judge, she being still and asleep, waked her, and the first word she said was, 'How do the children?'

28th. This morning Mr. Blackburn came to me, and telling me what complaints Will made of the usage he had from my wife, and

<sup>1</sup> The eldest son of the infamous Earl of Castlehaven had a new creation to his father's forfeited titles, in 1633, and died *s.p.* 1684. He had served with distinction under the Marquis of Ormond, and afterwards, joined Charles II at Paris.

<sup>2</sup> Leopold: *ætatis* 24.

other discouragements, we concluded to have him have a lodging elsewhere, and that I will spare him £15 of his salary.

29th. Up, it being my Lord Mayor's day, Sir Anthony Bateman.<sup>1</sup> This morning was brought home my new velvet cloak—that is, lined with velvet, a good cloth the outside—the first that ever I had in my life, and I pray God it may not be too soon now that I begin to wear it. I had it this day brought, thinking to have worn it to dinner, but I thought it better to go without it because of the crowd, and so I did not wear it. This morning in dressing myself and wanting a band, I found all my bands that were newly made clean so ill smoothed that I crumpled them, and flung them all on the ground, and was angry with Jane, which made the poor girl mighty sad, so that I was troubled for it afterwards. At noon I went to Guildhall; and, meeting with Mr. Proby, Sir R. Ford's son, and Lieutenant-Colonel Baron, a City commander, we went up and down to see the tables; where under every salt there was a bill of fare, and at the end of the table the persons proper for the table. Many were the tables, but none in the Hall, but the Mayor's and the Lords of the Privy Council, that had napkins or knives, which was very strange. We went into the Buttery, and there stayed and talked, and then into the Hall again, and there wine was offered, and they drunk, I only drinking some hippocras,<sup>2</sup> which do not break my vow, it being, to the best of my present judgment, only a mixed compound drink, and not any wine. If I am mistaken, God forgive me! but I hope and do think I am not. By and by met with Creed: and we, with the others, went within the several Courts, and there saw the tables prepared for the Ladies, and Judges, and Bishops: all great sign of a great dinner to come. By and by, about one o'clock, before the Lord Mayor came, come into the Hall, from the room where they were first led into, the Lord Chancellor, Archbishop before him, with the Lords of the Council, and other Bishops, and they to dinner. Anon comes the Lord Mayor, who went up to the lords, and then to the other tables to bid welcome; and so all to dinner. I set near Proby, Baron, and Creed at the Merchant Strangers' table; where ten good dishes to a mess, with plenty of wine of all sorts, of which I drunk

<sup>1</sup> Second son of Richard Bateman of Hartingdon, county Derby, who had been Chamberlain and M.P. for London. Sir A. Bateman married Elizabeth Russell. His elder brother was Sir William Bateman, and his younger, Thomas, was created a baronet in 1664.

<sup>2</sup> Wine sweetened and spiced.

none; but it was very displeasing that we had no napkins nor change of trenchers, and drunk out of earthen pitchers, and wooden dishes. It happened that after the lords had half dined, come the French Ambassador up to the lords' table, where he was to have sat; but finding the table set, he would not sit down nor dine with the Lord Mayor, who was not yet come, nor have a table to himself, which was offered; but in a discontent went away again. After I had dined I and Creed rose and went up and down the house, and up to the ladies' room, and there stayed gazing upon them. But though there were many and fine, both young and old, yet I could not discern one handsome face there; which was very strange. I expected music, but there was none but only trumpets and drums, which displeased me. The dinner, it seems, is made by the Mayor and two Sheriffs for the time being, the Lord Mayor paying one half, and they the other. And the whole, Proby says, is reckoned to come to about 7 or £800 at most. Being wearied with looking upon a company of ugly women, Creed and I went away and took coach, and through Cheapside, and there saw the pageants, which were very silly. The Queen mends apace, they say, but yet talks idle still.

30th. At my periwig-maker's, and there showed my wife the periwig made for me, and she likes it very well, and so to my brother's, and to buy a pair of bodice for her.

31st. To my great sorrow find myself £43 worse than I was the last month, which was then £760, and now it is but £717. But it hath chiefly arisen from my layings-out in clothes for myself and wife: viz., for her about £12, and for myself £55, or thereabouts; having made myself a velvet cloak, two new cloth suits, black, plain both; a new shag gown, trimmed with gold buttons and twist, with a new hat, and silk tops for my legs, and many other things, being resolved henceforward to go like myself. And also two periwigs, one whereof costs me £3, and the other 40s. I have worn neither yet, but will begin next week, God willing. I hope I shall not need to lay out more money a great while, I having laid out in clothes for myself and wife, and for her closet and other things without, these two months, this and the last, besides household expenses of victuals, &c., above £110. But I hope I shall with more comfort labour to get more, and with better success than when, for want of clothes, I was forced to sneak like a beggar. The Queen continues light-headed, but in hopes to recover. The plague is much in Amsterdam, and we in fear of it here, which



God defend.<sup>1</sup> The Turk goes on mightily in the Emperor's dominions, and the Princes cannot agree among themselves how to go against him. I must look about me to get something more than just my salary, or else I may resolve to live well and die a beggar.

November 1st. (Lord's day.) This morning my brother's man brought me a new black baize waistcoat faced with silk, which I put on, from this day, laying by half-shirts for this winter. He brought me also my new gown of purple shag: also, as a gift from my brother, a velvet hat, very fine to ride in, and the fashion, which pleases me.

2d. Up, and by coach to White Hall, and there in the long Matted Gallery I find Sir G. Carteret, Sir J. Minnes, and Sir W. Batten; and by and by comes the King, to walk there with three or four with him; as soon as he saw us, says he, 'Here is the Navy Office,' and there walked twenty turns the length of the gallery, talking, methought, but ordinary talk. By and by came the Duke, and he walked, and at last they went into the Duke's lodgings. The King stayed so long, that we could not discourse with the Duke, and so we parted. I heard the Duke say that he was going to wear a periwig; and they say the King also will. I never till this day observed that the King is mighty grey. After supper there happening some discourse where my wife thought she had taken Jane in a lie, she told me of it mighty triumphantly; but I, not seeing reason to conclude it a lie, was vexed, and my wife and I to very high words, wherein I up to my chamber, and she by and by followed me up, and to very bad words from her to me, calling me perfidious and man of no conscience, which troubled me mightily. And though I would allow something to her passion, yet I see again and again that she spoke but somewhat of what she had in her heart. But I tempered myself very well, so as that, though we went to bed with discontent, she yielded to me and began to be fond, so that being willing myself to peace, we did before we sleep become very good friends, and so with good hearts and joy to rest.

3d. At noon to the coffee-house, and there heard a long and most passionate discourse between two doctors of physic, of which one was Dr. Allen,<sup>2</sup> whom I knew at Cambridge, and a couple of

<sup>1</sup> *Defend* is used in the sense of *forbid*.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas Allen, M.D., of Caius College, and a member of the College of Physicians.

apothecaries: these maintaining chemistry against their Galenical physic; and the truth is, one of the apothecaries, whom they charged most, did speak very prettily—that is, his language and sense good, though perhaps he might not be so knowing a physician as to offer to contest with them. At last they come to some cooler terms, and broke up. I home, and by and by comes Chapman, the periwig-maker, and upon my liking it, without more ado I went up, and there he cut off my hair, which went a little to my heart at present to part with it; but, it being over, and my periwig on, I paid him £3 for it; and away went he, with my own hair, to make up another of; and I, by and by, went abroad, after I had caused all my maids to look upon it; and they conclude it do become me, though Jane was mightily troubled for my parting of my own hair, and so was Bess. I went to Sir W. Pen, who observed mightily, and discoursed much upon my cutting off my hair, as he do of everything that concerns me: but it is over, and so I perceive after a day or two it will be no great matter.

4th. To my office, showing myself to Sir W. Batten and Sir J. Minnes, and no great matter made of my periwig, as I was afraid there would. The Queen is in a great way to recovery.

6th. To the coffee-house, and among other things heard Sir John Cutler say that of his own experience in time of thunder so many barrels of beer as have a piece of iron laid upon them will not be soured, and the others will. To White Hall, where my Lord met me very fortunately, and wondered first to see me in my peruke, and I am glad it is over. We begun to talk of the Court, and he tells me how Mr. Edward Montagu begins to show respect to him again, after his endeavouring to bespatter him all was possible; but he is resolved never to admit him into his friendship again. He tells me how he and Sir H. Bennet, the Duke of Buckingham, and his Duchess, was of a committee with somebody else for the getting of Mrs. Stuart for the King; but that she proves a cunning slut, and is advised at Somerset House by the Queen-mother, and by her mother,<sup>1</sup> and so all the plot is spoiled and the whole committee broke. Mr. Montagu and the Duke of Buckingham fallen a-pieces, the Duchess going to a nunnery; and so Montagu begins to enter friendship with my Lord, and to attend the Chancellor, whom he had deserted. My Lord tells me that he observes the Duke of York do follow and understand business very well, and is mightily improved thereby.

<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Walter Stuart.

7th. Sir W. Pen and I had a word or two; he was mighty angry, and went out of the office like an ass discontented. This day, Captain Taylor<sup>1</sup> brought me a piece of plate, a little small state dish, he expecting that I should get him some allowance for demurrage of his ship *William*, kept long at Tangier, which I shall, and may justly do.

8th. (Lord's day.) To church, where I found that my coming in a periwig did not prove so strange as I was afraid it would, for I thought that all the church would presently have cast their eyes all upon me, but I found no such thing.

9th. To the Duke, where, when we came into his closet, he told us that Mr. Pepys was so altered with his new periwig, that he did not know him. So to our discourse, and, among and above other things, we were taken up in talking upon Sir J. Lawson's coming home, he being come to Portsmouth; and Captain Berkeley<sup>2</sup> is come to town with a letter from the Duana<sup>3</sup> of Algiers to the King, wherein they do demand again the searching of our ships and taking out of strangers and their goods; and that what English ships are taken without the Duke's pass they will detain (though it be flat contrary to the words of the peace) as prizes, till they do hear from our King, which they advise him may be speedy. And this they did the very next day after they had received with great joy the Grand Signor's confirmation of the Peace from Constantinople, by Captain Berkeley; so that there is no command nor certainty to be had of these people. The King is resolved to send his will by a fleet of ships; and it is thought best and speediest to send these very ships that are now come home, five sail of good ships, back again after cleaning, victualling, and paying them. But it is a pleasant thing to think how their Basha, Shavan Aga, did tear his hair to see the soldiers order things thus; for, just like his late predecessor, when they see the evil of war with England, then for certain they complain to the Grand Signor of him, and cut his head off: this he is sure of, and knows as certain. Thence to Westminster Hall, where I met with Mr. Pierce, surgeon; and, among other things, he asked me seriously whether I knew any-

<sup>1</sup> Silas Taylor, described by A. Wood as alias Domville, was a native of Shropshire, and educated at Oxford, and became a captain in the Parliament forces. Subsequently to the Restoration, he was appointed Commissary of Ammunition at Dunkirk, and in 1665 made Keeper of the King's Stores at Harwich. He died 4th November 1678.

<sup>2</sup> Afterwards Sir William Berkeley, Governor of Portsmouth, killed in 1666.

<sup>3</sup> Diwan.

thing of my Lord's being out of favour with the King; and told me that for certain the King do take mighty notice of my Lord's living obscurely in a corner not like himself, and becoming the honour that he is come to. I was sorry to hear, and the truth is, from my Lord's discourse among his people, which I am told, of the uncertainty of princes' favour, and his melancholy keeping from Court, I am doubtful of some such thing; but I seemed wholly strange to him in it, but will make my use of it. He told me also how loose the Court is, nobody looking after business, but every man his lust and gain; and how the King is now become besotted upon Mrs. Stuart, that he gets into corners, and will be with her half an hour together, kissing her to the observation of all the world; and she now stays by herself and expects it, as my Lady Castlemaine did use to do; to whom the King, he says, is still kind, so as now and then he goes to have a chat with her, as he believes; but with no such fondness as he used to do. But yet it is thought that this new wench is so subtle, that it is verily thought, if the Queen had died, he would have married her. The Duke of Monmouth is to have part of the Cockpit new built for lodgings for him, and they say to be made Captain of the Guards in the room of my Lord Gerard. Mr. Blackburn and I fell to talk of many things, wherein he was very open to me: first, in that of religion, he makes it great matter of prudence for the King and Council to suffer liberty of conscience; and imputes the loss of Hungary to the Turk from the Emperor's denying them this liberty of their religion. He says that many pious ministers of the word of God, some thousands of them, do now beg their bread; and told me how highly the present clergy carry themselves everywhere, so as that they are hated and laughed at by everybody, among other things, for their excommunications, which they send upon the least occasions almost that can be. And I am convinced in my judgment, not only from his discourse, but my thoughts in general, that the present clergy will never heartily go down with the generality of the commons of England; they have been so used to liberty and freedom, and they are so acquainted with the pride and debauchery of the present clergy. He did give me many stories of the affronts which the clergy receive in all places of England from the gentry and ordinary persons of the parish. He do tell me what the City thinks of General Monk, as of a most perfidious man that hath betrayed everybody, and the King also; who, as he thinks, and his party, and so I have heard other good friends of the

King say, it might have been better for the King to have had his hands a little bound for the present, than be forced to bring such a crew of poor people about him, and be liable to satisfy the demands of every one of them. He told me that, to his knowledge, being present at every meeting at the Treaty at the Isle of Wight, that the old King did confess himself overruled and convinced in his judgment against the Bishops, and would have suffered and did agree to exclude the service out of the churches, nay, his own chapel; and that he did always say that this he did not by force, for that he would never abate one inch of any violence, but what he did was out of his reason and judgment. He tells me that the King by name, with all his dignities, is prayed for by them that they call Fanatics, as heartily and powerfully as in any of the other churches that are thought better: and that, let the King think what he will, it is them that must help him in the day of war. For as they are the most, so generally they are the most substantial sort of people, and the soberest; and did desire me to observe it to my Lord Sandwich, among other things, that of all the old army now you cannot see a man begging about the streets; but what? You shall have this captain turned a shoemaker; the lieutenant a baker; this a brewer; that a haberdasher; this common soldier a porter; and every man in his apron and frock, &c., as if they never had done anything else: whereas, the others go with their belts and swords, swearing and cursing and stealing, running into people's houses, by force oftentimes, to carry away something; and this is the difference between the temper of one and the other; and concludes, and I think with some reason, that the spirits of the old Parliament soldiers are so quiet and contented with God's providences, that the King is safer from any evil meant him by them one thousand times more than from his own discontented Cavalier. And then to the public management of business: it is done, as he observes, so loosely and so carelessly, that the kingdom can never be happy with it, every man looking after himself, and his own lust and luxury; and that half of what money the Parliament gives the King is not so much as gathered. And to the purpose, he told me how the Bellamys, who had some of the Northern counties assigned them for their debt for the petty warrant victualling, have often complained to him that they cannot get it collected, for that nobody minds, or, if they do, they won't pay it in. Whereas, which is a very remarkable thing, he hath been told by some of the Treasurers at War here of late, to whom the most of the £120,000

monthly was paid, that for most months the payments were gathered so dully, that they seldom had so much or more than 40s., or the like, short in the whole collection; whereas, now the very Commissioners for Assessments and other public payments are such persons, and those that they choose in the country so like themselves, that from top to bottom there is not a man careful of anything, or, if he be, is not solvent; that what between the beggar and the knave, the King is abused the best part of all his revenue. We then talked of the Navy, and of Sir W. Pen, of whose rise to be a general I had a mind to be informed. He told me he was always a conceited man, and one that would put the best side outward, but that it was his pretence of sanctity that brought him into play. Lawson and Portman and the fifth-monarchy men, among whom he was a great brother, importuned that he might be general; and it was pleasant to see how Blackburn himself did act it; how, when the Commissioners of the Admiralty would enquire of the captains and admirals of such and such men, how they would, with a sigh and casting up the eyes, say, 'Such a man fears the Lord,' or, 'I hope such a man hath the Spirit of God.' But he tells me that there was a cruel articing against Pen, after one fight, for cowardice in putting himself within a coil of cables, of which he had much ado to acquit himself: and by great friends did it, not without remains of guilt, but that his brethren had a mind to pass it by, and Sir H. Vane did advise him to search his heart, and see whether this fault or a greater sin was not the occasion of this so great trial. And he tells me that what Pen gives out about Cromwell's sending and entreating him to go to Jamaica is very false; he knows the contrary; besides, the Protector never was a man that needed to send for any man, especially such a one as he, twice. He tells me that the business of Jamaica did miscarry absolutely by his pride, and that when he was in the Tower he would cry like a child. And lastly he tells me that just upon the turn, when Monk was come from the North to the City, and did begin to think of bringing in the King, Pen was then turned Quaker. He tells me that Lawson was never counted anything but only a seaman, and a stout man, but a false man, and that now he appears the greatest hypocrite in the world. And Pen the same. He tells me that it is much talked of, that the King intends to legitimate the Duke of Monmouth; and that neither he, nor his friends of his persuasion, have any hopes of getting their consciences at liberty but by God Almighty's turning of the King's heart, which they expect, and are

resolved to live and die in quiet hopes of it; but never to repine, or act anything more than by prayers towards it. And that not only himself, but all of them, have, and are willing at any time, to take the oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy. Mr. Blackburn observed further to me some certain notice that he had of the present plot<sup>1</sup> so much talked of; that he was told by Mr. Rushworth<sup>2</sup> how one Captain Oates, a great Discoverer, did employ several to bring and seduce others into a plot, and that one of his agents met with one that would not listen to him, nor conceal what he had offered him, but so detected the trepan. He did also much insist upon the cowardice and corruption of the King's Guards and militia.

10th. To the office, and there late setting down yesterday's remarkable discourses. The Queen, I hear, is now very well again, and that she hath bespoke herself a new gown.

11th. At noon to the coffee-house, where, with Dr. Allen, some good discourse about physic and chemistry. And among other things, I telling him what Dribble, the German doctor, do offer of an instrument to sink ships, he tells me that which is more strange, that something made of gold, which they call in chemistry *Aurum Fulminans*, a grain, I think he said, of it put into a silver spoon and fired, will give a blow like a musket, and strike a hole through the spoon downward, without the least force upward; and this he can make a cheaper experiment of, he says, with iron prepared.

12th. Mr. Moore and I discoursing of my Lord's negligence in attendance at Court, and the discourse the world makes of it, I resolved and took coach to his lodgings, thinking to speak with my Lord about it without more ado. Here I met Mr. Howe, and he and I largely about it, and he very soberly acquainted me how things are with my Lord: that my Lord do not do anything like himself, but follows his folly, and spends his time either at cards at Court with the ladies, when he is there at all, or else at Chelsea with the slut, to his great disgrace. Anon my Lord do come in, and I begun to fall in discourse with him; but my heart did misgive

<sup>1</sup> The plot alluded to is known in Yorkshire by the name of 'the Farnley Plot,' of which there are many details in Whitaker's *Loidis and Elmete*. Captain Thomas Oates was a conspicuous person in it, but he was not a Discoverer, as he suffered death for his share in the conspiracy. His son was a Discoverer, and hence the mistake, Pepys writing from the vague rumours of the day.

<sup>2</sup> John Rushworth, clerk assistant to the House of Commons, and author of the *Historical Collections*: ob. 1690.

me that my Lord would not take it well, and there found him not in a humour to talk. So I took leave and thought it would be as well to do it in writing. By coach home, my mind being full of it and in pain concerning it.

13th. After dinner came my periwig-maker, and brings me a second periwig, made of my own hair, which comes to 21s. 6d. more than the worth of my own hair, so that they both come to £4 1s. 6d., which he saith will serve me two years, but I fear it. He being gone, I to my office, and put on my new shag purple gown, with gold buttons and loop-lace.

14th. Mr. Moore come to tell me that he had no opportunity of speaking his mind to my Lord yesterday, and so I am resolved to write to him very suddenly.

15th. (Lord's day.) In the afternoon drew up a letter to my Lord, stating to him what the world talks concerning him, and leaving it to him and myself to be thought of by him as he pleases, but I have done but my duty in it. I wait Mr. Moore's coming, for his advice about sending it. This day being our Queen's birthday, the guns of the Tower went all off; and in the evening the Lord Mayor sent from church to church to order the constables to cause bonfires to be made in every street, which methinks is a poor thing to be forced to be commanded. After a good supper with my wife, and hearing of the maids read in the Bible, to prayers and to bed.

16th. By coach to White Hall, and there with the Duke, where Mr. Coventry did a second time go to vindicate himself.

17th. With Mr. Moore to my office, and there I read to him the letter I have wrote to send to my Lord, which Mr. Moore do conclude so well drawn, that he would not have me by any means to neglect sending it. So home, Mr. Hollyard being come to my wife. I had great discourse with him about my disease. He tells me I must eat in a morning some loosening gruel, and at night roasted apples; that I must drink now and then ale with my wine, and eat bread and butter and honey, and rye bread if I can endure it, it being loosening.

18th. Captain Berkeley, who was lately come from Algiers, did give us a good account of the place, and how the Basha there do live like a prisoner, being at the mercy of the soldiers and officers, so that there is nothing but a great confusion there. I walked home again, reading of a little book of new poems of Cowley's, given me by his brother. Abraham do lie, it seems, very sick



still, but like to recover. At my office till late, then came Mr. Hollyard, so full of discourse and Latin, that I think he hath got a cup, but I do not know; but full of talk he is, in defence of Calvin and Luther. This morning I sent Will with my great letter of reproof to Lord Sandwich, who did give it into his own hand. I pray God give a blessing to it; but I confess I am afraid what the consequences may be to me of good or bad, which is according to the ingenuity that he do receive it with. However, I am satisfied that it will do him good, and that he needs it.

[Here follows the letter.]

My Lord,

I do verily hope that neither the manner nor matter of this advice will be condemned by your Lordship, when, for my defence in the first, I shall allege my double attempt, since your return from Hinchinbroke, of doing it personally, in both of which your Lordship's occasions, no doubtfulness of mine, prevented me; and that being now fearful of a sudden summons to Portsmouth, for the discharge of some ships there, I judge it very unbecoming the duty, which every bit of bread I eat tells me I owe to your Lordship, to expose the safety of your honour to the uncertainty of my return. For the matter, my Lord, it is such as, could I in any measure think safe to conceal from, or likely to be discovered to you by any other hand, I should not have dared so far to own what from my heart I believe is false, as to make myself the relater but of others' discourse; but, sir, your Lordship's honour being such as I ought to value it to be, and finding both in City and Court that discourses pass to your prejudice, too generally for mine or any man's controllings but your Lordship's, I shall, my Lord, without the least greatening or lessening the matter, do my duty in laying it shortly before you.

People of all conditions, my Lord, raise matter of wonder from your Lordship's so little appearance at Court: some concluding thence their disfavour thereby, to which purpose I have had questions asked me; and, endeavouring to put off such insinuations by asserting the contrary, they have replied that your Lordship's living so beneath your quality, out of the way, and declining of Court attendance, hath been more than once discoursed about the King. Others, my Lord, when the chief Ministers of State and those most active of the Council have been reckoned up, wherein your Lordship never used to want an eminent place, have said,

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DIARY OF SAMUEL PEPPYS

touching your Lordship, that now your turn was served and the King had given you a good estate, you left him to stand or fall as he would, and, particularly in that of the Navy, have enlarged upon your letting fall all service there.

Another sort, and those the most, insist upon the bad report of the house wherein your Lordship, now observed in perfect health again, continues to sojourn, and by name have charged one of the daughters for a common courtesan, alleging both places and persons where and with whom she hath been too well known, and how much her wantonness occasions, though unjustly, scandal to your Lordship, and that as well to gratifying of some enemies as to the wounding of more friends I am not able to tell.

Lastly, my Lord, I find a general coldness in all persons towards your Lordship, such as, from my first dependence on you, I never knew; wherein I shall not offer to interpose any thoughts or advice of mine, well knowing your Lordship needs not any. But with a most faithful assurance that no person nor papers under Heaven is privy to what I here write, besides myself and this, which I shall be careful to have put into your own hands, I rest confident of your Lordship's just construction of my dutiful intentions herein, and in all humility take my leave. May it please your Lordship,

Your Lordship's most obedient Servant,

S. P.

[The foregoing letter was sealed up and enclosed in the following.]

My Lord,

If this finds your Lordship either not alone, or not at leisure, I beg the suspending your opening the enclosed till you shall have both, the matter very well bearing such a delay, and in all humility remain, may it please your Lordship,

Your Lordship's most obedient Servant,

S. P.

My servant hath my directions to put this into your Lordship's own hand, but not to stay for any answer.

19th. With Sir G. Carteret, to my Lord Treasurer, to discourse with him about Mr. Gauden's having of money, and to offer to him whether it would not be necessary, Mr. Gauden's credit being so low as it is, to take security of him if he demands any great sum, such as £20,000, which now ought to be paid him upon his next

year's declaration; which is a sad thing that, being reduced to this by us, we should be the first to doubt his credit; but so it is. However, it will be managed with great tenderness to him. My Lord Treasurer we found in his bed-chamber, being laid up of the gout. I find him a very ready man, and certainly a brave servant to the King: he spoke so quick and sensibly of the King's charge. Nothing displeased me in him but his long nails, which he lets grow upon a pretty thick white short hand, that it troubled me to see them. In our way Sir G. Carteret told me there is no such thing likely yet as a Dutch war, neither they nor we being in condition for it, though it will come certainly to that in some time, our interests lying the same way, that is to say, in trade. But not yet. To speak with Mr. Moore, and met him by the way, who tells me, to my great content, that he believes my letter to my Lord Sandwich hath wrought well upon him, and that he will look after himself and his business upon it, for he begins already to do so. But I dare not conclude anything till I see him, which shall be tomorrow morning, that I may be out of my pain to know how he takes it of me.

20th. To my Lord Sandwich's lodgings, but he was gone out before, and so I am defeated of my expectation of being eased one way or other in the business of my Lord. But I went up to Mr. Howe, who I saw this day the first time in a periwig, which becomes him very well. He tells me that my Lord is of a sudden much changed, and he do believe that he do take my letter well. However, we both bless God that it hath so good an effect upon him. Thence I home again. A great talk there is today of a crush between some of the Fanatics up in arms and the King's men in the North; but whether true I know not yet.

21st. At noon, I receive a letter from Mr. Creed, with a token, viz., a very noble parti-coloured Indian gown for my wife. The letter is oddly writ, overprizing his present, and little owning any past service of mine. I confess I had expectations of a better account from him of my service about his accounts, and so give his boy 12*d.*, and sent it back again. And this afternoon I went to Ludgate, and, by pricing several there, I guess this gown may be worth about £12 or £15. But, however, I expect at least £50 of him. So in the evening I wrote him a letter telling him clearly my mind, and so home to supper and to bed, my mind being pretty well at ease for my receipt this afternoon of £57 at the Treasury, paid a year since to the carver for his work at my house, which I

did intend to have paid myself, but, finding others to do it, I thought it not amiss to get it too.

22d. (Lord's day.) I walked as far as the Temple, and there took coach, and to my Lord's lodgings, whom I found ready to go to chapel; but I coming, he begun, with a very serious countenance, to tell me that he had received my late letter, wherein first he took notice of my care of him and his honour, and did give me thanks for that part of it where I say that from my heart I believe the contrary of what I do there relate to be the discourse of others; but, since I intended it not a reproach, but matter of information, and for him to make a judgment of it for his practice, it was necessary for me to tell him the persons of whom I have gathered the several particulars which I there insist on. I would have made excuses in it; but, seeing him so earnest in it, I found myself forced to it, and so did tell him Mr. Pierce, the surgeon, in that of his Lordship's living being discoursed of at court. A maid-servant that I kept, that lived at Chelsea school, and also Mr. Pickering, about the report touching the young woman, and also Mr. Hunt, in Axe Yard, near whom she lodged. I told him the whole City do discourse concerning his neglect of business; and so I many times asserting my dutiful intention in all this, and he owning his accepting of it as such. That that troubled me most in particular is, that he did there assert the civility of the people of the house, and the young gentlewoman, for whose reproach he was sorry. His saying that he was resolved how to live, and that though he was taking a house, meaning to live in another manner, yet it was not to please any people, or stop report, but to please himself; though this I do believe he might say that he might not seem to me to be so much wrought upon by what I have writ; and lastly, and most of all, when I spoke of the tenderness that I have used in declaring this to him, there being nobody privy to it, he told me that I must give him leave to except one. I told him that possibly somebody might know of some thoughts of mine—I having borrowed some intelligence in this matter from them—but nobody could say they knew of the thing itself what I writ. This I confess, however, do trouble me, for that he seemed to speak it as a quick retort, and it must sure be Will Howe, who did not see anything of what I writ, though I told him indeed that I would write; but in this, I think, there is no great hurt. I find him, though he cannot but own his opinion of my good intentions, and so he did again and again profess it, that he is troubled in his mind at it;

and I confess I think I may have done myself an injury for his good, which, were it to do again, and that I believed he would take it no better, I think I should sit quietly without taking any notice of it; for I doubt there is no medium between his taking it very well or very ill. I could not forbear weeping before him at the latter end; which, since, I am ashamed of, though I cannot see what he can take it to proceed from, but from my tenderness and good will to him. After this discourse was ended he begun to talk very cheerfully of other things, and I walked with him to White Hall, and we discoursed of the pictures in the gallery, which, it may be, he might do out of policy, that the boy might not see any strangeness in him; but I rather think that his mind was somewhat eased, and hope that he will be to me as he was before. At chapel I had room in the Privy Seal pew with other gentlemen, and there heard Dr. Killigrew<sup>1</sup> preach. The anthem was good after sermon, being the fifty-first psalm, made for five voices, by one of Captain Cooke's boys, a pretty boy. And they say there are four or five of them that can do as much. And here I first perceived that the King is a little musical, and kept good time with his hand all along the anthem. I met Mr. Povy, who tells me how Tangier had like to have been betrayed, and that one of the King's officers is come, to whom 8,000 pieces of eight were offered for his part. To the King's Head ordinary, and there dined, good and much company and a good dinner: most of their discourse was about hunting, in a dialect I understand very little.

23d. To Alderman Backwell's, where Sir W. Rider met us to consult about the insuring of our hemp ship from Archangel, in which we are all much concerned. Thence to St. Paul's Churchyard, and there bespoke 'Rushworth's Collections' and 'Scobell's Acts of the Long Parliament,' &c., which I will make the King pay for as to the office, and so I do not break my vow at all. With Alderman Backwell, talking of the new money, which he says will never be counterfeited, he believes; but it is deadly inconvenient for telling, it is so thick, and the edges are made to turn up.

24th. At noon to the 'Change, where everybody joyed me in our hemp ship coming safe.

25th. To my Lord Sandwich's, and there I did present him with

<sup>1</sup> Henry, youngest son of Sir Robert Killigrew, D.D., prebendary of Westminster, and Master of the Savoy, and author of some plays and sermons. His daughter Anne was the well-known poetess.

Mr. Barlow's 'Terella,'<sup>1</sup> with which he was very much pleased, and he did show me great kindness, and by other discourse I have reason to think that he is not at all, as I feared he would be, discontented against me. In the evening comes Sir W. Warren, and he and I had admirable discourse. He advised me in things I desired about, bottomry, and other ways of putting out money as in parts of ships, how dangerous they are; and lastly fell to talk of the Dutch management of the Navy.

26th. The plague, it seems, grows more and more at Amsterdam; and we are going upon making of all ships coming from thence and Hamburg, or any other infected places, to perform their quarantine (for thirty days, as Sir Richard Browne expressed it in the order of the Council, contrary to the import of the word, though, in the general acceptation, it signifies now the thing, not the time spent in doing it) in Holehaven; a thing never done by us before.

27th. My wife mightily pleased with my discourse of getting a trip over to Calais, or some other port of France, the next summer, in one of the yachts, and I believe I shall do it—and it makes good sport that my maid Jane dares not go; and Bess is wild to go, and is mad for joy, but yet will be willing to stay, if Jane hath a mind, which is the best temper in this and all other things that ever I knew in my life.

28th. I met with Mr. Pierce, the surgeon, who tells me for good news that my Lord Sandwich is resolved to go no more to Chelsea, and told me he believed that I had been giving my Lord some counsel, which I neither denied nor affirmed. 'To Paul's Church-yard, and there looked upon the second part of 'Hudibras,' which I buy not, but borrow to read, to see if it be as good as the first, which the world cry so mightily up, though it hath not a good liking in me, though I had tried but twice or three times reading to bring myself to think it witty. Today, for certain, I am told how in Holland publicly they have pictured our King with reproach: one way is with his pockets turned the wrong side outward, hanging out empty; another, with two courtiers picking of his pockets; and a third, leading of two ladies while others abuse him; which amounts to great contempt.

29th. (Lord's day.) This morning I put on my best black cloth suit, trimmed with scarlet ribbon, very neat, with my cloak lined

<sup>1</sup> In Grew's *Rarities belonging to the Royal Society*, p. 364, mention is made of a Terella, or Orbicular Loadstone, contrived by Sir Christopher Wren.

with velvet, and a new beaver, which altogether is very noble, with my black silk knit canons I bought a month ago. I to church alone, and there I found my Lady Batten in a velvet gown, which vexed me that she should be in it before my wife; but what cannot be cannot be. However, when I came home I told my wife of it, and to see my weakness, I could on the sudden have found my heart to have offered her one, but second thoughts put it by. Blessed be God, I have got up my crumb again to £770, it's more than ever I had.

30th. At White Hall Sir W. Pen and I met the Duke in the Matted Gallery, and there he discoursed with us; and by and by my Lord Sandwich came and stood by and talked; but, it being St. Andrew's and a Collar-day, he went to the Chapel, and we parted. To the coffee-house, where I heard the best story of a cheat intended by a master of a ship, who had borrowed twice his money upon the bottomry,<sup>1</sup> and as much more insured upon his ship and goods as they were worth, and then would have cast her away upon the coast of France, and there left her, refusing any pilot which was offered him; and so the Governor of the place took her, and sent her over hither to find an owner, and so the ship is come safe, and goods and all; they all worth £500, and he had, one way or other, taken £3,000. The cause is to be tried tomorrow at Guildhall, where I intend to be. In the evening came W. Howe to see me, who tells me that my Lord hath been angry three or four days with him—would not speak to him: at last did, and charged him with having spoken to me about what he had observed concerning his Lordship, which W. Howe denying stoutly, he was well at ease, and continues very quiet, and is removing from Chelsea as fast as he can; but, methinks, by my Lord's looks upon me today, my Lord is not very well pleased, nor, it may be, will be a good while, which vexes me; but I hope all will over in time, or else I am but ill rewarded for my good service.

December 1st. At noon I home to dinner with my poor wife, with whom nowadays I enjoy great pleasure in her company and learning of arithmetic. After dinner I to Guildhall, to hear a trial at King's Bench before Lord Chief Justice Hyde, about the insurance of a ship, the same I mention in my yesterday's journal, where everything was proved how money was so taken up upon bottomry and insurance, and the ship left by the master and seamen

<sup>1</sup> The act of borrowing money upon a ship's bottom.

upon rocks, where when the sea fell at the ebb, she must perish. The master was offered help, and he did give the pilots 20 sols to drink, to bid them go about their business, saying that the rocks were old but his ship was new, and that she was repaired for £6 and less all the damage that she received, and is brought by one sent for on purpose by the insurers, into the Thames, with her cargo, vessels of tallow daubed over with butter, instead of all butter—the whole not worth above £500, ship and all, and they had took up, as appeared, above £2,400. He had given his men money to content them; and yet, for all this, he did bring some of them to swear that it was very stormy weather, and they did all they could to save her, and that she was seven feet deep water in hold, and were fain to cut her main and foremast; that the master was the last man that went out, and they were fain to force him out when she was ready to sink; and her rudder broke off, and she was drawn into the harbour after they were gone, as wreck all broken, and goods lost; that she could not be carried out again without new building; and many other things so contrary as is not imaginable more. There was all the great Counsel in the kingdom in the cause; but, after one witness or two for the plaintiff, it was cried down as a most notorious cheat; and so the jury, without going out, found it for the plaintiff. But it was pleasant to see what mad sort of testimonies the seamen did give, and could not be got to speak in order: and then their terms such as the Judge could not understand; and to hear how sillily the Counsel and Judge would speak as to the terms necessary in the matter, would make one laugh: and, above all, a Frenchman that was forced to speak in French, and took an English oath he did not understand, and had an interpreter sworn to tell us what he said, which was the best testimony of all. I heard other causes, and saw the course of pleading and learned two things: one is that every man has a right of passage in, but not a title to, any highway. The next that the Judge would not suffer Mr. Crow, who hath fined for Alderman, to be called so, but only Mister, and did eight or nine times fret at it, and stop every man that called him so.

3d. This day, Sir G. Carteret did tell us at the table that the Navy (excepting what is due to the Yards upon the quarter now going on, and what few bills he hath not heard of) is quite out of debt: which is extraordinary good news, and upon the 'Change to hear how our credit goes as good as any merchant's upon the 'Change is a joyful thing to consider, which God continue! I am



sure the King will have the benefit of it, as well as we some peace and credit.

4th. By water, cold and wet and windy, to Woolwich, to a hemp ship there, and stayed looking upon it and giving direction as to the getting it ashore; and so back again very cold, and so all the afternoon till night, and then home to keep my poor wife company.

5th. The whole board with myself along with Captain Allen to dinner, where he lives hard by in Mark Lane. To my office till nine or ten at night, and so home to supper and to bed after some talk and arithmetic with my poor wife.

6th. (Lord's day.) My wife and I all the afternoon at arithmetic, and she is come to do Addition, Subtraction, and Multiplication very well, and so purpose not to trouble her yet with division, but to begin with the Globes.

7th. I hear and find that there was the last night the greatest tide that ever was remembered in England to have been in this river: all White Hall having been drowned. Up with the Duke and did our business, and by and by my Lord of Sandwich came in, but whether it be my doubt or no I cannot tell, but I do not find that he made any sign of kindness or respect to me, which troubles me more than anything in the world. I met Dr. Clerke, and did tell him my story of my health; I then fell to discourse of Dr. Knapp, who tells me he is the King's physician, and is become a solicitor for places for people, and I am mightily troubled with him. He tells me that he is the most impudent fellow in the world, that gives himself out to be the King's physician, but is not so. From thence I may learn what impudence there is in the world, and how a man may be deceived in persons. At White Hall; and anon the King and Duke and Duchess came to dinner in the Vane-room, where I never saw them before; but it seems, since the tables are done, he dines there altogether. The Queen is pretty well, and goes out of her chamber to her little chapel in the house. The King of France, they say, is hiring of sixty sail of ships of the Dutch, but it is not said for what design.

8th. To White Hall, where a great while walked with my Lord Teviot, whom I find a most careful, thoughtful, and cunning man, as I also ever took him to be. He is this day bringing in an account where he makes the King debtor to him £10,000 already on the garrison of Tangier account; but yet demands not ready money to pay it, but offers such ways of paying it out of the sale of old decayed provisions as will enrich him finely.

9th. This day Mrs. Russell did give my wife a very fine St. George in alabaster, which will set out my wife's closet mightily.

10th. To St. Paul's Church-yard, to my bookseller's, and, having gained this day in the office by my stationer's bill to the King about 40s. or £3, I did here sit two or three hours calling for twenty books to lay this money out upon, and found myself at a great loss where to choose, and do see how my nature would gladly return to the laying out of money in this trade. I could not tell whether to lay out my money for books of pleasure, as plays, which my nature was most earnest in; but at last, after seeing Chaucer, Dugdale's History of Paul's, Stow's London, Gesner, History of Trent, besides Shakespeare, Jonson, and Beaumont's plays, I at last choose Dr. Fuller's Worthies, the Cabbala, or Collections of Letters of State, and a little book, 'Délices de Hollande,' with another little book or two, all of good use or serious pleasure; and 'Hudibras,' both parts, the book now in greatest fashion for drollery, though I cannot, I confess, see enough where the wit lies. My mind being thus settled, I went by link home, and so to my office, and to read in Rushworth; and so home to supper and to bed. Calling at Wotton's, my shoemaker's, today, he tells me that Sir H. Wright is dying; and that Harris is come to the Duke's house again; and of a rare play to be acted this week of Sir William Davenant's: the story of Henry the Eighth, with all his wives.

11th. At my bookseller's, and bought at a shop Cardinal Mazarin's Will in French. I to the coffee-house, and went and sat by Mr. Harrington and some East country merchants, and, talking of the country about Quinsborough<sup>1</sup> and thereabouts, he told us himself that for fish, none there, the poorest body, will buy a dead fish, but must be alive, unless it be in the winter: and then they told us the manner of putting their nets into the water. Through holes made in the thick ice they will spread a net of half a mile long; and he hath known a hundred and thirty and a hundred and seventy barrels of fish taken at one draught. And then the people come with sledges upon the ice, with snow at the bottom, and lay the fish in and cover them with snow, and so carry them to market. And he hath seen when the said fish have been frozen in the sledge, so as that he hath taken a fish and broke a-pieces, so hard it hath been; and yet the same fishes, taken out of the snow and brought into a hot room, will be alive and leap up and down. Swallows are often brought up in their nets out of the mud from

<sup>1</sup> Quinsborough is Königsberg.

under water, hanging together to some twig or other, dead in ropes, and brought to the fire will come to life. Fowl killed in December, Alderman Barker said, he did buy, and putting into the box under his sledge, did forget to take them out to eat till April next, and they then were found there, and were through the frost as sweet and fresh, and eat as well as at first killed. Young bears are there; their flesh sold in market as ordinarily as beef here, and is excellent sweet meat. They tell us that bears there do never hurt anybody, but fly away from you, unless you pursue and set upon them; but wolves do much mischief. Mr. Harrington told us how they do to get so much honey as they send abroad. They make hollow a great fir-tree, leaving only a small slit down straight in one place; and this they close up again, only leave a little hole, and there the bees go in and fill the bodies of those trees as full of wax and honey as they can hold; and the inhabitants at times go and open the slit, and take what they please without killing the bees, and so let them live there still and make more. Fir-trees are always planted close together, because of keeping one another from the violence of the winds; and when a fell is made, they leave here and there a grown tree to preserve the young ones coming up. The great entertainment and sport of the Duke of Courland and the princes thereabouts is hunting; which is not with dogs as we, but he appoints such a day, and summons all the country-people as to a campagna; and by several companies gives every one their circuit, and they agree upon a place where the toil is to be set; and so making fires, every company as they go, they drive all the wild beasts, whether bears, wolves, foxes, swine, and stags, and roes, into the toil; and there the great men have their stands in such and such places, and shoot at what they have a mind to, and that is their hunting. They are not very populous there, by reason that people marry, women seldom till they are towards or above thirty; and, men, thirty or forty years old, or more oftentimes, years old. Against a public hunting the Duke sends that no wolves be killed by the people; and, whatever harm they do, the Duke makes it good to the person that suffers it: as Mr. Harrington instanced in a house where he lodged, where a wolf broke into a hog-sty, and bit three or four great pieces off of the back of the hog before the house could come to help it; and the man of the house told him that there were three or four wolves thereabouts that did them great hurt; but it was no matter, for the Duke was to make it good to him, otherwise he would kill them.

12th. We had this morning a great dispute between Mr. Gauden, Victualler of the Navy, and Sir J. Lawson and the rest of the Commanders going against Algiers, about their fish and keeping of Lent; which Mr. Gauden so much insists upon to have it observed, as being the only thing that makes up the loss of his dear bargain all the rest of the year. One Abrahall who strikes in for the serving of the King with ship chandlery ware has sent my wife a Japan gown, which pleases her very well and me also, it coming very opportune; but I know not how to carry myself to him, I being already obliged as far to Mrs. Russell, so that I am in both their pays. Luellin tells me that W. Symons's wife is dead, for which I am sorry, she being a good woman, and tells me an odd story of her saying before her death, being in good sense, that there stood her uncle Scobell. This day I heard my Lord Berkeley tell Sir G. Carteret that he hath letters from France that the King hath unduked twelve Dukes, only to show his power and to crush his nobility, who, he said, he did see had heretofore laboured to cross him. And this my Lord Berkeley did mightily magnify as a sign of a brave and vigorous mind, that what he saw fit to be done he dares do.

13th. In the evening to my office to read Rushworth upon the charge and answer of the Duke of Buckingham, which is very fine.

14th. To the Duke, where I heard a large discourse between one that goes over an agent from the King to Leghorn and thereabouts, to remove the inconveniences his ships are put to by denial of pratique; which is a thing that is nowadays made use of only as a cheat; for a man may buy a bill of health for a piece of eight, and my enemy may agree with the Intendant of the Santé for ten pieces of eight or so, that he shall not give me a bill of health, and so spoil me in my design, whatever it be. This the King will not endure, and so resolves, either to have it removed or to keep all ships from coming in or going out there, so long as his ships are stayed for want hereof. But, among other things, Lord! what an account did Sir J. Minnes and Sir W. Batten make of the pulling down and burning of the head of the Charles,<sup>1</sup> where Cromwell was placed with people under his horse, and Peter,<sup>2</sup> as the Duke called him, is praying to him; and Sir J. Minnes would needs infer the temper of the people from their joy at the doing of this and their building a gibbet for the hanging of his head up, when, God knows, it is

<sup>1</sup> The ship *Charles*, at Chatham.

<sup>2</sup> Hugh Peters.

even the flinging away of £100 out of the King's purse, to the building of another, which it seems must be a Neptune. To my Lord's lodging, where I found my Lord got before me and was there trying some music which he intends for an anthem of three parts. But it did trouble me to hear him swear before God and other oaths, as he did now and then without any occasion, which methinks did so ill become him, and I hope will be a caution for me, it being so ill a thing in him. The music being done, without showing me any good or ill countenance, he did give me his hat and so adieu. He being gone, I and W. Howe talked a good while. He tells me that my Lord, it is true, for a while after my letter was displeased and did show many slights of me; but when I did hear how he is come to himself, and hath wholly left Chelsea and the slut, and that I see he do follow his business and becomes in better repute than before, I am rejoiced to see it, though it do cost me some disfavour for a time. To the King's Head ordinary, and there dined among a company of fine gentlemen: some of them discoursed of the King of France's greatness, and how he is come to make the Princes of the Blood to take place of all foreign ambassadors, which it seems is granted by them of Venice and other States, and expected from my Lord Hollis,<sup>1</sup> our King's Ambassador there; and that, either upon that score or something else, he hath not had his entry yet in Paris, but hath received several affronts, and, among others, his harness cut and his gentlemen of his horse killed, which will breed bad blood, if true. They say, also, that the King of France hath hired threescore ships of Holland, and forty of the Swede, but nobody knows what to do: but some great designs he hath on foot against the next year. With Sir W. Warren, who did give me excellent discourse. Then we fell to talk of Sir J. Minnes's and Sir W. Batten's burning of Oliver's head while he was there; which was done with so much insulting and folly as I never heard of, and had the train-band of Rochester to come to the solemnity, which when all comes to all, Commissioner Pett says it never was made for him; but it troubles me the King should suffer £100 loss in his purse, to make a new one, after it was forgot whose head it was, or any words spoke of it.

15th. Before I was up my brother's man came to tell me that my cousin, Edward Pepys, was dead at Mrs. Turner's, for which

<sup>1</sup> Denzel Holles, second son of John, first Earl of Clare, created 20th April 1661 Baron Holles of Ifield, afterwards plenipotentiary for the Treaty of Breda: *ob.* 1680, aged ninety.

my wife and I are very sorry, and the more for that his wife was the only handsome woman of our name. Late with Sir W. Warren upon very serious discourse; he did give me most admirable advice. He did particularly run over every one of the officers and commanders, and showed me how I had reason to mistrust every one of them. He did also advise me how I should take occasion to make known to the world my case and the pains that I take in my business, and above all to be sure to get a thorough knowledge in my employment, and to that add all the interest at Court that I can, which I hope I shall do.

17th. To Mrs. Turner's, where I find her and her sister Dike very sad for the death of their brother. After a little common expression of sorrow Mrs. Turner told me that the trouble she would put me to was to consult about getting an achievement prepared, scutcheons were done already, to set over the door. Came Smith to me, with whom I did agree for £4 to make a handsome one, ell square within the frame.

18th. To Woolwich and Deptford, and so home with great ease and content, especially out of the content which I met with in a book I bought yesterday, being a discourse of the state of Rome under the present Pope, Alexander VII. To my office. Among other people came Mr. Primate, the leather-seller, in Fleet Street, to see me, he says, coming this way: and he tells me that he is upon a proposal to the King, whereby, by a law already in being, he will supply the King, without wrong to any man, or charge to the people in general, so much as it is now, above £200,000 per annum, and God knows what, and that the King do like the proposal, and hath directed that the Duke of Monmouth, with their consent, be made privy, and go along with him and his fellow proposer in the business—God knows what it is; for I neither can guess nor believe there is any such thing in his head.

19th. To Mrs. Turner's, whom I find busy with Sir W. Turner about advising upon going down to Norfolk with the corpse, and I find him in talk a sober, considering man.

20th. (Lord's day.) Up, and alone to church; and so home to dinner in our parlour, my wife being clean, and in the afternoon went with me to church also, and there begun to take her place above Mrs. Pen, which heretofore out of a humour she was wont to give her as an affront to my Lady Batten.

21st. To my Lord Sandwich's, and there I had a pretty kind salute from my Lord. To Mrs. Turner's, and there saw the

achievement pretty well set up, and it is well done. Being directed by sight of bills upon the wall, I did go to Shoe Lane to see a cock-fighting at a new pit there, a sport I was never at in my life: but Lord! to see the strange variety of people, from Parliament-man, by name Wildes, that was Deputy Governor of the Tower when Robinson was Lord Mayor, to the poorest 'prentices, bakers, brewers, butchers, draymen, and what not; and all these fellows one with another cursing and betting. I soon had enough of it, and yet I would not but have seen it once, it being strange to observe the nature of these poor creatures, how they will fight till they drop down dead upon the table, and strike after they are ready to give up the ghost, not offering to run away when they are weary or wounded past doing further; whereas where a dung-hill brood comes, he will, after a sharp stroke that pricks him, run off the stage, and then they wring off his neck without more ado, whereas the other they preserve, though their eyes be both out, for they breed only a true cock of the game. Sometimes a cock that has had ten to one against him will by chance give an unlucky blow, will strike the other stark dead in a moment, that he never stirs more. But the common rule is that though a cock neither runs nor dies, yet if any man will bet £10 to a crown, and nobody take the bet, the game is given over, and not sooner. One thing more, it is strange to see how people of this poor rank, that look as if they had not bread to put in their mouths, shall bet three or four pounds at one bet and lose it, and yet bet as much the next battle; so that one of them will lose £10 or £20 at a meeting. Thence to my Lord Sandwich's, where I find him within with Captain Cooke and his boys, Dr. Childe, Mr. Madge, and Mallard, playing and singing over my Lord's anthem, which he hath made to sing in the King's chapel: my Lord took me into the withdrawing-room to hear it at a distance, and indeed it sounds very finely, and is a good thing, I believe to be made by him, and they all commend it. My Lord going to White Hall, I went along with him, and made a desire for to have his coach to go along with my cousin Edward Pepys's hearse through the City on Wednesday next, which he granted me presently, though he cannot yet come to speak to me in the familiar style that he did use to do, nor can I expect it.

22d. I hear for certain that my Lady Castlemaine is turned Papist, which the Queen for all do not much like, thinking that she do it not for conscience sake. I heard today of a great fray

lately between Sir H. Finch's coachman, who struck with his whip a coachman of the King's, to the loss of one of his eyes; at which the people of the Exchange seeming to laugh and make sport, with some words of contempt to him, my Lord Chamberlain did come from the King to shut up the 'Change, and by the help of a justice did it; but upon petition to the King it was opened again.<sup>1</sup> At noon I to Sir R. Ford's, where Sir Richard Browne and I met upon the freight of a barge sent to France to the Duchess of Orleans; and here by discourse I find they greatly cry out against the choice of Sir John Cutler to be treasurer of Paul's upon condition that he gives £1,500 towards it; and it seems he did give it upon condition that he might be treasurer for the work, which, they say will be worth three times as much money, and talk as if his being chosen to the office will make people backward to give; but I think as likely a man as either of them, and better.

23d. Up betimes, and my wife; and being in as mourning a dress as we could at present, without cost, put ourselves into, we by Sir W. Pen's coach to Mrs. Turner's, at Salisbury Court, where I find my Lord's coach and six horses. We stayed till almost eleven o'clock, and much company came, and anon, the corpse being put into the hearse and the scutcheons set upon it, we all took coach, and I and my wife and auditor Beale in my Lord Sandwich's coach, and went next to Mrs. Turner's mourning coach; and so through all the City and Shoreditch, I believe about twenty coaches, and four or five with six and four horses. Being come thither, I made up to the mourners, and bidding them a good journey, I took leave and back again.

24th. Though it was most foggy, yet down to Erith, several times being at a loss whither we went. There I mustered two ships of the King's, lent by him to the Guinea Company. Thence back again, entertaining myself upon my sliding rule with great content. At home found my wife making mince pies.

25th. My wife begun, I know not whether by design or chance, to enquire what she should do if I should by any accident die; to which I did give her some slight answer, but shall make good use of it to bring myself to some settlement for her sake, by making a will as soon as I can. Late reading Rushworth, which is a most

<sup>1</sup> Rugge adds, that the queen was in the carriage when the battle took place her coachman striking the first blow, and that the combatants fought a long time, nobody coming to part them. The Exchange was not reopened till the man who injured the royal servant had been given up.



excellent collection of the beginning of the late quarrels in this kingdom.

26th. Mr. Hollyard dined with us, we having a pheasant to dinner.

27th. Dinner with my wife, very pleasant and pleased with one another's company and in our general enjoyment of one another; better, we think, than most other couples do.

28th. Walking through White Hall, I heard the King was gone to play at tennis, so I down to the New Tennis Court and saw him and Sir Arthur Slingsby play against my Lord of Suffolk and my Lord Chesterfield. The King beat three, and lost two sets, they all, and he particularly, playing well, I thought. Thence went and spoke with the Duke of Albemarle about his wound at Newhall, but I find him a heavy dull man, methinks, by his answers to me. The Duchess of York is fallen sick of the measles.

29th. Sir W. Pen came like a cunning rogue to talk with me about office business, to which I did give him free answers and let him make the best of them. But I know him to be a knave, and do say nothing that I fear to have said again.

30th. Up betimes. My Lord Sandwich did ask me how his cousin, my wife, did, the first time he hath done so since his being offended, and in my conscience he would be glad to be free with me again, but he knows not how to begin.

31st. To dinner, my wife and I: a fine turkey and a minced pie, and dined in state, poor wretch, she and I, and have thus kept our Christmas together all alone almost, having not once been out. At the coffee-house, hearing some simple discourse about Quakers being charmed by a string about their wrists. I bless God I do, after a large expense, even this month, find that I am worth, in money, besides all my household stuff, or anything of Brampton, above £800, whereof in my Lord Sandwich's hand £700, and the rest in my hand. I do live at my lodgings in the Navy Office, my family being, besides my wife and I, Jane Gentleman, Bess, our excellent, good-natured cook-maid, and Susan, a little girl, having neither man nor boy, nor like to have again a good while, living now in most perfect content and quiet, and very frugally also; my health pretty good. At the office I am well, though envied to the devil by Sir William Batten, who hates me to death but cannot hurt me. The rest either love me, or at least do not show otherwise, though I know Sir W. Pen to be a false knave touching me, though he seems fair. My father and mother well in the

country; and at this time the young ladies of Hinchinbroke with them—their house having the small-pox in it. The Queen, after a long and sore sickness, is become well again; and the King minds his mistress a little too much, if it pleased God! but I hope all things will go well, and in the Navy particularly, wherein I shall do my duty, whatever comes of it. The great talk is the designs of the King of France, whether against the Pope or King of Spain nobody knows; but a great and most promising Prince he is, and all the Princes of Europe have their eye upon him. My wife's brother come to great unhappiness by the ill disposition, my wife says, of his wife, and her poverty which she now professes, after all her husband's pretence of a great fortune. At present I am concerned for my cousin Angier, of Cambridge, lately broke in his trade, and this day am sending his son John, a very rogue, to sea. My brother Tom I know not what to think of, for I cannot hear whether he minds his business or not; and my brother John at Cambridge with as little hopes of doing good there, for when he was here he did give me great cause of dissatisfaction with his manner of life. Pall with my father; and God knows what she do there or what will become of her; for I have not anything yet to spare her, and she grows now old, and must be disposed of one way or other. The Duchess of York is growing well again. The Turk very far entered into Germany, and all that part of the world at a loss what to expect from his proceedings. Myself, blessed be God! in a good way, and design and resolution of sticking to my business to get a little money with, doing the best service I can to the King also; which God continue! So ends the old year.

## 1664

January 1st. At the coffee-house, where much talking about a very rich widow, young and handsome, of one Sir Nicholas Gold's,<sup>1</sup> a merchant lately fallen, and of great courtiers that already look after her: her husband not dead a week yet. She is reckoned worth £80,000. Thence to my uncle Wight's, where there was brought to table a hot pie made of a swan I sent them yesterday.

<sup>1</sup> Sir Nicholas Gold, or Gould, created a baronet in 1660, married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Gerard, Bart., of Lamers, Hertfordshire. She remarried Thomas Neal.

My wife and I rose from table, pretending business, and went to the Duke's House, the first play I have been at these six months, according to my last vow, and here saw the so much cried-up play of 'Henry the Eighth,' which, though I went with resolution to like it, is so simple a thing, made up of a great many patches that, besides the shows and processions in it, there is nothing in the world good or well done.

2d. To the King's House, and saw 'The Usurper,'<sup>1</sup> which is no good play, though better than what I saw yesterday.

3rd. (Lord's day.) Within all day, looking over and settling my accounts in good order, by examining all my books and the kitchen accounts.

4th. I to my Lord Sandwich's lodgings, but he not being up, I to the Duke's chamber. And there by and by to his closet, where, since his lady was ill, a little red bed of velvet is brought for him to lie alone, which is a very pretty one. After doing business here I to my Lord's again, and there spoke with him, and he seems now almost friends again, as he used to be. Here meeting Mr. Pierce, the surgeon, he told me, among other Court news, how the Queen is very well again; and that she speaks now very pretty English, and makes her sense out now and then with pretty phrases: as among others this is mightily cried up, that, meaning to say that she did not like such a horse so well as the rest, he being too prancing and full of tricks, she said he did make too much vanity. Thence to the Tennis Court, and there saw the King play at tennis, and others: but to see how the King's play was extolled without any cause at all was a loathsome sight, though sometimes, indeed, he did play very well and deserved to be commended; but such open flattery is beastly. Afterwards to St. James's Park, seeing people play at Pell Mell; where it pleased me mightily to hear a gallant, lately come from France, swear at one of his companions for suffering his man, a spruce blade, to be so saucy as to strike a ball while his master was playing on the Mall. My wife is mighty sad to think of her father, who is going into Germany against the Turks; but what will become of her brother I know not. He is so idle, and out of all capacity, I think, to earn his bread.

6th. (Twelfth day.) This morning I began a practice which I find, by the ease I do it with, that I shall continue, it saving me money and time: that is, to trim myself with a razor, which pleases me mightily.

<sup>1</sup> A tragedy by the Honourable Edward Howard.

7th. At noon all of us to dinner to Sir W. Pen's, where a very handsome dinner, Sir J. Lawson, among others, and his lady and his daughter; but to see how Sir W. Pen imitates me in everything, even in having his chimney-piece in his dining-room the same with that in my wife's closet, and in everything else, I perceive, wherein he can. But to see again how he was out in one compliment: he lets alone drinking any of the ladies' healths that were there, my Lady Batten and Lawson, till he had begun with my Lady Carteret, who was absent, and that was well enough, and then Mr. Coventry's mistress, at which he was ashamed, and would not have had him have drunk it, at least before the ladies present, but his policy, as he thought, was such that he would do it.

8th. By appointment, took Luellin, Mount, and W. Symons, and Mr. Pierce, the surgeon, home to dinner with me, and were merry. But, Lord! to hear how W. Symons do commence and look sadly and then talk merrily, though his wife was dead but the other day, would make a dog laugh. We spent all the afternoon together, and then to cards with my wife, who this day put on her Indian blue gown, which is very pretty. We had great pleasure this afternoon, among other things, to talk of our old passages together in Cromwell's time; and how W. Symons did make me laugh and wonder today when he told me how he had made shift to keep in, in good esteem and employment, through eight governments in one year, the year 1659, which were indeed, and he did name them all; and then failed unhappy in the ninth, viz., that of the King's coming in. He made good to me the story which Luellin did tell me the other day, of his wife upon her death-bed; how she dreamed of her uncle Scobell, and did foretell, from some discourse she had with him, that she should die four days thence, and not sooner, and did all along say so, and did so. Upon the 'Change a great talk there was of one Mr. Tryan, an old man, a merchant in Lime Street, robbed last night, his man and maid being gone out after he was a-bed; and gagged and robbed of £1050 in money and about £4000 in jewels, which he had in his house as security for money. It is believed by many circumstances that his man is guilty of confederacy, by their ready going to his secret till in his desk, wherein the key of his cash-chest lay.

9th. By discourse with my wife, thought upon inviting my Lord Sandwich to a dinner shortly. It will cost me at least ten or twelve pounds; but, however, some arguments of prudence I have, which I shall think again upon before I proceed to that expense.

Called at Ludgate, at Ashwell's uncle's, but she was not within, to have spoke to her to have come to dress my wife at the time when my Lord dines here.

10th. (Lord's day.) My brother Tom being come to see me, we to dinner, he telling me how Mrs. Turner found herself discontented with her late bad journey, and not well taken by them in the country, they not desiring her coming down nor the burial of Mr. Edward Pepys's corpse there.<sup>1</sup> All our discourse to-night was about Mr. Tryan's late being robbed; and that Colonel Turner, a mad, swearing, confident fellow, well known by all, and by me, one much indebted to this man for his very livelihood, was the man that either did or plotted it; and the money and things are found in his hand, and he and his wife now in Newgate for it: of which we are all glad, so very a known rogue he was.

11th. To White Hall, and then with the rest of our company to the Duke and did our business; and thence to the Tennis Court till noon, and there saw several great matches played, and by invitation to St. James's; where, at Mr. Coventry's chamber, I dined with my Lord Berkeley, Sir G. Carteret, Sir Edward Turner,<sup>2</sup> Sir Elisha Leighton, and one Mr. Seymour, a fine gentleman: where admirable good discourse of all sorts, pleasant and serious. This morning I stood by the King arguing with a pretty Quaker woman, that delivered to him a desire of hers in writing. The King showed her Sir J. Minnes, as a man the fittest for her quaking religion; she modestly saying nothing till he begun seriously to discourse with her, arguing the truth of his spirit against hers; she replying still with these words, 'O King!' and thou'd him all along. The general talk of the town still is of Colonel Turner, about the robbery; who, it is thought, will be hanged. I heard the Duke of York tell tonight how letters are come that fifteen are condemned for the late plot by the Judges at York; and, among others, Captain Oates, against whom it was proved that he drew his sword at his going out, and, flinging away the scabbard, said that he would either return victor or be hanged.

12th. Comes my uncle Wight and my aunt, with their cousins Mary and Robert, and by chance my uncle Thomas Pepys. We had a good dinner—the chief dish a swan roasted, and that excellent meat.

<sup>1</sup> He was buried in the church of Tattersett St. Andrew, Norfolk. M. I.

<sup>2</sup> Speaker of the House of Commons, and afterwards solicitor-general and lord chief baron: *ob.* 1675.

13th. To the coffee-house, where extraordinary good discourse of Dr. Whistler's upon my question concerning the keeping of masts, he arguing against keeping them dry, by showing the nature of corruption in bodies and the several ways thereof.

15th. My wife tells me that my uncle Wight hath been with her and played at cards with her, and is mighty inquisitive to know whether she is with child or no, which makes me wonder what his meaning is: and, after all my thoughts, I cannot think, unless it be in order to the making his will; and I would to God my wife had told him that she was.

16th. Browne of the Minories brought me an instrument made of a spiral line, very pretty for all questions in arithmetic almost, but it must be some use that must make me perfect in it.

17th. (Lord's day.) To the French church, and there heard a good sermon—the first time my wife and I were there ever together. We sat by three sisters, all pretty women. It was pleasant to hear the reader give notice to them, that the children to be catechised next Sunday were them of Houndsditch and Blanche Chapiton.<sup>1</sup> My wife and I to see Sir W. Pen, and there supped with him much against my stomach, for the dishes were so deadly foul that I could not endure to look upon them.

18th. Abroad to White Hall, where the Court all in mourning for the Duchess of Savoy. By coach to the 'Change, after having been at the coffee-house, where I hear Turner is found guilty of felony and burglary; and strange stories of his confidence at the bar, but yet great indiscretion in his arguing. All desirous of his being hanged.

19th. My eyes began to fail me and to be in pain, which I never felt till nowadays, which I impute to sitting up late writing and reading by candle-light.

20th. To my Lord Sandwich's, and I walked with him to the Tennis Court, and there left him seeing the King play. My Lord Sandwich did seal a lease for the house he is now taking in Lincoln's Inn Fields, which stands him in £250 per annum rent. Thence by water to my brother's, whom I find not well in bed, sick, they think, of a consumption. So to Mr. Commander's, in Warwick Lane, to speak to him about drawing up my Will. Sir Richard Ford<sup>2</sup> told me that Turner is to be hanged tomorrow, and with what impudence he hath carried out his trial; but that last night, when he brought him news of his death, he began to be

<sup>1</sup> Blanche Apleton.

<sup>2</sup> He was one of the sheriffs.

sober, and shed some tears, and he hopes will die a penitent; he having already confessed all the thing, but says it was partly done for a joke, and partly to get an occasion of obliging the old man by his care in getting him his things again, he having some hopes of being the better by him in his estate at his death. Mr. Pierce tells me that my Lady Castlemaine is not at all set by by the King, but that he do dote upon Mrs. Stuart only, and that to the leaving of all business in the world and to the open slighting of the Queen; that he values not who sees him or stands by him while he dallies with her openly; and then privately in her chamber below, where the very sentries observe him going in and out; and that so commonly, that the Duke, or any of the nobles, when they would ask where the King is, they will ordinarily say, 'Is the King above or below?' meaning with Mrs. Stuart; that the King do not openly disown my Lady Castlemaine, but that she comes to Court; but that my Lord FitzHarding and the Hamiltons,<sup>1</sup> and sometimes my Lord Sandwich, they say, have their snaps at her. But he says my Lord Sandwich will lead her from her lodgings in the darkest and obscurest manner, and leave her at the entrance into the Queen's lodgings, that he might be the least observed; that the Duke of Monmouth the King do still dote on beyond measure, insomuch that the King only, the Duke of York, and Prince Rupert, and the Duke of Monmouth, do now wear deep mourning, that is, long cloaks, for the Duchess of Savoy; so that he mourns as a Prince of the Blood, while the Duke of York do no more, and all the Nobles of the land not so much; which gives great offence. But that the Duke of York do give himself up to business, and is like to prove a noble prince; and so indeed I do from my heart think he will. He says that it is believed, as well as hoped, that care is taken to lay up a hidden treasure of money by the King against a bad day. I pray God it be so! but I should be more glad that the King himself would look after business, which it seems he do not in the least. By and by my Lord Sandwich came upon me: he treated me with respect, yet without any of the intimacy which he used to do. I am resolved to forbear my laying out my money upon a dinner till I see him in a better posture, and by grave and humble, though high, deportment to make him think I do not want him, and that will make him the readier to admit me to his friendship again—I believe the soonest of anything but downright impudence, and thrusting myself, as others do, upon

<sup>1</sup> George Hamilton and his brother.

him, and imposing upon him, which yet I cannot do, nor will not endeavour. To bed after I had by candle-light shaved myself and cut off all my beard.

21st. Up, and after sending my wife to my aunt Wight's to get a place to see Turner hanged, I to the office and at noon to the 'Change; and seeing people flock in the City, I enquired, and found that Turner was not yet hanged. And so I went among them to Leadenhall Street, at the end of Lime Street, near where the robbery was done, and to St. Mary Axe, where he lived. And there I got for a shilling to stand upon the wheel of a cart, in great pain, above an hour before the execution was done, he delaying the time by long discourses and prayers, one after another, in hopes of a reprieve; but none came, and at last he was flung off the ladder in his cloak. A comely-looking man he was, and kept his countenance to the end: I was sorry to see him. It was believed there were at least 12 to 14,000 people in the street. Thence to the coffee-house, and heard the full of Turner's discourse on the cart, which was chiefly to clear himself of all things laid to his charge but this fault, for which he now suffers, which he confesses. He deplored the condition of his family, but his chief design was to lengthen time, believing still a reprieve would come, though the sheriff advised him to expect no such thing, for the King was resolved to grant none. To my aunt Wight's, where Dr. Burnett did tell me how poorly the sheriffs did endeavour to get one jewel returned by Turner, after he was convicted, as a due to them, and not to give it to Mr. Tryan, the true owner; but ruled against them, to their great dishonour.

22d. To Deptford, and there viewed Sir W. Petty's vessel; which hath an odd appearance, but not such as people do make of it.

23rd. After we had dined came Mr. Mallard, and I brought down my viol, which he played on, the first master that ever touched her yet, and she proves very well, and will be, I think, an admirable instrument. He played some very fine things of his own, but I was afraid to enter too far in their commendation for fear he should offer to copy them for me out, and so I be forced to give or lend him something.

24th. (Lord's day.) To my office, and there fell on entering, out of a bye-book, part of my second journal book, which hath lain these two years and more unentered. This evening also I drew up a rough draft of my last Will.

25th. Called upon Mr. Commander and did give him my last



Will and Testament to write over in form. To the office upon a particular meeting of the East India Company, where I think I did the King good service against the Company in the business of their sending our ships home empty from the Indies contrary to their contract.

26th. Tom Killigrew told us of a fire last night in my Lady Castlemaine's lodging, where she bid £40 for one to adventure the fetching of a cabinet out, which at last was got to be done; and the fire at last quenched without doing much wrong.

27th. At the coffee-house, where I sat with Sir G. Ascue<sup>1</sup> and Sir William Petty, who in discourse is, methinks, one of the most rational men that ever I heard speak with a tongue, having all his notions the most distinct and clear, and, among other things (saying that in all his life these three books were the most esteemed and generally cried up for wit in the world—'Religio Medici,'<sup>2</sup> Osborne's 'Advice to a Son,'<sup>3</sup> and 'Hudibras'), did say that in these—in the two first principally—the wit lies in confirming some pretty sayings, which are generally like paradoxes, by some argument smartly and pleasantly urged, which takes with people who do not trouble themselves to examine the force of an argument, which pleases them in the delivery, upon a subject which they like; whereas, as by many particular instances of mine, and others, out of Osborne, he did really find fault and weaken the strength of many of Osborne's arguments, so as that in downright disputation they would not bear weight—at least, so far but that they might be weakened, and better found in their room to confirm what is there said. He showed finely whence it happens that good writers are not admired by the present age, because there are but few in any age that do mind anything that is abstruse and curious; and so longer before anybody do put the true praise and set it on foot in the world, the generality of mankind pleasing themselves in the easy delights of the world, as eating, drinking, dancing, hunting, fencing, which we see the meanest men do the best—those that profess it. A gentleman never dances so well as the dancing-master; and an ordinary fiddler makes better music for a shilling

<sup>1</sup> A distinguished naval officer before and after the Restoration; he never went to sea subsequently to the action in 1666, in which he had been taken prisoner.

<sup>2</sup> By Sir Thomas Browne.

<sup>3</sup> Francis Osborne, an English writer of considerable abilities and popularity, was the author of *Advice to a Son*, in two parts. Oxford, 1656-8, 8vo. He died in 1659. He is the same person mentioned as 'father Osborne,' 19th October 1661.

than a gentleman will do after spending forty. And so in all the delights of the world almost. To Covent Garden, to buy a mask at the French House, Madame Cherrett's,<sup>1</sup> for my wife; in the way observing the street full of coaches at the new play, at 'The Indian Queen';<sup>2</sup> which for show, they say, exceeds 'Henry the Eighth.' Called to see my brother Tom, who was not at home, though they say he is in a deep consumption, and will not live two months.

29th. To the Fleece in Cornhill, by appointment, to meet my Lord Marlborough, a serious and worthy gentleman, who begun to talk of the state of the Dutch in India, which is like to be in a little time without any control; for we are lost there, and the Portugese as bad.

30th. The day kept solemnly for the King's murder. In the evening Mr. Commander came, and we made perfect and signed and sealed my last Will and Testament, which is to my mind, and I hope to the liking of God Almighty. This evening, being in a humour of making all things even and clear in the world, I tore some old papers: among others a romance which, under the title of 'Love a Cheat,' I begun ten years ago at Cambridge; and, reading it over tonight, I liked it very well, and wondered a little at myself, at my vein at that time when I wrote it, doubting that I cannot do so well now if I would try.

31st. (Lord's day.) I did perfectly prepare a state of my estate, and annexed it to my last Will and Testament, which now is perfect, and find that I have gained above £50 this month clear, and so am worth £858 clear, which is the greatest sum I ever yet was master of. My head very full of thoughts to provide for answering to the Exchequer for my uncle's being General-Receiver in the year 1647, which I am at present wholly unable to do.

February 1st. Up, and being ready I found Mr. Strutt, the purser, below with 12 bottles of sack. I hear how two men last night, jostling for the wall about the new Exchange, did kill one another, each thrusting the other through; one of them of the King's Chapel, one Cave, and the other a retainer of my Lord General Middleton's.<sup>3</sup> Thence to White Hall, where, in the

<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Mary Cherrett, called also Madame Cherrett, lived in the Piazza (Rate Books of St. Paul's, Covent Garden). Mr. George Cherrett, milliner, and Susan, his wife, were living in the Piazza in 1689 (*ib.*).

<sup>2</sup> *The Indian Queen*, a tragedy in heroic verse, by Sir Robert Howard and Mr. Dryden.

<sup>3</sup> John Middleton, Earl of Middleton, General of the Forces in Scotland.

Duke's chamber, the King come and stayed an hour or two laughing at Sir W. Petty, who was there, about his boat; and at Gresham College<sup>1</sup> in general: at which poor Petty was, I perceive, at some loss; but did argue discreetly, and bear the unreasonable follies of the King's objections and other bystanders with great discretion; and offered to take odds against the King's best boats: but the King would not lay, but cried him down with words only. Gresham College he mightily laughed at for spending time only in weighing of air, and doing nothing else since they sat. Mr. Pierce tells me how the King, coming the other day to his Theatre to see 'The Indian Queen,' which he commends for a very fine thing, my Lady Castlemaine was in the next box before he came; and, leaning over other ladies awhile to whisper with the King, she rose out of the box, and went into the King's, and set herself on the King's right hand, between the King and the Duke of York; which, he swears, put the King himself, as well as everybody else, out of countenance; and believes that she did it only to show the world that she is not out of favour yet, as was believed. To the King's Theatre, and there saw 'The Indian Queen' acted; which indeed is a most pleasant show and beyond my expectation; the play good, but spoiled with the rhyme, which breaks the sense. But above my expectation most, the eldest Marshall<sup>2</sup> did do her part most excellently well as I ever heard woman in my life; but her voice is not so sweet as Ianthe's:<sup>3</sup> but, however, we came home mightily contented. Here we met Mr. Pickering; and he tells me that the business runs high between the Chancellor and my Lord Bristol against the Parliament; and that my Lord Lauderdale and Cowper open high against the Chancellor, which I am sorry for. To the coffee-house, where I heard Lieutenant-Colonel Baron tell very good stories of his travels over the high hills in Asia above the clouds: how clear the heaven is above them; how thick, like a mist, the way is through the cloud that wets like a sponge one's clothes; the ground above the clouds all dry and parched, nothing in the world growing, it being only a dry earth,

<sup>1</sup> The Royal Society.

<sup>2</sup> Anne Marshall, a celebrated actress at the King's House, and her youngest sister Becke, so frequently mentioned in the *Diary*, were the daughters of a Presbyterian minister.

<sup>3</sup> Mrs. Mary Saunderson performed Ianthe in Davenant's play of the *Siege of Rhodes*, at the first opening of his theatre, April 1662. She married Betterton the same year, and lived till 1711, having filled almost all the female characters in Shakespeare with great success.

yet not so hot above as below the clouds. The stars at night most delicate bright and a fine clear blue sky, but cannot see the Earth at any time through the clouds, but the clouds look like a world below you. This day W. Bowyer told me that his father is dead lately, and died by being drowned in the river, coming over in the night; but he says he had not been drinking. He was taken with his stick in his hand and cloak over his shoulder, as ruddy as before he died. His horse was taken overnight in the water, hampered in the bridle, but they were so silly as not to look for his master till the next morning that he was found drowned.

2d. To the 'Change, and thence off to the Sun tavern with Sir W. Warren. He did give me a pair of gloves for my wife wrapped up in a paper, which I would not open, feeling it hard; but did tell him that my wife should thank him, and so went on in discourse. When I come home, Lord! in what pain I was to get my wife out of the room without bidding her go, that I might see what these gloves were; and by and by she being gone, it proves a pair of white gloves for her, and forty pieces in good gold, which did so cheer my heart that I could eat no victuals almost for dinner for joy to think how God do bless us every day more and more, and more yet I hope he will upon the increase of my duty and endeavours. I was at a great loss what to do, whether to tell my wife of it or no, for fear of making her think me to be in a better condition, or in a better way of getting money, than yet I am.

3d. To the Mitre tavern, and there met with W. Howe come to buy wine for my Lord against his going down to Hinchinbroke, and I private with him, a great while discoursing of my Lord's strangeness to me; but he answers that I have no reason to think any such thing, but that my Lord is only in general a more reserved man than he was before. So home, where wife is full of sad stories of her good-natured father and roguish brother, who is going for Holland, and his wife, to be a soldier. This night late coming in my coach, coming up Ludgate Hill, I saw two gallants and their footmen taking a pretty wench that I have much eyed, lately set up shop upon the hill, a seller of ribbon and gloves. They seemed to drag her by some force, but the wench went. In Covent Garden tonight, going to fetch home my wife, I stopped at the great coffee-house<sup>1</sup> there, where I never was before: where

<sup>1</sup> This was Will's Coffee House on the west side of Bow Street, and at the corner of Russell Street, and took its name from William Urwin, the landlord.

Dryden, the poet I knew at Cambridge, and all the wits of the town, and Harris the player, and Mr. Hoole of our College. And, had I had time then, or could at other times, it will be good coming thither, for there, I perceive, is very witty and pleasant discourse. But I could not tarry, and, as it was late, they were all ready to go away.

4th. To Paul's School, and up to hear the upper form examined; and there was kept, by very many of the Mercers (Clutterbuck,<sup>1</sup> Barker, Harrington, and others), and with great respect used by them all, and had a noble dinner. Here they tell me that, in Dr. Colet's<sup>2</sup> Will, he says that he would have a Master found for the School that hath good skill in Latin, and, if it could be, one that had some knowledge of the Greek; so little was Greek known here at that time. Dr. Wilkins<sup>3</sup> and one Mr. Smallwood, posers.

5th. By water, a brave morning, to Woolwich, and so walked to Greenwich and thence to Deptford, and so by water home, all the way going and coming reading 'Faber fortunæ,'<sup>4</sup> which I can never read too often. At home to look over some Bampton papers, and my uncle's accounts as General-Receiver of the county for 1647 of our monthly assesment, which, contrary to my expectation, I found in such good order that I did not expect, nor could have thought.

6th. To the 'Change, and home, whither came one Father Fogourdy, an Irish priest, of my wife's and her mother's acquaintance in France—a sober, discreet person, but one that I would not have converse with my wife for fear of meddling with her religion. He confirms to me the news that for certain there is peace made between the Pope and King of France.

7th. (Lord's day.) Up and to church, and thence home; and with great mirth read Sir W. Davenant's two speeches in dispraise of London and Paris, by way of reproach one to another.

8th. Mr. Pierce told me largely how the King still do dote upon his women, even beyond all shame; and that the good Queen will of herself stop before she goes sometimes into her dressing-room, till she knows whether the King be there, for fear he should be,

<sup>1</sup> Probably Alderman Clutterbuck, one of the proposed Knights of the Royal Oak for Middlesex. There was a Sir Thomas Clutterbuck, of London, *circa* 1670.

<sup>2</sup> Dean of St. Paul's and founder of the school.

<sup>3</sup> John Wilkins was a learned theologian, and well versed in mathematics and natural philosophy.

<sup>4</sup> By Lord Bacon.

as she hath sometimes taken him, with Mrs. Stuart; and that some of the best parts of the Queen's jointure are, contrary to faith and against the opinion of my Lord Treasurer and his Council, bestowed or rented, I know not how, to my Lord FitzHarding and Mrs. Stuart and others of that crew; that the King do dote infinitely upon the Duke of Monmouth, apparently as one that he intends to have succeed him. God knows what will be the end of it!

9th. Great talk of the Dutch proclaiming themselves, in India, Lords of the Southern Seas, and denyin<sup>g</sup> traffic there to all ships but their own, upon pain of confiscation; which makes our merchants mad. Great doubt of two ships of ours, the Greyhound and another, very rich, coming from the Straits, for fear of the Turks. Matters are made up between the Pope and the King of France; so that now all the doubt is, what the French will do with their armies. Mr. Moore told me that my Lord is mightily altered—that is, grown very high and stately, and do not admit of any to come into his chamber to him, as heretofore, and that I must not think much of his strangeness to me, for it was the same he do to everybody. I discoursed with him about my money that my Lord hath, and the £1,000 that I stand bound with him in to my cousin Thomas Pepys, in both which I will get myself at liberty as soon as I can: for I do not like his being angry and in debt both together to me; and, besides, I do not perceive he looks after paying his debts, but runs farther and farther in.

10th. By coach to my Lord Sandwich, to his new house, a fine house but deadly dear, in Lincoln's Inn Fields, where I found and spoke a little to him. He is high and strange still, but did ask me how my wife did, and at parting remembered him to his cousin. My wife abroad to buy Lent provisions. Home, where I found my wife and her brother. He is going this next tide into Holland to seek his fortune. I did give my wife 10s. to give him, and a coat that I had by me, a close-bodied, light-coloured coat, with a gold edging in each seam, that was the lace of my wife's best petticoat, that she had when I married her. My pain do leave me without coming to any great excess; but my cold that I had got I suppose was not very great, it being only the leaving of my waistcoat unbuttoned one morning.

11th. To the office and did much business. At noon to dinner, my wife and I hand to fist to a very fine pig. Mr. Falconer came and visited my wife, and brought her a present—a silver state-cup

and cover, value about £3 or £4, for the courtesy I did him the other day. I am almost sorry for this present, because I would have reserved him for a place to go in summer a-visiting at Woolwich with my wife.

12th. Called at Alderman Backwell's, and there changed Mr. Falconer's state-cup that he did give us the other day, for a fair tankard. The cup weighed with the fashioning £5 16s., and another little cup that Joyce Norton did give us 17s.—both £6 13s.; for which we had the tankard, which came to £6 10s. at 5s. 7d. per oz., and 3s. in money.

13th. To the African House. Anon to dinner, to a table which Mr. Coventry keeps here out of his £300 per annum as one of the Assistants to the Royal Company, a very pretty dinner, and good company and excellent discourse. So took coach and to Reeves, the perspective glass maker, and there did indeed see very excellent microscopes, which did discover a louse or mite or sand most perfectly and largely. Home with my wife, and saw her day's work in ripping the silk standard which we brought home last night, and it will serve to line a bed, or for twenty uses, to our great content.

14th. (Lord's day.) Up, and to church alone, where a lazy sermon of Mr. Mills upon a text to introduce catechizing in our parish, which I perceive he intends to begin.

15th. To White Hall, to the Duke, where he first put on a periwig today; but methought his hair cut short in order thereto did look very prettily of itself, before he put on his periwig. Great news of the arrival of two rich ships, the Greyhound and another, which they were mightily afeard of, and great insurance given. This afternoon Sir Thomas Chamberlain<sup>1</sup> came to the office to me, and showed me several letters from the East Indies, showing the height that the Dutch are come to there, showing scorn to all the English, even in our only Factory there of Surat,<sup>2</sup> beating several men, and hanging the English standard St. George under the Dutch flag in scorn; saying that, whatever their masters do or say at home, they will do what they list and be masters of all the world there; and have so proclaimed themselves Sovereigns of all the South Seas: which certainly our King cannot endure, if

<sup>1</sup> Son of William Chamberlayne, an English judge, and created a baronet 1642.

<sup>2</sup> Sir George Oxendon was then the chief factor of the East India Company. In 1686 the English removed to Bombay.

the Parliament will give him money. But I doubt, and yet do hope, they will not yet till we are more ready for it.

16th. Mr. Barrow to dinner with me, where I had a haunch of venison roasted, and so had a pretty dinner. To the office where very busy till night.

17th. With my wife, setting her down by her father's in Long Acre, in so ill-looking a place, among all the brothels, that I was troubled at it, to see her go thither. Mr. Pierce tells me of the King's giving of my Lord FitzHarding two leases which belong indeed to the Queen, worth £20,000 to him; and how people do talk of it. Home, and dined, where I found an excellent mastiff—his name Towser—sent me by a surgeon. At my office till three in the morning, having spent much time this evening in discourse with Mr. Cutler. He being gone, Sir W. Rider came and stayed with me about understanding the measuring of Mr. Wood's masts; and out of an impatience to break up with my head full of confused confounded notions but nothing brought to a clear comprehension, I was resolved to sit up, and did, till now it is ready to strike four o'clock, all alone, cold, and my candle not enough left to light me to my own house. I went home to bed weary, sleepy, cold, and my head aching.

19th. Mr. Cutler came and walked and talked with me a great while: and then to the 'Change together; and it being early, did tell me several excellent examples of men raised upon the 'Change by their diligence and saving: as also his own fortune, and how credit grew upon him; that when he was not really worth £1,100 he had credit for £100,000: of Sir W. Rider, how he rose; and others. By and by joined with us Sir John Bankes,<sup>1</sup> who told us several passages of the East India Company; and how, in very case, when there was due to him and Alderman Mico £64,000 from the Dutch for injury done to them in the East Indies, Oliver, presently after the peace, they delaying to pay them the money, sent them word that if they did not pay them by such a day he would grant letters of mark to those merchants against them; by which they were so fearful of him, they did presently pay the money every farthing. Took my wife, and, taking a coach, went to visit my Ladies Jemimah and Paulina Montagu and Mrs. Elizabeth Pickering,<sup>2</sup> whom we find at their father's new house in Lincoln's Inn Fields; but the house all in dirt. They received us

<sup>1</sup> An opulent merchant, residing in Lincoln's Inn Fields.

<sup>2</sup> Lord Sandwich's niece.



well enough: but I did not endeavour to carry myself over familiarly with them; and so, after a little stay, there coming in presently after us my Lady Abergavenny<sup>1</sup> and other ladies, we back again by coach.

20th. To Woolwich, and so walked to Greenwich, it being a very fine evening, and brought night home with me by water.

21st. (Lord's day.) My wife called up the people to washing by four o'clock in the morning; and our little girl Susan is a most admirable slut, and pleases us mightily, doing more service than both the others, and deserves wages better.

22d. To the picture-sellers by the Half-Moon, and there looked over the maps of several cities, and did buy two books of cities stitched together, cost me 9s. 6d. To the 'Change, my chief business being to enquire about the manner of other countries keeping of their masts wet or dry, and got good advice about it. This evening came Mr. Alsopp, the King's brewer, with whom I spent an hour talking and bewailing the posture of things at present: the king led away by half a dozen men, that none of his serious servants and friends can come at him. These are Lauderdale, Buckingham, Hamilton, FitzHarding (to whom he hath, it seems, given £12,000 per annum in the best part of the King's estate, and that that the old Duke of Buckingham could never get of the King). Progers<sup>2</sup> is another, and Sir H. Bennet. He loves not the Queen at all, but is rather sullen to her; and she, by all reports, incapable of children. He is so fond of the Duke of Monmouth, that everybody admires it; and he says that the Duke hath said that he would be the death of any man that says the King was not married to his mother: though Alsopp says it is well known that she was a common strumpet before the King was acquainted with her. But it seems, he says, that the King is mighty kind to these his bastard children, and at this day will go at midnight to my Lady Castlemaine's nurses, and take the child and dance it in his arms; that he is not likely to have his tables up again in his house, for the crew that are about him will not have him come to common view again, but keep him obscurely among themselves. He hath this night, it seems, ordered that the Hall,

<sup>1</sup> Probably Mary, daughter of Thomas Gifford, of Dunton Walet, Essex, wife to George Nevill, ninth Lord Abergavenny.

<sup>2</sup> Edward Progers, the king's *valet de chambre*, and the confidant of his amours: *ob.* 1713, aged ninety-six.

which there is a ball to be in tonight before the King, be guarded, as the Queen-mother's is, by his Horse-guards; whereas heretofore they were by the Lord Chamberlain or Steward and their people. But it is feared they will reduce all to the soldiery, and all other places be taken away; and, what is worst of all, that he will alter the present militia, and bring all to a flying army. That my Lord Lauderdale, being Middleton's enemy and one that scorns the Chancellor even to open affronts before the King, hath got the whole power of Scotland into his hand; whereas, the other day, he was in a fair way to have had his whole estate and honour and life voted away from him. That the King hath done himself all imaginable wrong in the business of my Lord Antrim<sup>1</sup> in Ireland; who, though he was the head of rebels, yet he by his letter owns to have acted by his father's and mother's and his commissions: but it seems the truth is, he hath obliged himself, upon the clearing of his estate, to settle it upon a daughter of the Queen-mother's (by my Lord Jermyn,<sup>2</sup> I suppose), in marriage, be it to whom the Queen pleases: which is a sad story. It seems a daughter of the Duke of Lennox's was, by force, going to be married the other day at Somerset House to Harry Jermyn; but she got away and run to the King, and he says he will protect her. She is, it seems, very near akin to the King. Such mad doings there are every day among them! There was a French book in verse, the other day, translated and presented to the Duke of Monmouth, in such a high style, that the Duke of York, he tells me, was mightily offended at it. The Duke of Monmouth's mother's brother<sup>3</sup> hath a place at Court; and being a Welshman, I think, he told me will talk very broad of the King's being married to his sister. The King did the other day, at the Council, commit my Lord Bristol's<sup>4</sup> chaplain and steward and another servant, who went upon the process begun there against their lord, to swear that they saw him at church and receive the Sacrament as a Protestant, which, the Judges said, was sufficient to prove him such in the eye of the law; the King, I say, did commit them all to

<sup>1</sup> Randal Macdonnell, second Earl and first Marquis of Antrim: *ob.* 1683.

<sup>2</sup> The Earl of St. Albans.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. Justice Waters, said to be 'of the Temple,' by Thurloe.

<sup>4</sup> The Earl of Bristol, by changing his religion while abroad, at the instigation of Don John of Austria, had incapacitated himself from holding any office; and, in consequence of the disappointment, which he imputed to the interference of the Lord Chancellor, planned and effected his ruin. Lord Bristol was installed K.G. in 1661, and died 1677.

the Gate-house, notwithstanding their pleading their dependance upon him and the faith they owed him as their lord, whose bread they eat. And that the King should say that he would soon see whether he was King or Bristol. That the Queen-mother hath outrun herself in her expenses, and is now come to pay very ill or run in debt, the money being spent that she received for leases. He believes there is not any money laid up in bank, as I told him some did hope; but he says, from the best informers, he can assure me there is no such thing, nor anybody that should look after such a thing, and that there is not now above £80,000 of the Dunkirk money left in stock. That Oliver, the year when he spent £1,400,000 in the Navy, did spend in the whole expense of the kingdom £2,600,000. That all the Court are mad for a Dutch war; but both he and I did concur that it was a thing rather to be dreaded than hoped for, unless, by the French King's falling upon Flanders, they and the Dutch should be divided. That our Ambassador had, it is true, an audience, but in the most dishonourable way that could be; for the Princes of the Blood, though invited by our Ambassador, which was the greatest absurdity that ever ambassador committed these 400 years, were not there; and so were not said to give place to our King's Ambassador. And that our King did openly say the other day in the Privy Chamber that he would not be hectored out of his right and pre-eminencies by the King of France, as great as he was. That the Pope is glad to yield to a peace with the French, as the news-book says, upon the basest terms that ever was. That the talk which these people about our King, that I named before, have, is to tell him how neither privilege of Parliament nor City is anything; but that his will is all, and ought to be so. And their discourse, it seems, when they are alone, is so base and sordid, that it makes the ears of the very gentlemen of the back stairs, I think he called them, to tingle to hear it spoke in the King's hearing; and that must be very bad indeed. That my Lord Bristol did send to Lisbon a couple of priests, to search out what they could against the Chancellor concerning the match, as to the point of his knowing beforehand that the Queen was not capable of bearing children; and that something was given her to make her so. But, as private as they were, when they came thither they were clapped up prisoners. That my Lord Bristol endeavours what he can to bring the business into the House of Commons, hoping there to master the Chancellor, there being many enemies of his there: but I hope the contrary

That whereas the late King did mortgage Clarendon<sup>1</sup> to somebody for £20,000, and this to have given it to the Duke of Albemarle, and he sold it to my Lord Chancellor, whose title of Earldom is fetched from thence, the King hath this day sent his order to the Privy Seal for the payment of this £20,000 to my Lord Chancellor to clear the mortgage. Ireland in a very distracted condition about the hard usage which the Protestants meet with, and the too good which the Catholics. And from all together, God knows my heart, I expect nothing but ruin can follow, unless things are better ordered in a little time.

23d. This day, by the blessing of God, I have lived thirty-one years in the world: and, by the grace of God, I find myself not only in good health in everything, and particularly as to the stone, but only pain upon taking cold, and also in a fair way of coming to a better esteem and estate in the world than ever I expected. But I pray God give me a heart to fear a fall, and to prepare for it!

24th. (Ash-Wednesday.) To the Queen's chapel, where I stayed and saw their mass, till a man came and bid me go out or kneel down: so I did go out. And thence to Somerset House; and there into the chapel, where Monsieur d'Espagne used to preach. But now it is made very fine, and was ten times more crowded than the Queen's chapel at St. James's; which I wonder at. Thence down to the garden of Somerset House, and up and down the new building, which in every respect will be mighty magnificent and costly. I stayed a great while talking with a man in the garden that was sawing of a piece of marble, and did give him 6d. to drink. He told me much of the nature and labour of the work how he could not saw above 4 inches of the stone in a day, and of a greater not above one or two; and after it is sawed, then it is rubbed with coarse and then with finer and finer sand till they come to putty, and so polish it as smooth as glass. Their saws have no teeth, but it is the sand only which the saw rub up and down that do the thing.

25th. To my Lord's, and saw the young ladies, and thence to White Hall. Resolved of going to meet my Lord tomorrow, having got a horse of Mr. Coventry today.

26th. Up, and, after dressing myself handsomely for riding, I out, and by water to Westminster, to Mr. Creed's chamber. And after drinking some chocolate and playing on the viol, Mr. Mallard being there, upon Creed's new viol, which proves, methinks, much worse than mine, we set out from an inn hard by,

<sup>1</sup> Clarendon Park, near Salisbury.

whither Mr. Coventry's horse was carried; and round about the bush through bad ways to Highgate. Good discourse in the way had between us; and, it being a most admirable pleasant day, stopped at the Cock, a mile on this side Barnet, being unwilling to put ourselves to the charge or doubtful acceptance of any provision against my Lord's coming by, and there got something and dined, setting a boy to look towards Barnet Hill, against their coming; and after two or three false alarms they come, and we met the coach very gracefully, and I had as kind a receipt from both Lord and Lady as I could wish, and some kind discourse, and then rode by the coach a good way, and so fell to discoursing with several of the people, there being a dozen attending the coach, and another coach for the maids and parson. But when we came to my Lord's house I went in; and, whether it was my Lord's neglect or general indifference, I know not, but he made no kind of compliment there; and, methinks, the young ladies look somewhat highly upon me. So I went away without bidding adieu to anybody, being desirous not to be thought too servile.

27th. Great good company at dinner, among others Sir Martin Noell, who told us the dispute between him, as farmer of the Additional Duty, and the East India Company, whether calico be linen or no; which he says it is, having been ever esteemed so: they say it is made of cotton wool, and grows upon trees, not like flax or hemp. But it was carried against the Company, though they stand out against the verdict.

28th. (Lord's day.) Up, and walked to Paul's; and, by chance, it was an extraordinary day for the Readers of the Inns of Court and all the students to come to church, it being an old ceremony not used these twenty-five years, upon the first Sunday in Lent. Abundance there was of students, more than there was room to seat but upon forms, and the church mighty full. One Hawkins preached, an Oxford man. A good sermon upon these words: 'But the Wisdom from above is first pure, then peaceable.' Both before and after sermon I was most impatiently troubled at the choir, the worst that ever I heard. But what was extraordinary, the Bishop of London,<sup>1</sup> who sat there in a pew, made a-purpose for him, by the pulpit, do give the last blessing to the congregation: which was, he being a comely old man, a very decent thing, methought. The Lieutenant of the Tower, Sir J. Robinson, would

<sup>1</sup> Humphrey Henchman, translated from Salisbury, September 1663: *ob.* 1675.

needs have me by coach home with him, where the officers of his regiment dined with him. I did go and dine with him—his ordinary table being very good, and his lady a very high-carriaged, but comely big woman: <sup>1</sup> I was mightily pleased with her. After dinner, to chapel in the Tower with the Lieutenant, with the keys carried before us, and the Warders and Gentleman-porter going before us; and I sat with the Lieutenant in his pew, in great state. None, it seems, of the prisoners in the Tower, that are there now, though they may, will come to prayers there.

29th. To Sir Philip Warwick, who showed me many excellent collections of the State of the Revenue in former Kings' and the late times, and the present; and, upon the whole, I find him a most exact and methodical man, and of great industry: and very glad that he thought fit to show me all this, guess though I cannot easily the reason why he should do it to me, unless from the plainness that he sees I use to him in telling him how much the King may suffer for our want of understanding the case of our Treasury. Got home before our maids, who by and by came with a great cry and fright that they had like to have been killed by a coach; but Lord! to see how Jane did tell the story like a fool and a dissembling fanatic like her grandmother, would make a man laugh to death almost, and yet be vexed to hear her. To make up my monthly accounts; and I find myself worth eight hundred and ninety and odd pounds, the greatest sum I ever yet knew.

March 2d. Calling at St. Paul's Church-yard, there looked upon a pretty burlesque poem called 'Scarronides, or Virgil Travestie'; <sup>2</sup> extraordinary good. After dinner my wife cut my hair short, which is grown pretty long again. This morning Mr. Burgby, one of the writing clerks belonging to the Council, a knowing man, complains to me how most of the Lords of the Council do look after themselves and their own ends, and none the public, unless Sir Edward Nicholas. Sir G. Carteret is diligent, but for all his own ends and profit. My Lord Privy Seal, a destroyer of everybody's business, and do no good at all to the public. The Archbishop of Canterbury <sup>3</sup> speaks very little, nor do much, being now come to the highest pitch that he can expect. He tells me he believes that things will go very high against the Chancellor by Bristol, and that bad things will be proved. Talks much of his neglecting the King, and making the King to trot

<sup>1</sup> Anne, daughter of Sir George Whitmore, of Barnes, in Surrey.

<sup>2</sup> A poem, by Charles Cotton, then just published. <sup>3</sup> Gilbert Sheldon.

every day to him when he is well enough to go to visit his cousin, Chief-Justice Hyde, but not to the Council or King. He commends my Lord of Ormond mightily in Ireland; but cries out cruelly of Sir G. Lane for his corruption, and that he hath done my Lord great dishonour by selling of places here, which are now all taken away, and the poor wretches ready to starve. That nobody almost understands or judges of business better than the King, if he would not be guilty of his father's fault to be doubtful of himself and easily be removed from his own opinion. That my Lord Lauderdale is never from the King's ear nor council, and that he is a most cunning fellow. Upon the whole, that he finds things go very bad everywhere, and even in the Council nobody minds the public.

3rd. My wife and I out of doors thinking to have gone to see a play, but they tell us there are none this week, being the first of Lent. But Lord! to see how impatient I found myself within to see a play, I being at liberty once a month to see one.

4th. To my Lord Sandwich. There were several people trying a new-fashion gun brought my Lord this morning, to shoot off often, one after another, without trouble or danger. At Greenwich I observed the foundation laying of a very great house for the King,<sup>1</sup> which will cost a great deal of money. To White Hall; and there being met by the Duke of York, he called me to him. I never had so much discourse with him before, and till now did ever fear to meet him. Home, my mind in great ease, to think of our coming to so good a respect with my Lord again, and my Lady, and that my Lady do so much cry up my father's usage of her children, and the goodness of the air there, found in the young ladies' faces at their return thence, as also my being put into the commission of the Fishery.

5th. To the office, where, though I had a great cold, I was forced to speak much upon a public meeting of the East India Company at our office; where was also my Lord George Berkeley, in behalf of the company of merchants (I suppose he is on that company), who, hearing my name, took notice of me, and condoled my cousin Edward Pepys's death, not knowing whose son I was, nor did demand it of me.

6th. (Lord's day.) My cold continuing in great extremity, I could not go to church.

<sup>1</sup> Building by Webb, the kinsman and executor of Inigo Jones; now a part of Greenwich Hospital.

March 1664

DIARY OF SAMUEL PEPPYS

7th. My wife and I by coach to the Duke's House, where we saw 'The Unfortunate Lovers';<sup>1</sup> but I know not whether I am grown more curious than I was or no, but I was not much pleased with it, though I know not where to lay the fault, unless it was that the house was very empty by reason of a new play at the other house. Yet here was my Lady Castlemaine in a box, and it was pleasant to hear an ordinary lady hard by us, that it seems did not know her before, say, being told who she was, that 'she was well enough.'

8th. Up with some little discontent with my wife upon her saying that she had got and used some puppy-dog water, being put upon it by a desire of my aunt Wight to get some for her, who has a mind, unknown to her husband, to get some for her ugly face. Luellin came and dined with me, but we made no long stay at dinner; 'Heraclius'<sup>2</sup> being acted, which my wife and I have a mighty mind to see, we do resolve (though not exactly agreeing with the letter of my vow, yet altogether with the sense) to see another this month by going hither instead of that at Court, there having been none conveniently since I made my vow. Besides, we did walk home on purpose to make this going as cheap as that would have been, to have seen one at Court; and my conscience knows that it is only the saving of money and the time I spend also that I intend by my oaths, and this has cost no more of either; so that (after good consultation and resolution of paying my forfeit) I do not find myself in the least apprehensive that I have done any violence to my oaths. The play hath one very good passage well managed, about two persons pretending, and yet denying themselves, to be son to the tyrant Phocas, and yet heir of Mauricius to the crown. The garments like Romans very well. The little girl is come to act very prettily, and spoke the epilogue most admirably. But at the beginning, at the drawing up of the curtain, there was the finest scene of the Emperor, and his people about him, standing in their fixed and different postures in their Roman habits, above all that I ever saw at any of the theatres. Walked home, calling to see my brother Tom, who is in bed, and I doubt very ill.

10th. To dinner with my wife, to a good hog's harslet, a piece of meat I love, but have not eat of, I think, these seven years. At

<sup>1</sup> A tragedy by Sir W. Davenant.

<sup>2</sup> *Heraclius: or the Emperor of the East*, translated from the French of Corneille.



the Privy Seal I enquired, and found the Bill come for the Corporation of the Royal Fishery: <sup>1</sup> whereof the Duke of York is made present Governor, and several other very great persons, to the number of thirty-two, made his assistants for their lives; whereof, by my Lord Sandwich's favour, I am one, and take it not only as a matter of honour, but that that may come to be of profit to me.

12th. Vexed to see how Sir J. Minnes deserves rather to be pitied for his dotage and folly than employed at a great salary to ruin the King's business.

14th. Up, and walked to my brother's, where I find he has continued talking idle all night and now knows me not, which troubles me mightily. To White Hall; and in the Duke's chamber, while he was dressing, two persons of quality that were there did tell his Royal Highness how, the other night, in Holborn, about midnight, being at cards, a link-boy came by and run into the house, and told the people the house was a-falling. Upon this the whole family was frightened, concluding that the boy had said that the house was a-fire: so they left their cards above, and one would have got out of the balcony, but it was not open; the other went up to fetch down his children, that were in bed: so all got clear out of the house. And no sooner so, but the house fell down indeed, from top to bottom. It seems my Lord Southampton's canal <sup>2</sup> did come too near their foundation, and so weakened the house, and down it came: which, in every respect, is a most extraordinary passage. Thence home, where my wife and I fell out about my not being willing to have her have her gown laced, but would lay out the same money and more on a plain new one. At this she flounced away in a manner I never saw her, nor which I could ever endure. So I away to the office, though she had dressed herself to go see my Lady Sandwich. She by and by in a rage follows me, and coming to me tells me in spiteful manner, like a vixen and with a look full of rancour, that she would go buy a new one and lace it and make me pay for it, and then let me burn it if I would after she had done it; and so went away in fury. This vexed me cruelly, but being very busy I had not hand to give

<sup>1</sup> There had been recently established, under the Great Seal of England, a Corporation for the Royal Fishing, of which the Duke of York was Governor, Lord Craven, Deputy-Governor, and the Lord Mayor and Chamberlain of London, for the time being, Treasurers, in which body was vested the sole power of licensing lotteries (*The Newes*, 6th October 1664).

<sup>2</sup> Probably the sewer from Lord Southampton's house.

myself up to consult what to do in it; but anon, I suppose after she saw that I did not follow her, she came again to the office, where I made her stay, being busy with another, half an hour, and her stomach being come down, we were presently friends. And so after business being over at the office we out and by coach to my Lady Sandwich's with whom I left my wife, and I to my brother's. The doctors give him over, and so do all that see him. He talks no sense two words together now; and I confess it made me weep to see that he should not be able, when I asked him, to say who I was. The business between my Lords Chancellor and Bristol they say, is hushed up; and the latter gone, or going, by the King's licence, to France.

15th. My poor brother Tom died. I left my wife to see him laid out, and I by coach home, carrying my brother's papers, all I could find, with me.

16th. Up, and down to my cousin Stradwick's and uncle Fenner's, about discoursing for the funeral, which I am resolved to put off till Friday next. To my brother's, to look after things, and saw the coffin brought; and by and by Mrs. Holden come, and saw him nailed up. This day the Parliament met again after a long prorogation, but what they have done I have not been in the way to hear.

17th. To the office, where we sat this afternoon, having changed this day our sittings from morning to afternoon because of the Parliament, which returned yesterday but was adjourned till Monday next upon pretence that many of the members were said to be upon the road; and also the King had other affairs, and so desired them to adjourn till then. But the truth is, the King is offended at my Lord of Bristol, as they say, whom he hath found to have been all this while (pretending a desire of leave to go into France, and to have all the differences between him and the Chancellor made up) endeavouring to make factions in both Houses to the Chancellor. So the King did this to keep the Houses from meeting, and in the meanwhile sent a guard and a herald last night to have taken him at Wimbledon, where he was in the morning, but could not find him: at which the King was and is still mightily concerned, and runs up and down to and from the Chancellor's like a boy: and it seems would make Bristol's articles against the Chancellor to be treasonable reflections against His Majesty. So that the King is very high, as they say: and God knows what will follow upon it! After office I to my brother's

again, preparing things against tomorrow; and this night I have altered my resolution of burying him in the church-yard among my young brothers and sisters, and bury him in the church, in the middle aisle, as near as I can to my mother's pew. This costs me 20s. more. Home by coach, bringing my brother's silver tankard, for safety, along with me.

18th. Up betimes, and walked to my brother's, where a great while putting things in order against anon; and so to Wotton, my shoemaker, and there got a pair of shoes blacked on the soles against anon for me. So to my brother's and to the church,<sup>1</sup> and, with the grave-maker, chose a place for my brother to lie in, just under my mother's pew. But to see how a man's tombs are at the mercy of such a fellow, that for sixpence he would, as his own words were, 'I will jostle them together but I will make room for him'; speaking of the fullness of the middle aisle, where he was to lie; and that he would, for my father's sake, do my brother that is dead all the civility he can; which was to disturb other corpses that are not quite rotten, to make room for him. And methought his manner of speaking it was very remarkable, as of a thing that now was in his power to do a man a courtesy or not. At noon my wife comes, and back with me, where I dressed myself, and so did my servant Bess; and so to my brother's again, whither, though invited as the custom is at one or two o'clock, they came not till four or five. But at last, one after another, they came, many more than I bid: and my reckoning that I bid was one hundred and twenty; but I believe there was nearer one hundred and fifty. Their service was six biscuits apiece, and what they pleased of burnt claret. My cousin Joyce Norton kept the wine and cakes above; and did give out to them that served, who had white gloves given them. But above all I am beholden to Mrs. Holden, who was most kind and did take mighty pains not only in getting the house and everything else ready, but this day in going up and down to see the house filled and served, in order to mine and their great content, I think: the men sitting by themselves in some rooms, and the women by themselves in others, very close, but yet room enough. Anon to church, walking out into the street to the conduit, and so across the street; and had a very good company along with the corpse. And, being come to

<sup>1</sup> St. Bride's, of which Richard Pierson, D.D., the vicar, officiated at the funeral. 'March 18, 1663-4, Mr. Thomas Pepys.'—*Burial Register of St. Bride's, Fleet Street.*

the grave as above, Dr. Pierson, the minister of the parish, did read the service for burial: and so I saw my poor brother laid into the grave. And so all broke up; and I and my wife, and Madam Turner and her family, to her brother's, and by and by fell to a barrel of oysters, cake, and cheese, of Mr. Honiwood's, with him, in his chamber and below, being too merry for so late a sad work. But, Lord! to see how the world makes nothing of the memory of a man an hour after he is dead! And, indeed, I must blame myself; for, though at the sight of him dead and dying, I had real grief for a while, while he was in my sight, yet presently after, and ever since, I have had very little grief indeed for him.

19th. My wife and I alone, having a good hen, with eggs, to dinner, with great content. Then to my brother's, where I spent the afternoon in paying some of the charges of the burial and in looking over his papers, among which I find several letters of my brother John to him speaking very foul words of me. Anon my father and my brother John came to town by coach. He, poor man, very sad and sickly.

20th. (Lord's day.) We lay talking, among other things of religion, wherein I am sorry so often to hear my wife talk of her being, and resolving to die, a Catholic; and indeed a small matter, I believe, would absolutely turn her, which I am sorry for.

21st. By and by my father came, poor man, to me, and my brother John. After much talk and taking them up to my chamber, I did there after some discourse bring in my business of anger with John, and did before my father read all his roguish letters, which troubled my father mightily, especially to hear me say what I did against my allowing anything for the time to come to him out of my own purse, and other words very severe, while he, like a simple rogue, made very simple and churlish answers to me, not like a man of any goodness or wit; at which I was as much disturbed as the other, and will be as good as my word in making him to his cost know that I will remember his carriage to me in this particular the longest day I live. It troubled me to see my poor father so troubled, whose good nature did make him, poor wretch, to yield, I believe, to comply with my brother Tom and him in part of their designs. This day the Houses of Parliament met; and the King met them, with the Queen with him. And he made a speech to them: among other things, discoursing largely of the plots abroad against him and the peace of the kingdom; and that

the dissatisfied party had great hopes upon the effect of the Act for a Triennial Parliament granted by his father, which he desired them to peruse, and, I think, repeal. So the Houses did retire to their own House, and did order the Act to be read tomorrow before them; and I suppose it will be repealed, though I believe much against the will of a good many that sit there.

23d. To the Trinity House, and there dined very well: and good discourse among the old men. Among other things, they observed that there are but two seamen in the Parliament, viz., Sir W. Batten and Sir W. Pen, and not above twenty or thirty merchants; which is a strange thing in an island, and no wonder that things of trade go no better nor are better understood. In the evening my Lady Jemimah, Paulina, and Madam Pickering come to see us, but my wife would not be seen, being unready. Very merry with them; they mightily talking of their thrifty living for a fortnight before their mother came to town, and other such simple talk, and of their merry life at Brampton, at my father's, this winter.

24th. Called up by my father, poor man, coming to advise with me about Tom's house and other matters; and he being gone, I down by water to Greenwich, and so to Woolwich and Deptford, and then walked to Redriffe, calling and eating a bit of collops and eggs at Halfway House.

25th. (Lady day.) To White Hall, and there to chapel; where it was most infinite full, to hear Dr. Critton.<sup>1</sup> Being not known, some great persons in the pew I pretended to and went in did question my coming in. I told them my pretence: so they turned to the orders of the chapel, which hung behind upon the wall, and read it, and were satisfied; but they did not demand whether I was in waiting or no, and so I was in some fear, lest he that was in waiting might come and betray me. The Doctor preached upon the thirty-first of Jeremy, and the twenty-first and twenty-second verses, about a woman compassing a man; meaning the Virgin conceiving and bearing our Saviour. It was the worst sermon I ever heard him make, I must confess; and yet it was good, and in two places very bitter, advising the King to do as the Emperor Severus did, to hang up a Presbyterian John (a short coat and a long gown interchangeably) in all the Courts of England. But the story of Severus was pretty, that he hanged up forty senators before the Senate-house, and then made a speech presently to the Senate

<sup>1</sup> Creighton.

in praise of his own lenity; and then decreed that never any senator after that time should suffer in the same manner without consent of the Senate: which he compared to the proceeding of the Long Parliament against my Lord Strafford. He said the greatest part of the lay magistrates in England were Puritans, and would not do justice; and the Bishops, their powers were so taken away and lessened, that they could not exercise the power they ought. He told the King and the ladies, plainly speaking of death and of the skulls and bones of dead men and women, how there is no difference; that nobody could tell that of the great Marius or Alexander from a pioneer; nor, for all the pains the ladies take with their faces, he that should look in a charnel-house could not distinguish which was Cleopatra's or fair Rosamond's or Jane Shore's. My father finds Tom's matters very ill, and finds him to have been so negligent, that he used to trust his servants with cutting out of clothes, never hardly cutting out anything himself; and, by the abstract of his accounts, we find him to owe above £290, and to be coming to him under £200.

26th. To my office, about my Lord Peterborough's accounts for Tangier; but, Lord! to see how ridiculous Mr. Povy is in all he says or do; like a man not more fit for to be in such employments as he is, and particularly that of a treasurer, as he is to be King of England. In discourse, Sir W. Rider said that he hath kept a journal of his life for almost these forty years, even to this day, and still do, which pleases me mightily. So home, this being my solemn feast for my cutting of the stone, it being now, blessed be God! this day six years since the time; and I bless God I do in all respects find myself free from that disease or any signs of it. Dinner not being presently ready, I spent some time myself and showed them a map of Tangier cut by our order and drawn by Jonas Moore, which I purpose to have finely set out and hung up. After dinner Sir W. Batten told me how Sir Richard Temple hath spoke very discontentful words in the House about the Triennial Bill; but it hath been read the second time today, and committed; and, he believes, will go on without more ado, though there are many in the House are displeased at it, though they dare not say much. But, above all expectation, Mr. Prin is the man against it, comparing it to the idol whose head was of gold, and his body and legs and feet of different metal. So this Bill had several degrees of calling of Parliaments, in case the King, and then the Council, and then the Lord Chancellor, and then the Sheriffs, should fail

to do it. He tells me also how, upon occasion of some 'prentices<sup>1</sup> being put in the pillory today, for beating of their masters, or some such like thing, in Cheapside, a company of 'prentices came and rescued them and pulled down the pillory; and they being set up again, did the like again. So that the Lord Mayor and Major-General Browne was fain to come and stay there to keep the peace; and drums, all up and down the city, was beat to raise the train-bands, for to quiet the town; and by and by, going out, we saw a train-band stand in Cheapside on their guard. It raining very fast, we met many brave coaches coming from the Park; and so we home ourselves, and ended the day with great content. My wife found her gown come home laced, which is indeed very handsome, but will cost me a great deal of money, more than ever I intended, but it is but for once.

27th. (Lord's day.) It being church time, walked to St. James's, to try if I could see the belle Butler, but could not; only saw her sister, who indeed is pretty, with a fine Roman nose. Thence walked through the ducking-pond fields; but they are so altered since my father used to carry us to Islington, to the old man's, at the King's Head, to eat cakes and ale (his name was Pitts), that I did not know which was the ducking-pond, nor where I was. So home; and in Cheapside, both coming and going, it was full of apprentices, who have been here all this day, and have done violence, I think, to the master of the boys that were put in the pillory yesterday. But, Lord! to see how the train-bands are raised upon this, the drums beating everywhere as if an enemy were upon them: so much is the city subject to be put into a disarray upon very small occasions. But it was pleasant to hear the boys, and particularly one little one that I demanded the business of. He told me that that had never been done in the City since it was a city—two 'prentices put in the pillory—and that it ought not to be so.

28th. To T. Trice, and advised with him about our administering to my brother Tom; but, Lord! what a shame, methinks, to me, that in this condition and at this age I should know no better the laws of my own country! The great matter today in the House hath been that Mr. Vaughan,<sup>2</sup> the great speaker, is this

<sup>1</sup> Two servants of one Ireland, a cooper upon Bread Street Hill (*The Intelligencer*, 28th March 1664).

<sup>2</sup> John Vaughan, afterwards knighted, and made Chief Justice of the Common Pleas.

day come to town, and hath declared himself in a speech of an hour and a half, with great reason and eloquence, against the repealing of the Bill for Triennial Parliaments, but with no success: but the House have carried it that there shall be such Parliaments, but without any coercive power upon the King, if he will bring this Act. But, Lord! to see how the best things are not done without some design; for I perceive all these gentlemen that I was with today were against it, though there was reason enough on their side, yet purely, I could perceive, because it was the King's mind to have it; and, should he demand anything else, I believe they would give it him. But this the discontented Presbyters, and the faction of the House, will be highly displeased with; but it was carried clearly against them in the House. Home, and there find, by my wife, that Father Fogourdy hath been with her today, and she is mightily for our going to hear a famous Roulé preach at the French Ambassador's house. I pray God he do not tempt her in any matters of religion, which troubles me. And also, she had messages from her mother today, who sent for her old morning-gown, which was almost past wearing; and I used to call it her kingdom, from the ease and content she used to have in the wearing of it.<sup>1</sup> I am glad I do not hear of her begging anything of more value, but I do not like that these messages should now come all upon Monday morning, when my wife expects, of course, I should be abroad at the Duke's.

29th. About noon Sir W. Batten came from the House of Parliament, and told us our Bill for our office was read the second time today with great applause, and is committed. By and by to dinner, where good cheer, and Sir G. Carteret in his humour a very good man, and the most kind father, and pleased father in his children, that ever I saw. Here is now hung up a picture of my Lady Carteret, drawn by Lely, a very fine picture, but yet not so good as I have seen of his doing.

30th. To Sir G. Carteret's, and there my Lady made us drink our morning draught of several wines: I drank nothing but some of her coffee, which was poorly made, with a little sugar in it.

<sup>1</sup> In allusion to the lines:

'My mind to me a kingdom is,  
Such perfect joy therein I find'—,

by Sir Edward Dyer, was set to music by the celebrated W. Byrd, in 1585, in a book called *Psalms, Sonnets, and Songs of Sadnesse and Pietie*.



Good discourse with Captain Cocke at the coffee-house about a Dutch war; and it seems the King's design is by getting underhand the merchants to bring in their complaints to the Parliament to make them in honour begin a war, which he cannot in honour begin first, for fear they should not second him with money.

31st. To my office, where comes, by and by, Povy, Sir W. Rider, Mr. Bland, Creed, and Vernatty, about my Lord Peterborough's accounts, which we now went through, but with great difficulty and many high words between Mr. Povy and I; for I could not endure to see so many things extraordinary put in against truth and reason. He was very angry; but I endeavoured all I could to profess my satisfaction in my Lord's part of the accounts, but not in those foolish idle things, they say I said, that others had put in. To an alehouse hard by, where my cousin Scott was, and my father's new tenant, Langford, a tailor, to whom I have promised my custom, and he seems a very modest careful young man. I find myself worth about £900. It troubles me that nobody else but I should bind themselves to serve the King with that diligence, whereby much of my pains proves ineffectual.



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